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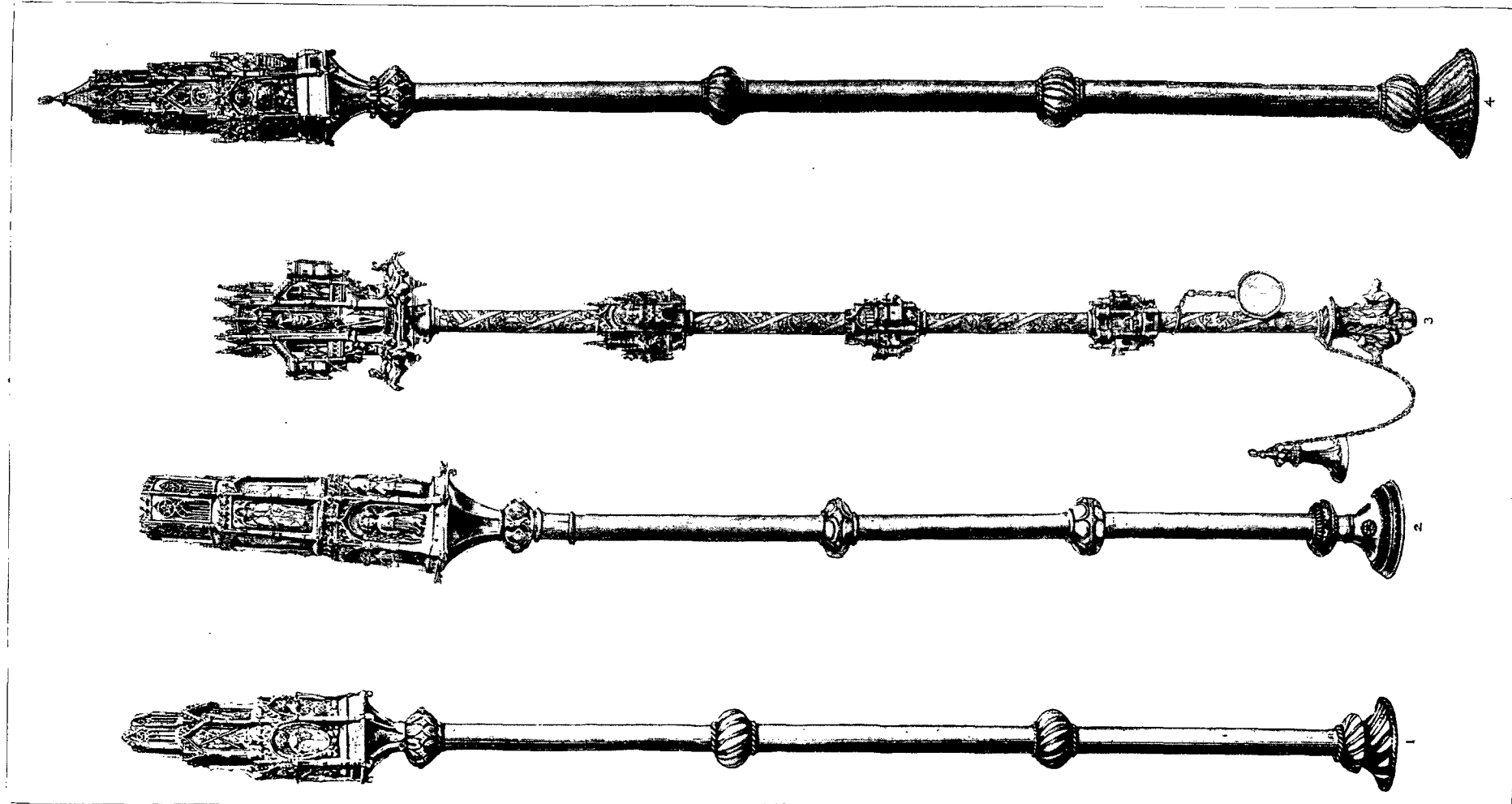
AN ACCOUNT OF THE MACES OF THE UNIVERSITIES OF ST ANDREWS, GLASGOW, ABERDEEN, AND EDINBURGH, THE COLLEGE OF JUSTICE, THE CITY OF EDINBURGH, &c. BY ALEXANDER J. S. BROOK, F.S.A. SCOT. (PLATES III.-XII.)

The mace or club was unquestionably one of the earliest weapons; and the rod or baton claims an almost equally high antiquity as an emblem of authority. It seems probable that the one is connected with, or is a development of the other; for it was not unlikely that the weapon originally used to enforce power came in time to be used as an emblem or a symbol of power.

The word "mace" is simply the Saxon for a lump—a mass or weight,—the Latin *massa*. The clubs of the primitive savage were often of wood alone, but at different times and in different places they underwent many developments, so that we find them frequently made with wooden handles and massive stone heads. Weapons answering to that description—*lignis imposita saxa*¹—mentioned by an old chronicler as used by the Saxons at the battle of Hastings, are figured in the Bayeux tapestry. Numerous specimens of knobbed stone balls, which it is supposed may have formed the heads of similar weapons or primitive maces, have been discovered in this country. Another variety of the mace is also figured in the tapestry as borne by the Normans. In form it is a long notched or lobed club, and is assumed to be of iron. One of these is shown in the hands of Odo, the Norman Bishop of Bayeux. Some writers regard this mace as simply a badge of command or a bishop's baton; and if this assumption is correct, we have at this date two classes of maces in use—one for active warfare, and the other merely as an emblem of authority.

It is not necessary, in connection with this paper, to enter into a detailed account of the development of the war-mace; but it may be interesting to state a theory propounded by a distinguished English antiquary, Chancellor Ferguson of Carlisle, who regards "the civic

¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vol. xi. p. 57.



1. Mace of the Faculty of Arts, University of St Andrews.
2. Mace of the Faculty of Canon Law, now the Theological Faculty, University of St Andrews.
3. Mace of St Salvator's College, University of St Andrews.
4. Mace of the University of Glasgow.

mace as nothing but the military one turned upside down.”¹ Mr Ferguson traces the development of the war-mace through the different forms which the weapon assumed from those with plain globular heads, used at the battle of Senlac, to the flanged or laminated war-mace of the sixteenth century. He then shows how the mace was the peculiar weapon of the king’s sergeant-at-arms, both in England and France, as early as the fourteenth century, and how it became usual, as a mark of high favour, to grant to mayors and others, to whom royal authority was delegated, the right to have one or more sergeants-at-arms or at-mace. The governing charter of Carlisle of the time of Charles I. directs that the mace for the execution of process should bear the royal arms. Mr Ferguson then points out how there was no very suitable place in a war-mace on which to place the arms, and that one was found by swelling out the foot of the mace into a small bell or bowl on which to place them. The mace then assumed the form of one still preserved at Carlisle.

As the civic mace gradually predominated over the military one, so did the bell end increase in size, and the laminated end diminish, until ultimately the flanges and laminæ survived alone in meaningless scrolls, and subsequently assumed the form of a ball or knop with fluting.

England is very rich in maces, having no less than about three hundred old civic maces still preserved, and Mr Ferguson has no difficulty in pointing to many examples in illustration of his theory. There are, however, no maces in Scotland which show this transition and development. It is possible that the maces of the fifteenth century referred to in the Lord Treasurer’s accounts were of this semi-military type. But conjecture is fruitless, for not one of them is now in existence. The oldest of the bell-headed maces we now possess may have been modelled from these still older ones, or they may have been made—as is more probable—after the pattern of contemporary maces in England.

An examination of the maces in Scotland makes it clear that the ceremonial mace was not in all instances derived from the war-mace. In addition to the bell-headed maces, there is an older and different type

¹ *Archæological Journal*, vol. xli. pp. 370-3.

in Scotland modelled on totally different lines, all the examples of which excel, both in antiquity and in the magnificence of their designs, the finest of the English specimens.

The three maces belonging to the University of St Andrews and that of the University of Glasgow are all of older date than even the oldest of the English maces. They were made and used at a time when military maces were in actual use in Scotland, and yet they cannot be said in any sense of the word to be a development of them, or even to bear the least resemblance to them. The origin of their type must evidently be sought for elsewhere.

It appears to me that the different forms of maces depended very much upon the position of the individual whose office they were to magnify, and upon the purpose they were intended to serve.

In university ceremonials they were borne before the rector, who in pre-Reformation times was always a Churchman, and they were for use, as we read, at "solemn times." It is not therefore surprising to find them designed in the prevailing character of Gothic ornament, in which not only the edifices but also all the vessels and other insignia of the Church were made.

With regard to the civic and other maces still preserved in Scotland, it is very evident that they were intended purely for the purpose of ceremonial, and to enhance the dignity of those upon whom the royal favour was bestowed.

The charter granted to Edinburgh by James VI., dated at Whitehall, November 10, 1609, has the following preamble :—"That it was clearly known and made manifest to him, that in all well-constituted commonwealths the whole Magistrats were not only permitted, but were ordered to carry and bear bundles of rods¹ and such ensigns before them.

¹ The allusion to the bundle of rods is an interesting one, and doubtless refers to the *fascēs* of the Roman licitors borne before kings, consuls, prætors, and dictators. In these were combined both the symbol of office and the rod for punishment; and it is curious to note that the mace of the Lower House of the United States Congress at Washington is fashioned on this model. It consists of thirteen ebony sticks, representing the thirteen original States of the Union. These are surmounted by a globe of silver, on which an eagle with outstretched wings is perched. This mace was made in 1834.

as signs and tokens of their magistracy, and to induce the common people to greater reverence”

In the same year it was also ordained, in a letter addressed to the privy council, that on all such occasions as the Lord Treasurer “shall come any way abroad in any of the streitis of any burgh, citie, or town of this kingdome,” a silver-gilt mace shall be carried before him.

It is therefore quite clear that the university, the civic and other maces in Scotland were intended only for the purposes of ceremonial, and it was not contemplated that they should ever be used as weapons of attack, any more than it was thought likely that the civic sword should be drawn for the defence of the Lord Provost.

There was thus a considerable difference between these and the maces of the sergeants-at-mace in England, for the sergeant's mace was both an emblem of authority and an actual weapon; and it is recorded that when the sergeant-at-mace served process, he showed the bell-end of his mace with the royal arms displayed as proof of his authority, and if the party was contumacious he reversed his mace and knocked the contumacious one down with the military end.

Most of the important maces which have been used at different periods in Scotland have happily been preserved. They naturally fall to be divided into two groups, whether regard is paid to their antiquity or to their design.

The four oldest, which belong to the Universities of St Andrews and Glasgow, were made in the fifteenth century, and have, with one exception, heads of tabernacle form; while all the others, which belong respectively to the City of Edinburgh, the Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh, and the College of Justice, were made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and later, and have bell-shaped heads.

The oldest group is the most artistic and interesting. One of them belongs to St Salvator's College, and the other two, designated in one minute of the senatus “the Honours of the University,” originally belonged to the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Canon Law, and are now the insignia of the University and of St Mary's College. As the first-mentioned bears both an inscription and the arms and initials of

Bishop Kennedy, who presented it to St Salvator's College, it can easily be identified, but it has been both a perplexing and a difficult question to distinguish between the other two maces, and to ascertain to which of these two Faculties of Arts and of Canon Law they respectively belonged. The one has evidently been made in Scotland and the other in France, but neither of them bears an inscription. From their architectural features it is also clear that they both belong to the same period, and must have been made within a few years at most of each other; and in several respects the one appears to have been a copy of the other.

Although we know nothing about one of the maces except what an examination of it reveals to us, there are happily on the other a number of shields with armorial bearings which have been identified, and there are also in the *Proceedings* of the Faculty of Arts a number of references to their mace, which, considered along with the deductions which may be drawn from a careful examination of the technical features of both maces, lead almost irresistibly to the conclusion that the mace with the armorial shields is that belonging to the Faculty of Arts, and the one referred to in their *Proceedings*.

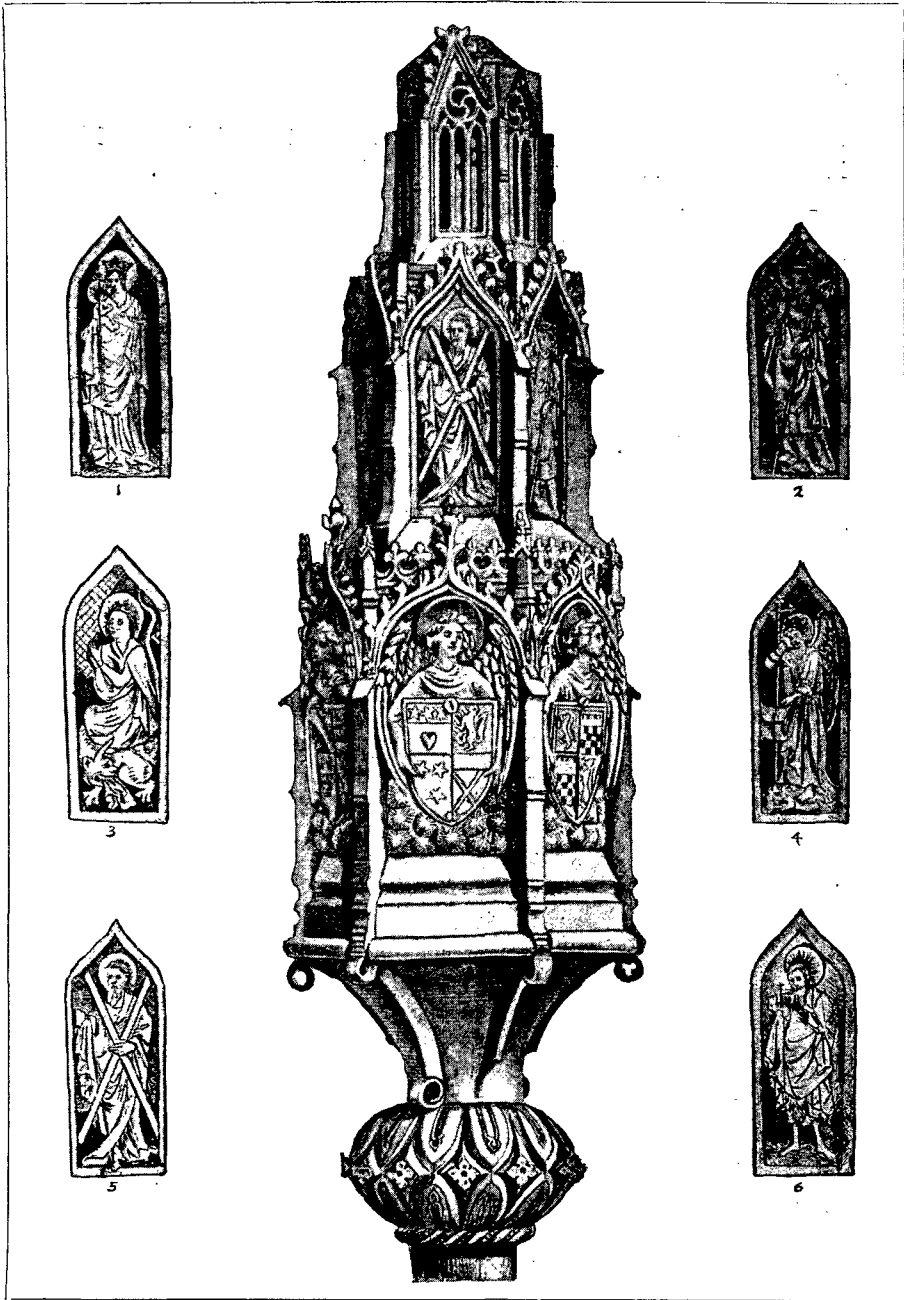
It is therefore assumed to be so, as it will be more convenient to describe the maces first, and then discuss the various questions which are involved in their identification.

MACE OF THE FACULTY OF ARTS, ST ANDREWS.

This mace (Plate III. No. 1) is of silver, partially gilt, and is executed in *repoussé* with cast figures and other enrichments, and with enamelled shields and figures. It measures over all 4 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and weighs (including the wooden core) 89 oz. 6 dwt.

It is in the form of a cylindrical rod ($1\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter), surmounted by a head of tabernacle work ($11\frac{1}{8}$ inches in height), and having a spread-out foot ($3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter), obliquely fluted, and covered, at its junction with the staff, by a hood similarly decorated.

The rod, which is entirely plain, is divided into three divisions of



Knop of the Mace of the Faculty of Arts of the University of St Andrews.

equal length by belchered bands, slightly flattened ($2\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches), each with a silver cable or twisted wire above and below.

The knop or head (Plate IV.) is of hexagonal form in plan, and consists of tabernacle work in three stages, divided from each other by intakes, and diminishing in size towards the top. The junction with the rod is effected by a very elaborately decorated and partially pierced neck-band of *repoussé* work, with leaves converging from above and below to the centre of the band. The spaces between the leaves are of concave lozenge outline, and are filled with projecting lozenge-shaped pyramids, the surfaces of which are filled with flowers elevated on minor pyramids. The knop is corbelled out with enriched bands at the angles. The lower stage is treated with moulded buttresses, finished off with crocketed pinnacles. An enriched crested cornice band marks the termination of the lower division. The top of each bay is surmounted by an ogee crocketed arch, and the figure of an angel with expanded wings, emerging from clouds—evidently once enamelled blue—occupies the whole of each recess. Each angel grasps with his hands and holds in front of him a heater-shaped shield. Upon all the shields (with exception of one which is solely engraved, and is a seventeenth century addition) armorial bearings have been executed in enamel. The enamel has been almost entirely chipped out, but the blazons have happily in each case been identified. They are as follows:—

- I. (*Or*) a lion rampant, within a double tressure flory counter-flory (*gules*)—the arms of Scotland (fig. 1).
- II. *Arg.* on a chevron (*gules*) between three oak trees eradicated (*vert*) a boar's head erased (*or*), fig. 2. (The tincture of the chevron is *or* on the shield, but this is probably the engraver's mistake.) On the top and sides of the shield are the letters A.I.S., the initials and arms of John Spotswood, Archbishop of St Andrews, 1615 to 1639, Primate of Scotland, Chancellor of the Kingdom, who died in 1639. This shield was probably added between 1615 and 1639. It is executed wholly by

¹ The tinctures have been ascertained from other sources, and where not visible on the shields they are enclosed in brackets.

engraving, and is precisely the style of shield found on archery medals and other plate of that period.

- III. (*Azure*) on a fess between three mascles (*arg.*) as many cross crosslets fitchée *gules*—the arms of Bishop Henry Wardlaw, founder of the University, 1403–1440 (fig. 3).



Fig. 1. Arms of Scotland,
Arts Mace, St Andrews
(actual size).



Fig. 2. Arms of Archbishop Spotswood,
Arts Mace, St Andrews
(actual size).

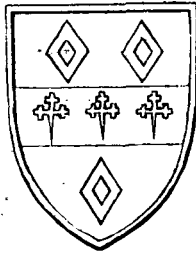


Fig. 3. Arms of Bishop Wardlaw,
Arts Mace, St Andrews
(actual size).

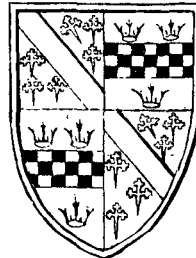


Fig. 4. Arms of the Earl of Mar,
Arts Mace, St Andrews
(actual size).

- IV. Quarterly 1st and 4th *azure* a bend dexter between six cross crosslets fitchée *or* (for Mar); 2nd and 3rd *or* a fess *chequy arg.* and *azure* between three antique crowns (*gules*) (for Garioch)—the arms of Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar, fourth son of King Robert II., who died in 1435 (fig. 4).

- V. Quarterly 1st *arg.* a man's heart (*gules*) on a chief (*azure*) three stars of the first (for Douglas); 2nd (*azure*) a lion rampant *arg.* (for Galloway); 3rd (*azure*) three stars *or* (for Murray); 4th (*or*) a saltire and chief (*gules*) (for Annandale)—the arms of Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, who was killed at the battle of Verneuil in 1424 (fig. 5).
- VI. Quarterly 1st and 4th *arg.* a lion rampant (*gules*); 2nd and 3rd a fess *chequy azure* and *arg.* in chief a label of four points (*gules*)—the arms of Robert, Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, who died in 1419 (fig. 6).

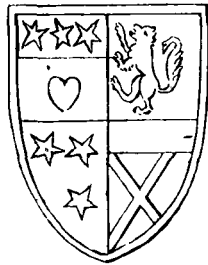


Fig. 5. Arms of the Earl of Douglas,
Arts Mace, St Andrews
(actual size).

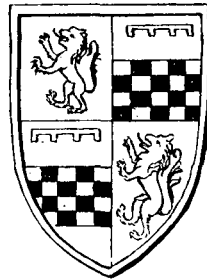


Fig. 6. Arms of the Duke of Albany,
Arts Mace, St Andrews
(actual size).

The second or middle stage of the head is of similar form in plan but smaller than the first, and has the tracery treatment continued. The six bays of this stage are filled with figures of saints, which it is evident have originally been executed most exquisitely in enamel of different colours. They are all unfortunately in a very much damaged condition, and the enamel is in some cases almost entirely chipped out. Two of them—the Virgin Mary (Plate IV. No. 1) and St Michael (Plate IV. No. 4)—are apparently intended to indicate the front and the back of the mace, and are executed in a style different from the other four. In their case the surface of the figures has been cut away to varying depths, and has been filled in with translucent enamel. This style of enamelling is called by the French *bassetaille*, and is frequently to be met with in

work of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and even earlier than that. The quality of the enamelling thus produced is noted for its beauty and delicacy. In the case of the other four figures, the field of the bay is enamelled, and the features of the figures are sketched out in enamelled lines executed by the well-known *champlevé* process. The figures are as follows :—

- I. Saint Michael, with a spear in the form of a cross crosslet, and with a shield ensigned with a red cross, fighting the dragon (Plate IV. No. 4).
- II. A nimbed figure trampling under foot a horned dragon, in illustration probably of the Vulgate version of the text, Gen. iii. 15, applied to the Virgin Mary—"She shall crush thy head, and thou shalt lie in wait for her heel" (Plate IV. No. 3).
- III. John the Baptist, holding in his right hand the Lamb, with the cross, from which wave streamers, the symbol of victory, while his left hand points towards it, in illustration of the text; "Behold the Lamb of God" (Plate IV. No. 6).
- IV. The Virgin Mary with the Infant Saviour on her right arm, while her left points towards Him (Plate IV. No. 1).
- V. Saint Andrew, with his cross before him (Plate IV. No. 5).
- VI. St Leonard represented as an abbot, with two fingers of his right hand elevated as if in the act of blessing, and with his crosier in his left hand. Two links of a chain are attached to his left wrist (Plate IV. No. 2).

The upper stage is carried up with buttresses, terminating in pinnacles. The face of each side is filled with open window tracery work. Five of the patterns are the same, while one, probably intended to indicate the front, is slightly different.

The foot of the rod or shaft swells out with a curve, and is surrounded by a twisted wire border. The junction of the rod and the foot is covered by a projecting hood, decorated with embossed oblique fluting.

The first mention of this mace is found in the Proceedings of the Faculty of Arts (*Acta facultatis Artium*) of the University of St
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Andrews, under the date 17th January 1414, when it was resolved to set aside five pounds for a mace.¹

On the 21st of May 1415 it was resolved to apply five pounds, which had been laid aside for the purchase of books, to the manufacture of the mace.²

After the deposition of the Antipope Benedict XIII. by the Council of Constance, when the Scottish Church had to decide whom they should acknowledge as Pope, the Faculty of Arts met in St Leonard's on the 9th August 1418, and transferred its obedience to Pope Martin V. It was decided at the same meeting to have the Faculty mace completed,³ so that the transference should be celebrated with due solemnity, and it was resolved that a sure and well-known person should be sent at the expense of the Faculty to the goldsmith—to whom apparently the order had been previously given—to induce him to come with the mace to St Andrews and complete its manufacture there, or if he was unwilling to do this, that he should send it with the messenger.

Two years later, on the 9th December 1419, there is another entry

¹ Item quod quinque libre remaneant limitate ad virgam facultatis.—*Acta facultatis Artium*. MS. Univ. Lib. St Andrews.

² In congregacione tenta in scola theologica xxj^o maij fuit deliberatum quod quinque libre limitate alias ad emendos libros nunc caperentur ad facturam virge.—*Ibid.*

³ Anno jmcccc^{mo}xvij^o. Congregacione Facultatis tenta apud Sanctum Leonardum, nona die mensis Augusti, fuit conclusum quod substrahenda est obediencia a Petro de Luna quondam nuncupato Benedicto, et quilibet Magister Facultatis paucis exceptis substraxit ab eo obedienciam et obedit Martino. Dedit eciam proponentem ad hoc proponendum in facie Concilij coram Gubernatore et tribus Statibus regni ex parte Facultatis Artium, ad inducendum Dominum Gubernatorem et totum Concilium ad solempniter celebrandam subtractionem a dicto Petro de Luna, et ad declarandam obedienciam ecclesie Scoticane pro domino nostro Papa Martino Quinto. Item quod solempnitas subtractionis prorogaretur usque ad Generale Concilium ob reuerenciam Domini Gubernatoris et tocius regni. Et in casu quo Gubernator non vult facere subtractionem etc. sed vult perseuerare in obediencia Petro de Luna, et mittere sibi nuncios ut quidam dicunt, tunc Facultas solempnizabit subtractionem etc. Item quod mittendus esset aliquis certus et notabilis aurifabro, eciam expensis Facultatis si oporteat, ad inducendum ipsum ut veniat cum virga et perficiat eam in ista ciuitate, et si non velit quod ipse mittat virgam cum predicto viro, prestita sibi cautione pro opere suo.—*Acta Rectorum*, fol. 4, MS. Univ. Lib., St Andrews.

in the Proceedings of the Faculty regarding the mace.¹ It was then agreed that it should be placed in the custody of Master Laurence of Lindores² until he should be repaid the money he had advanced towards its manufacture. It also appears from the same minute that the Earl of Douglas had helped the Faculty in procuring it, and that it had cost 45 merks and 20 pence, less the cost of a cover and case, and also of the charcoal.

It will be more convenient to give the other references to this mace when the history of the three maces collectively is narrated.

MACE OF THE FACULTY OF CANON LAW (NOW THE THEOLOGICAL
FACULTY), ST ANDREWS.

This mace (Plate III. No. 2) is made throughout of silver partially gilded, and is wrought in *repoussé*, flat chasing, casting, and stamping. It measures over all 4 feet $1\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length, and weighs (exclusive of the wooden core in the shaft) 83 oz. 14 dwt. It is in the form of a cylindrical rod, with a spread-out foot at the one end and a head of tabernacle work at the other.

The shaft is round and entirely plain, and is divided into three divisions of nearly equal length by belchered bands, decorated, with the exception of the lowest band, with leaf ornamentation.

The knop or head (Plate V.) is of hexagonal form in plan, and consists of tabernacle work in three stages, divided from each other by intakes, and diminishing in size towards the top.

The junction with the staff is effected by an elaborately decorated

¹ 9th Dec. 1419. Fuit conclusum quod virga facultatis poneretur in custodia M. Laurencii de Londoris donec sibi foret satisfactum de summa pecunie quam ipse deposuit ad facturam virge in qua exposuit facultas cum adjutorio Domini de Duglace xlv marcas et xxđ. exceptis sumptibus faciend. circa casulam et capsam pro ejus custodia et sumptibus carbonum ligneorum, viz. ijs.—*Acta facultatis Artium*. MS. Univ. Lib. St Andrews.

² Laurence of Lindores was Abbot of Scone in 1411. He was one of the originators of St Andrews University, the first Professor of Canon Law there, and also the first Rector. In July 1432, when elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts, he is styled Rector of Creich, Master of Arts, Licentiate of Theology, Inquisitor for Scotland, &c. This office of Dean he held till his death in 1437.—Laing's Knox, *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 497; also *Lindores Abbey*, by Alexander Laing, pp. 103-106.

and belchered neck-band of *repoussé* work, with leaves pierced with a cusped pattern converging obliquely from above and below; between these are lozenges, alternated with small cinquefoils. In the centres of the lozenges are introduced lions' heads.

The knop is corbelled out with enriched bands at the angles, and is terminated at each angle by a grotesque head or gurgyle.

The lower stage is treated with moulded buttresses, finished off with crocketed pinnacles. An enriched crested cornice-band marks the termination of the lower division. Each bay is surmounted by an ogee crocketed arch, and is filled with the figure of an angel with expanded wings, and arms hanging down as if originally they had grasped a shield. The shields, which probably had armorial bearings, are all missing; but that they originally existed, as in the mace of the Faculty of Arts, is unquestionable. The holes in which the screws have been inserted for fixing them to the figures still remain.

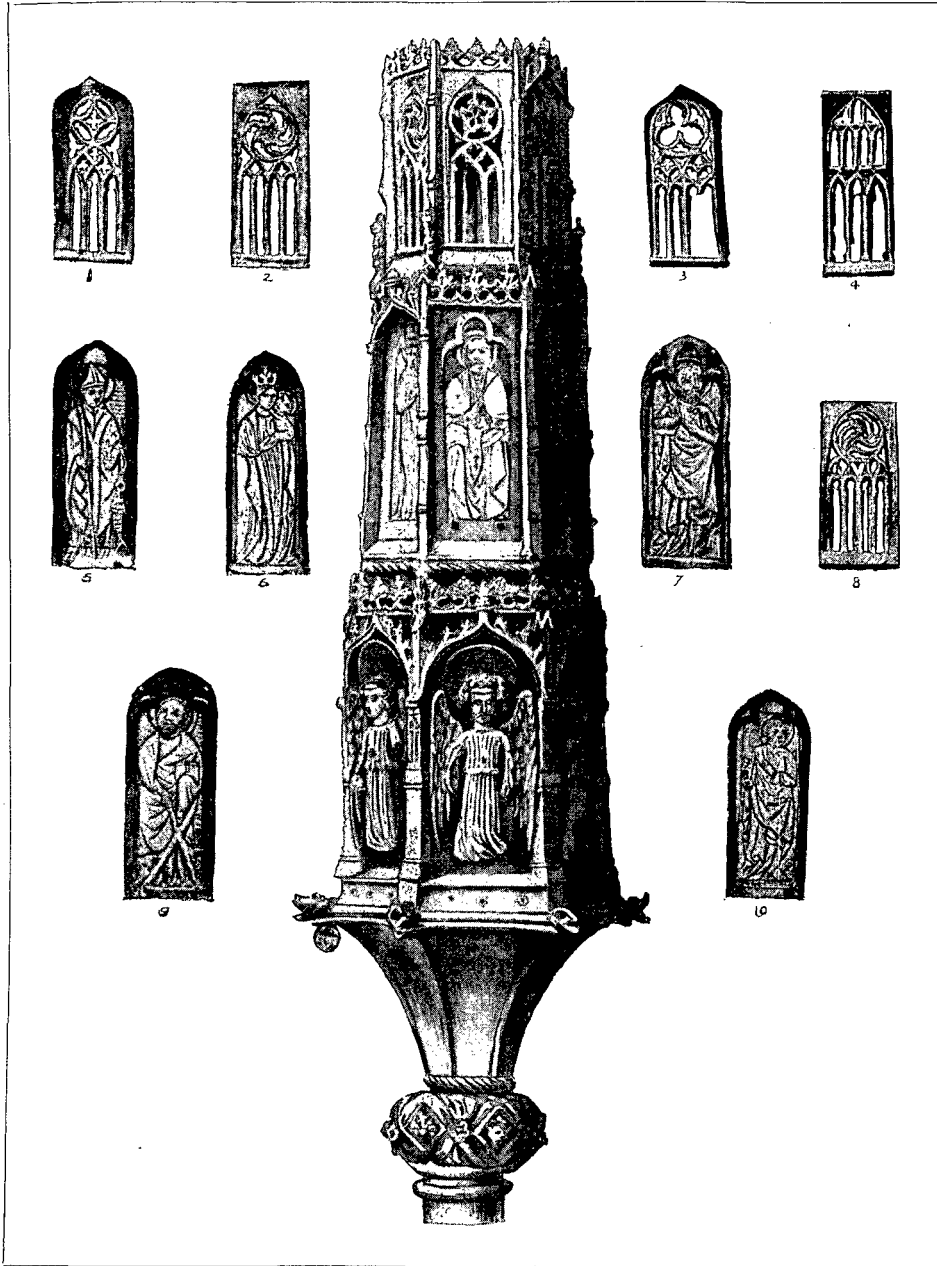
The second or middle stage is of similar form in plan, and has the tracery treatment continued. The six bays are filled with representations executed in flat chasing of—1. The Trinity (Plate V., centre of knop); 2. The Virgin Mary (No. 6); 3. St Mungo (No. 5); 4. The Good Shepherd (No. 7); 5. St Andrew (No. 9); 6. St Peter (No. 10).

The upper stage is carried up with buttresses, terminating in pinnacles. The face of each side is pierced in imitation of window tracery. All the designs are different, some of them being rarely found in Scottish work (Plate V., Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 8).

The foot of the rod swells out with a curve, and is decorated on its outer edge with a stamped egg and dart pattern, on its inner edge with a stamped pattern of bosses or rings, and on the line of the curve with four flat ornamental plates attached loosely to it. These decorations at once proclaim the foot to be an addition most probably of the seventeenth century.

The junction of the rod and the foot is effected by a moulded band decorated with a fluted pattern, and this also appears to have been added at the same time as the foot.

The first mention of this mace occurs in a Register of the Vestments



Knop of the Mace of the Faculty of Canon Law of the University of St Andrews.

of the College of St Salvator—undated, but evidently drawn up shortly after 1461. In it are specifically mentioned the two maces belonging to the Faculties of Arts and of Canon Law, and the mace of St Salvator's College is described sufficiently to enable it to be identified. But no records exist from which it may be learned exactly when or where this mace was made. There need, however, be little doubt on either of these points. Its architectural features point to the early portion of the fifteenth century, and its workmanship is manifestly Scottish.

This old Scottish mace is therefore a most interesting study, as well as a very valuable relic. It appears to be the work of one of the early burgh craftsmen, and, as far as I know, it is the oldest specimen of such work that has survived to our times. It bears no hall-mark of any kind, and this in itself points to its being antecedent to 1457, when such marks were imposed by Act of Parliament. The lack of such a mark, however, prevents its maker being traced, which otherwise might have been possible. But it is interesting to speculate, as far as our knowledge permits and the mace itself reveals to us, on the capabilities of the craftsman who fashioned it—on the nature of his training, his knowledge of art, and on his technical skill, as compared with that of contemporary craftsmen on the Continent. This mace throws a flood of light on these points, and the maces of the two Faculties are an interesting and valuable object-lesson on the latter point.

Numerous traces are to be found of isolated goldsmiths carrying on their trade in a few of the smaller burghs, and of a comparatively small group of them in Edinburgh, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. It is impossible to judge of their work, for none of it save this mace is known to exist; but even if we had nothing more, this mace is sufficient to show that better work was not produced in Scotland during the two following centuries. This mace bespeaks its artificer to have been more of an artist than a craftsman. It is easy to see even now the great difficulty he encountered in carrying out the numerous solderings of its complicated structure, and also how in the end he overcame them by a plentiful use of soft solder and riveting. This has led to the mace showing the wear and tear of four and a half centuries, and to

its appearing now in a much more dilapidated condition than that of the Faculty of Arts.

Assuming that the goldsmith had the other mace before him as a pattern, he has on the whole used it more as a guide than a copy. Where he has departed from the model, he has improved its lines and enriched its decoration. He has shown at the same time a considerable knowledge of the details of Gothic architecture. The line of the corbelling is stronger ; the elevation of the buttresses is simpler, and in some respects more correct in style ; the addition of the gurgoyles adds both to the dignity and richness of the head ; the cornice-bands are quaint in feeling and more elaborate in detail ; and the designs of the window tracery are much more varied, and include some of the rarest designs of that period.

His weakest point is the treatment of the figure subjects in the second stage, which are neither to be compared for a moment with the exquisite enamels of the French mace nor with some of the Scottish niello inlaying of the same period.

That the mace was made during the period it represents may be inferred from the general practice of Scottish goldsmiths. They rarely reproduced patterns of another period without leaving the impress of their own individuality upon them ; and even when an alteration or addition had to be made, it was almost invariably done in the style prevalent at the time of the alteration. Abundant evidence of this may be found in many of the additions of bowls and feet to old communion-cups. An example of it is to be found in this mace itself, where the lowest band and the swelling-out foot have evidently been added in the latter portion of the seventeenth century. The addition of Archbishop Spotswood's arms to the Faculty of Arts mace is another example, and there are also several additions noticeable on the mace of St Salvator's College. It may thus be readily inferred that when no attempt was made to make even an alteration harmonise with the original, it is improbable that a design of a past period would be reproduced *in toto*.

Although this characteristic of the Scottish goldsmiths may cause regret from an artistic point of view, it is exceedingly useful to the archæologist, as all old Scottish silver-plate, to those who can read it, bears its history and chronology on its face.

It may now be desirable to give the reasons which have led me to allot these two maces to the respective Faculties of Arts and Canon Law.

No records of the ancient Faculty of Canon Law—now the Theological Faculty—are known to be in existence, nor are any documents extant that throw any light on the circumstances under which their mace was obtained. In considering, therefore, the evidence which leads to the identification of the two maces, we are left entirely dependent upon the documentary evidence relating to the Arts mace, and upon what may be gathered from an examination of the maces themselves. The matter is happily in this position, that we know there were two maces, and that they belonged to the two Faculties mentioned. If one of them is proved to belong to one of the Faculties, the other one must necessarily belong to the other Faculty.

(1.) It may be convenient to consider first what light the shields of arms on the Arts mace throw on the question. The arms of Bishop Wardlaw and of Archbishop Spotswood require but little comment. The former we would naturally expect to find on a mace made for the University he founded; and the latter, being manifestly a seventeenth century addition, has no bearing on the question.

The arms of Scotland may also be passed over. This leaves the shields of the Earl of Mar, the Earl of Douglas, and the Duke of Albany. These three noblemen were the most outstanding figures in Scottish history during the first two decades of the fifteenth century; and doubtless, owing to the captivity of King James I. in England, the duty devolved on them of acting on the part of the King in the negotiations with the Pope for founding the University. Their names do not, however, appear in this connection in the Bull, nor yet in any records as benefactors to the University. The names of the Earls of Mar and of Douglas are found along with those of Bishop Wardlaw and others as witnesses to the confirmation of the charter of the University by James I. in 1432;¹ but this probably indicates nothing more than that these noblemen were then in attendance at Court.

In considering the matter critically, the principal point of importance is to note when they died; for obviously, if their arms were attached

¹ Lyon's *History of St Andrews*, vol. ii. p. 230.

to the mace during their lifetime (for it is hardly likely that posthumous honours were bestowed on them), the date of their death points to a time antecedent to which the mace must have been made.

The Earl of Mar died in 1435, and the Earl of Douglas was killed at the battle of Verneuil, in Normandy, in 1424. Robert, Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, died in 1420. Although the quarterings of this shield are the same on the seals both of Robert the first Duke, and of Murdoch his son who succeeded him in the regency, and was executed in 1425, there can be little doubt that the services and position of the father were much more likely to find recognition by the University than those of the son. We may therefore safely ascribe this shield to the father, the famous Regent.

The Proceedings of the Faculty of Arts show that they laid aside money for the mace in 1414 and 1415; that in 1418 the order for it had already been given, and that in 1419 it was in their possession. The conclusion, therefore, on historic grounds alone, that the mace with the shields of arms is that of the Faculty of Arts, is almost irresistible.

(2.) Another circumstance that might help in elucidating the point, if the difficulties surrounding it were not so great, is the matter of cost. There was expended on the Arts mace 45 merks 20 *d.* It is difficult to state with any degree of precision to what this might be equivalent in our time. But even a very rough calculation is quite sufficient for our purpose, as the value of the two maces differs very widely. If the relative value of 45 merks may be stated at £500 or £600, it is evident that this sum is much more applicable to the mace with the shields of arms than the other. The latter very probably cost from a third to a fourth of the former.

(3.) Another point of some little importance should be considered along with this, for it agrees with the same conclusion: that is, the reference in the minutes of 1419 to the help the Faculty received from Lord Douglas. It is difficult to determine from the words used—*cum adjutorio Domini de Duglase*—the exact nature of the help afforded. But from the context it appears clear that it consisted not so much in contributing towards the funds as in helping the Faculty to expend them. Although the mace with the shields bears no hall-mark, it

appears *ex facie* to be of French manufacture, and it was very likely that the Faculty desired to have their mace made in Paris, for not only was the best goldsmith's work of that period produced there, but the constitution of the University itself was modelled on the pattern of that at Paris. The Earl of Douglas was probably in a better position than any other in Scotland to assist them in this matter. He was on intimate relations with the French Court, and appears to have been in Paris in 1412. His son paid a visit to the court of the Duke of Burgundy in 1413; and although it is not quite clear, it seems probable that Douglas returned again to Paris the following year. He was thus from his experience peculiarly fitted to help the Faculty in making arrangements for the manufacture of the mace in Paris.

Very fine goldsmith's work, enriched with enamels, was produced in London in the fifteenth century, and it may be well to consider the possibility of Douglas arranging for its manufacture there. The Earl was taken prisoner at the battle of Shrewsbury in 1402, and was nominally in captivity till 1413. He was frequently permitted, in terms of arrangements made with the King of England, to return to Scotland for periods of time, varying from two to twelve months. But on the last occasion, when he was released on parole, he never returned. This led to strongly-worded remonstrances and to peremptory demands; and ultimately, it is believed, his ransom was paid off. Such strained relations as these would not facilitate the making of arrangements for the manufacture of the mace in London; and it does seem more probable, from the circumstance that the Earl's good relations with France lasted till his death,¹ that the order was sent to Paris.

(4.) Further confirmation of this view of the case may be inferred from the resolution of the Faculty of Arts, in the minute of 1418, to send a special messenger at their expense to the goldsmith to induce him to come to St Andrews and complete the mace there, or to obtain it from him. If the order for the mace had been given to a Scottish goldsmith, it was most probably in Edinburgh that it was being made; and it does not

¹ The Earl of Douglas was created Duke of Touraine for services rendered to Charles the Seventh of France, and shortly afterwards he was slain in the sanguinary battle of Verneuil in 1424.

seem likely that the Faculty would have been so anxious about obtaining it when they could so easily have sent for it, nor would they have thought it necessary to minute the resolution that they would pay the trifling expenses for such a short journey. The resolution appears to point to a longer and more expensive journey, and agrees better with the supposition that the mace was being made in Paris.

The allusion to the charcoal—*carbonum ligneorum*—would also lead to the supposition that the goldsmith had complied with the request of the Faculty, and come to St Andrews to finish the mace. The excepting of such a trifling item as this would not have been stipulated for by a Parisian goldsmith for work manufactured in Paris, but it is quite a likely exception when it referred to work to be done in St Andrews, where it might be difficult, as well as expensive, to procure suitable charcoal for firing his forge.

(5.) The last point to consider is, whether the one mace bears traces of being in any points a copy of the other. There are several indications which point to that conclusion. (1) They are almost precisely the same in size and in the general lines of their design and construction. They have both rods, divided off in the same manner with bands, and they have both not only the same arrangement of tabernacle work in their heads, but the same class of details in each stage. Much importance cannot, however, be attached to this general resemblance, as the tabernacle work of Crosiers of the same period shows a striking similarity to that in these maces. (2) In a few of the details more convincing evidence will be found. It may suffice to refer to one only. The most striking resemblance may be seen in some parts of the decoration of the neck-bands at the junction of the head and rod. Although the skill with which the design has been worked out differs widely in the two maces, and one of them is much damaged, yet in the piercing of the leaves, with their cusped openings, in the introduction of the lozenges, and in the pattern of the cable surmounting the neckband, a very considerable resemblance may be noted. There are several other points which, if necessary, could be entered into, but enough has perhaps been said to justify us in allotting the maces, as has been done, to the respective Faculties.

THE MACE OF SAINT SALVATOR'S COLLEGE, ST ANDREWS.

This mace (Plate III. No. 3) is of silver, gilded all over, and measures 3 feet 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length. It is in the form of a rod, decorated with spiral bands, continuing from the base to the top, with chasing consisting of the letters I K linked by a cord with tassels, sur-



mounted by a crown, repeated at intervals, with columbine flowers between (fig. 7). The rod is divided into four divisions of equal length by knops of Gothic character. The head is finished with an elaborately designed open shrine (Plate VI.), containing a statuette or image of the Saviour (Sanctus Salvator, to whom the college was dedicated) standing upon a globe, and with both hands elevated as if in the act of blessing. The shrine is of hexagonal form in plan, and is vaulted over at the top. The angles are carried up with moulded buttresses, terminated with crocketed pinnacles. On three of the sides the open part of the shrine has angular projecting canopies, with traceried sides and rich ornamental cresting. The alternate sides are filled with delicate tracery work similar to the treatment of windows in ecclesiastical buildings of the fifteenth century. Each side, both above the canopies and the traceried openings, is terminated with crocketed gablets. Midway in the height of the shrine there are decorations of castellated turret form projecting from three of the angles. These are open at the top, and appear at one time to have contained figures, possibly of angels. The base of an object resembling a figure is still to be seen inside one of them. The projections are corbelled out about a third of the height of the whole shrine, and form

in their treatment overhanging canopies to niches, in which are placed gateways.

At the entrance to these sit grotesque figures, chained up with a twisted rope around their waist, having in their right hands knobbed batons or clubs, and in their left, shields of playful renaissance outline, while between their straddled legs are heater-shaped shields engraved with the following arms :—

(1) A saltire within a tressure flory counterflory for the See of St Andrews (fig. 8). This differs from the coat of the See as given in the Lyon Register, *circa* 1572, which is—*azure a saltire argent*.¹

(2) A chevron (*gules*) between three cross crosslets fitchée (*sable*) within a double tressure flory counterflory (*of the second*) for Bishop Kennedy (fig. 9).

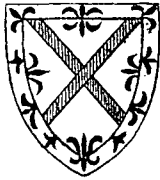


Fig. 8. Arms of the See of St Andrews, on the Mace of St Salvator's College (actual size).



Fig. 9. Arms of Bishop Kennedy, on the Mace of St Salvator's College (actual size).



Fig. 10. Arms of the Church of Rome, on the Mace of St Salvator's College (actual size).

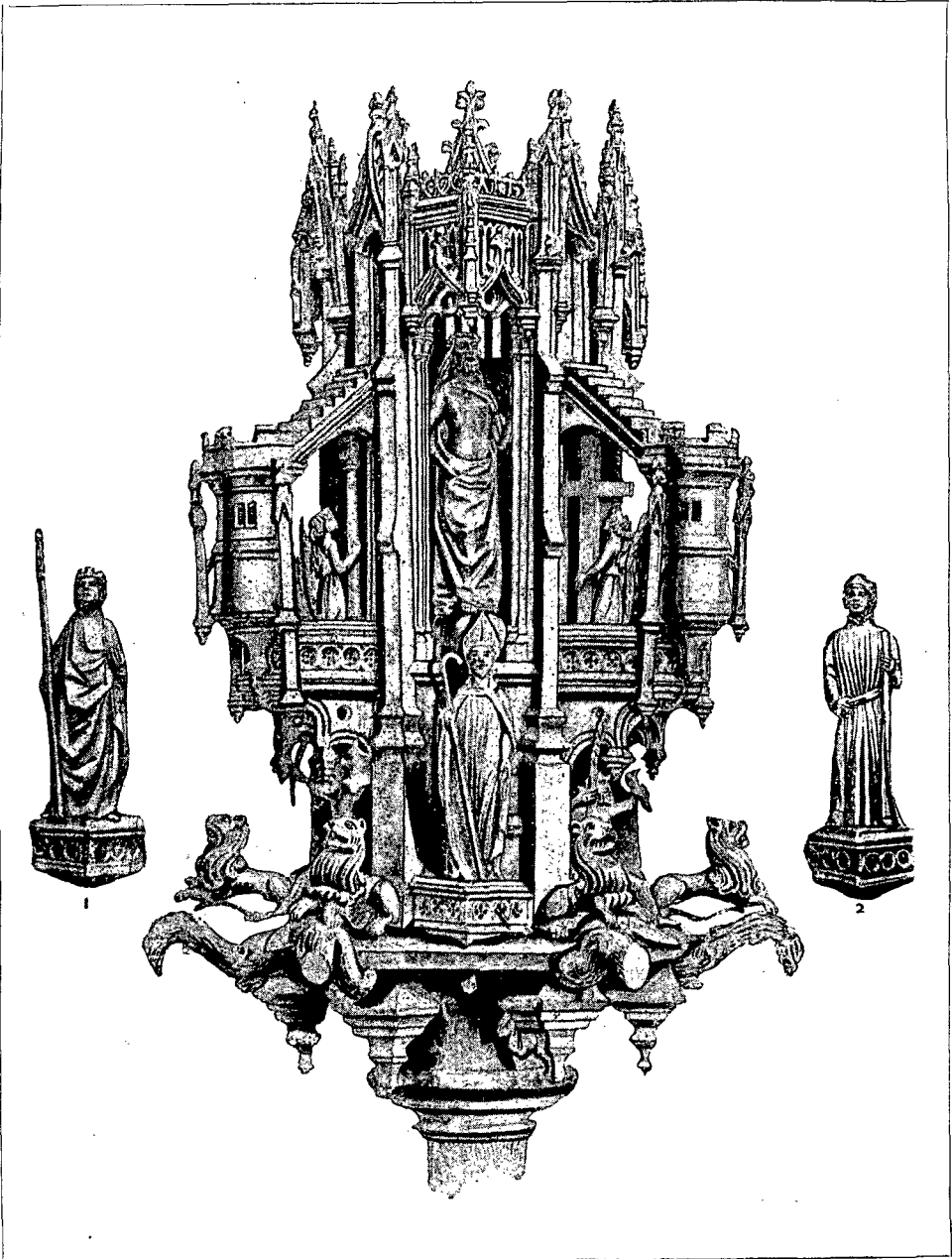
(3) An imperial orb within a tressure flory counterflory for the Church of Rome (fig. 10).²

Only one of these, the arms of Bishop Kennedy, is of a date contemporary with the manufacture of the mace. The others have evidently been added at a much later date.

Inside the little lower projections are figures of angels standing apparently as a guard to the central figure, and bearing respectively in

¹ The tressure engraved on this shield is peculiar, being a single tressure flory counterflory. This is, however, probably a mistake of the engraver.

² This has hitherto been ascribed to the Church of Rome, but the authority for so stating it has not been ascertained. *Gules an orb or* was the badge of the electoral dignity attached to the Palatinate of the Rhine; the ball signifies universal empire, and the cross the ascendancy of Christianity.



Knop of the Mace of St Salvator's College of the University of St Andrews.

their hands a cross, a pillar, and a spear—three symbols of the Passion. The junction of the knop with the staff is formed by an enriched neckband, from which the knop rises by a vaulted curve with moulded ribs at the angles, and from the apices of which project raguly stems with moulded pendants, which are surmounted by lions passant, while the three spaces alternate to those occupied by the grotesque figures are filled with three statuettes representing a king, a bishop, and a mendicant. The last figure has been previously described as that of an abbot or a dignity of the University; but the dress leaves little room for doubt that it is intended for a mendicant of the Order of the Observantines. Their dress was a grey cloak and cowl, with a rope round the waist, and they went about begging with a bag. In this figure there appear the flowing robe¹ and the cowl, with a girdle round the waist, to which is attached a wallet on the right side, and there is also a bag or bundle slung over the left shoulder (Plate VI. No. 2).

The whole design of the shrine is evidently symbolical, and may possibly represent the association of Christianity and learning. The dungeon, with its barred and guarded gateways, may represent the darkness of heathendom; while Christianity is shown in the person of the Saviour, as bringing in His train light and learning. The three figures may be symbolical of the universality of salvation, extending from the king and the bishop to the mendicant.

Another interpretation is given by Lyon in his *History*,² where he conjectures that the Saviour and the angels may denote the church triumphant; the three figures the church militant; and the space below, with its demon guardians, hell, or the troubles through which the Christian was to pass on this earth.

Besides the shrine there are three knops, which decrease in size gradually toward the button. That nearest the shrine (Plate VII. No. 1)

¹ Bishop Kennedy founded the Monastery of the Franciscan or Greyfriars in St Andrews. This Order of Mendicants was of two kinds, the Conventuals and the Observantines. The former was the older of the two, but it was the latter whose monastery was in St Andrews. They obtained their distinguishing name from *observing* the rule of St Francis, their founder, more rigidly than the others, by going barefooted and wearing no shirts.—Lyon's *History of St Andrews*, vol. I. p. 226.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 199.

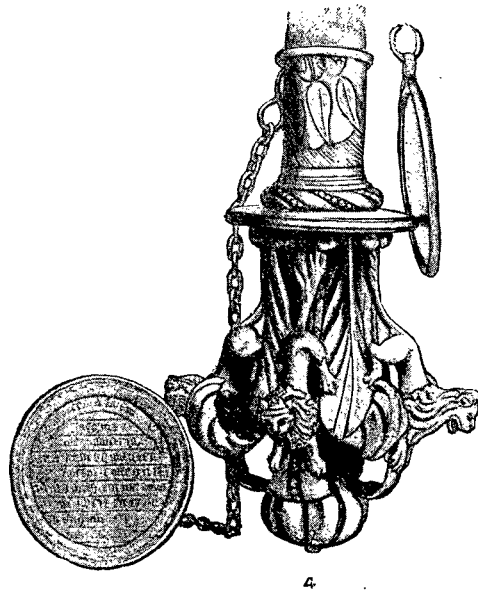
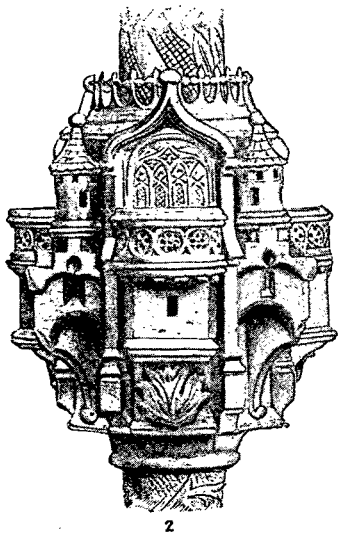
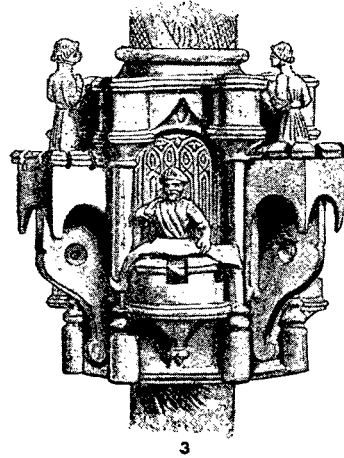
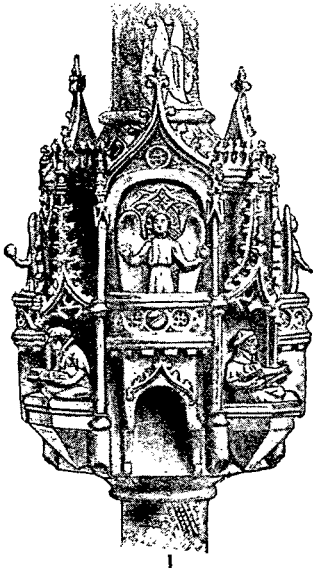
is similar to the latter in plan, but is of smaller dimensions. Buttresses likewise decorate its angles, and three of the sides are carried up on crocketed gables with finial terminations. On all the three sides are small pulpit projections, each occupied by the figure of an angel. In the left hand of one is a small parcel, while the other is empty; another has in each hand a similar parcel; while the third has two larger parcels. The intention is apparently to represent the parable of the talents, and the figures are symbolical of the servants to whom were entrusted respectively one, five, and ten talents. It is curious to note that the original interpretation of these figures has been misapprehended by the restorers of two different periods. On two of the figures the wings are of one pattern and in the third of another, but none of them shows the original workmanship which appears on the wings of the angel guards surrounding the central figure. It is questionable if these figures originally had wings at all. The other sides have richly carved projecting canopies placed over similar pulpit projections, which are in turn occupied by Scripture readers with monk's habit and tonsured heads. On the plain portions of each of the sides are slight decorations of tracery work chased.

The two knops below this one (Plate VII. Nos. 2 and 3) repeat in plan that of the others, but are made in a less decorative manner. The pulpit projections are of similar design. The lower series of No. 3 contains three figures, which are represented in the act of preaching from a manuscript scroll, while the other three have their faces turned inwards towards the central figure of the shrine, and are represented in the attitude of watchful adoration.

The staff is terminated with a boldly formed fleuron inverted (Plate VII. No. 4). It is square in plan, with four leaves curving outwards at each angle, between each of which another leaf is introduced curving inwards, and upon these rest four lions, apparently passant, treated in an exceedingly realistic manner.

On a circular band or washer inserted on the rod immediately above the fleuron is the following inscription:¹ "Johne Maiel govldsmche

¹ The name of Jean Mayelle is found as one of the six wardens (gardes) of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of Paris for the year 1460 in a list of wardens printed first



The three knobs and fleuron on the rod of the Mace of St Salvator's College, St Andrews.

and verlete off chamere til ye Lord ye Dalfyne hes made yis masse in ye toune of Paris ye zer of our Lorde MCCCCLXI" (fig. 11).



Fig. 11. Inscription on Washer attached to the Mace of St Salvator's College (actual size).

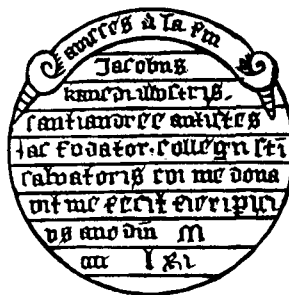


Fig. 12. Inscription on Seal attached to the Mace of St Salvator's College (actual size).

Attached to the rod by a chain is a silver-gilt pendant in the form of a large seal, upon the face of which is engraved a record of the donation:—"Avissés a la fin. Jacobus Kanedi illvstris Santi Andree antistes ac fvdator Collegii Stī Salvatoris cvi me donavit me fecit fieri Parisivs ano dñi MCCCCLXI" (fig. 12).

There is also attached by another chain a circular silver-gilt medal with the following inscription rudely engraved (fig. 13): "Dr Alex^r Skene Collegij S^{ti} Salvatoris nostri præpositus me temporis injuria læsam et mutilam publicis dicti Collegij sumptibus reparandam curavit Anno Dom 1685."

in Le Roy, *Statuts et privilèges du corps des marchands orfèvres-joailliers de la ville de Paris*. Paris, 1734 and 1759. The list was reprinted by Lacroix & Seré in their *Histoire de l'orfèvrerie-joaillerie*. Paris, 1850. It may be interesting to note that it was not uncommon for goldsmiths, enamellers, painters, and others who followed art crafts and enjoyed royal patronage, to be included, as in the case of Jean Mayelle, in one or other of the royal households. A few instances of this may be given. In 1398 Godefroy Le Fèvre was "varlet de chambre et garde des coffres de M. S. le Duc d'Orleans." In 1390 Jehan du Vivier was "orfèvre et varlet de chambre du Roy N S." In 1470 Olivier le Mauvais was "varlet de chambre et barbier du corps" (de Louis XI.). In 1397 Jehan de Trozes was "sellier et varlet de chambre du Roy N S."

The mace is both a solid and a substantial piece of workmanship. It is constructed in nine general divisions, consisting of the shrine, the capital or neck-band of the shaft, two knops, four lengths of the shaft, and the foot, all fixed together by an iron rod running up the centre of the shaft. Each of the sections is made in many different pieces, fitted together and fixed by screws or by plates attached to them and spread out inside. The work throughout has been executed by casting solid the figures, buttresses, and canopies, and afterwards chasing them all over. Only the shaft and some of the details are executed solely by chasing. Many of the figures and other exposed portions of the mace were missing when Lyon wrote his *History of St Andrews*, and the fact

is noted by him. These have since been replaced, and the mace has been entirely regilt.

The weights of the different portions of the mace are as follows:—the shrine, 67 oz. 4 dwt.; staff, knops, and foot, 70 oz. 15 dwt.; seal pendant and chain, 4 oz. 15 dwt.; medal and chain, 1 oz. 3 dwt.;—in all, 143 oz. 17 dwt.

The architectural features of the mace are similar to what is found on ecclesiastical edifices of the fifteenth century, being all of the decorated phase of Gothic. The design is, however, a little composite in character, specially in the parts where the little castellated turrets are introduced. Notwithstanding this, it is exactly what might be expected in a mace manufactured at the time (1461) and in the place (Paris) when and where this mace was made.

Bishop Kennedy, who presented this mace to the College of St Salvator, was a prelate of great eminence in the fifteenth century. He

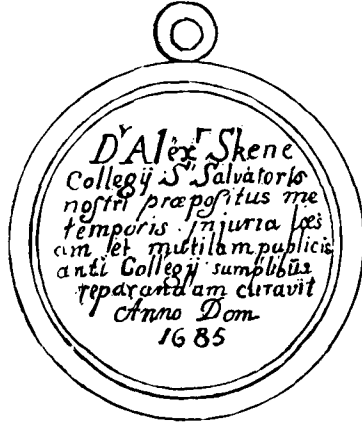


Fig. 13. Inscription on Medal attached to the Mace of St Salvator's College (actual size).

was Bishop of St Andrews from 1440 till his death in 1465. He founded St Salvator's College in 1450, and richly endowed it out of his ecclesiastical revenues. In all his public works he was unusually munificent, and we are told that he gave to the College of St Salvator "not only stoles for the priests, dalmatics, tunics and copes, but chalices, goblets, basins, ewers, candelabra, censers and crosses, and an image of the Saviour nearly two cubits long, besides various gold and silver utensils; also large bells, small musical bells, and silk tapestry for adorning the church; in short, there was nothing outside or inside the College which did not evince the piety, taste, and munificence of the founder." Of all these treasures this mace alone survives.

The three maces which have been described have a collective as well as an individual history. The first mention of them together occurs in the Register of Vestments and Jewels of St Salvator's College, an undated inventory, which from internal evidence appears to have been drawn up about 1461 or a little later. There are two manuscript copies of this list extant, differing in some details, but substantially the same so far as the maces are concerned. The entry in the inventory is as follows:—

Item, ane beddell wand syluer and owrgylt with ane chenze and ane seill of the sam. Item, tua uther beddele wandis of siluer perteninge to the Univer-site, ane for the faculty of Art and the tother for the faculty of Canone.

For about a century no mention occurs regarding them, till on the 1st July 1552 a list of the goods pertaining to the Church of St Salvator's College was drawn up, at the appointment of a new sacrist (M. Thomas Mylis), in which they are described as follows:—

Item, thre beddell wandis siluer and ourgilt ane thairof with ane chenze and sele all siluer in manibus.

In an undated document (in the handwriting of the latter half of the sixteenth century, probably about the time of the Reformation), entitled "The geir of St Salvatoris College laid for kepeine in the Castell of Sanctandrouis," they are again mentioned as follows:—

Apud Johanem Vat Byschop James Kennedeis best wand with the seyll and the cheynze. Apud Dominum Rectorem the vther tua wandis, and the lwiddis and cappis apud bedellum.

It is difficult, on account of this list being undated, to identify with accuracy the occasion of the impending danger which may have led to the removal of the maces to the castle.

It might possibly have been in 1559, after the sermon preached by John Knox at Perth led to the destruction of the Carthusian, Franciscan, and Dominican monasteries in that town, and also to the destruction of religious buildings in some towns of the south coast of Fife, through which the Reformer passed immediately after. Or it may have been in the autumn of the same year, when the city of St Andrews was in danger of attack from the French troops under General D'Oysel, who marched from Stirling into Fife, for the purpose of plundering and burning the towns and villages on their route, and more especially St Andrews: or it may have been in 1544 from fear of the "burning and slaying expedition."¹ Or it may be that, in fear of the first danger, they had been deposited in the castle; and when the second was impending, they were removed to Bishop Kennedy's tomb, in the hope that probably the French Romanist soldiery would be unlikely to seek them there.

There was no one probably either to give directions or to take precautions for their preservation; for although the Professors of St Mary's and St Leonard's Colleges for the most part joined the Reformers, the Principal and most of the Regents of St Salvator's College adhered to the ancient faith and quitted their places, and it was in the custody of the latter they appear to have been. It is perhaps useless to conjecture when they were deposited in the castle, and what may have led to it, but it is clear that about this period they were stored there, and this is the last trace we get of their history till the commencement of the seventeenth century.

The next evidence of the maces being in actual use is furnished by the addition of Archbishop Spotswood's arms to the mace of the Faculty of Arts. Spotswood was Archbishop from 1615 till 1639, and the manner which the shield is engraved affords abundant proof of its having been added at that time. In all probability the arms of Pope Benedict XIII., who granted the Bull for the establishment of the University, were

¹ Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*, 2nd ed., vol. iii. p. 233.

originally on the mace, and it is quite what might be expected to find that his shield should be removed after the Reformation. The occasion which may have led to the addition of Archbishop Spotswood's arms was the visit of James VI. to St Andrews in 1617, when we know he was received in great state. The maces were very likely all used in the procession on that occasion.

The next reference to the maces occurs during the Civil Wars, and is a very interesting one.

It is well known that, during the troubles of that period, the Regalia of Scotland were deposited in Dunnottar Castle for safety, but the fact that many other articles of considerable value were also deposited there about the same time has not received equal prominence. In the "*True Account of the Preservation of the Regalia*," by Sir George Ogilvie of Barras, it is mentioned that, in addition to the Regalia, he had also preserved in Dunnottar Castle the registers and papers of the Kirk of Scotland, the monuments and charters of the University of St Andrews, and the principal papers and charters belonging to the family of Hamilton, for all of which he had on delivery taken receipts, which he caused to be registered for preservation in the Books of Council and Session. The letter and receipt for the "Monuments of the University of St Andrews" were registered on the 6th March 1701, and are as follows:—

"Missive Letter, University of St Andrews, to George Ogilvie.

"In presence, &c., Compeared Mr Thomas Veitch, advocate, as procurator &c.—Right Honourable,—The University of St Andrews doth return hearty thanks to your honour for the favour and courtesy you was pleased to shew unto them in receaveing their ancient monuments unto your custody and preserving the same from danger untill this time; and now, seeing safety is expected for them in this place, they desyre yow may be pleased to deliver them to the bearer hereof, Robert Yoole, one of the servitors, to whom they have committed the care of conveying them hither again. And so they rest your humble servants,

(*Sic subscribitur*) ROB. HOYMAN,
Clerk to the University for the tyme.

"Dated from St Andrews, the 5th of Sepr. 1651.

"Follows the receipt on the end of the said missive:—

"I, Rot. Youle, Servr. to the University of St. Andrews, grant me to have received from George Ogilvie of Barraws, Governour of Dunnoatre, the monuments of St Andrew, put in ther for safety.—Subt. att Dunnoatre, the 11th August 1651. (Sic subtr.) ROBERT ZUILE." ¹

The term "monuments" is not in itself very explanatory, and it might be hazardous to interpret it as "maces" were it not that Sir George Ogilvie uses the same term in referring to the Regalia. He describes the crown, sword and sceptre as the "ancient monuments of this kingdom." He also refers to the Regalia under their well known designation, the "honours of the kingdom;" and it is noteworthy that the Senatus, in a minute of 1738, describes the two faculty maces as the "honours of the university." In these circumstances, notwithstanding the fact that both the letter and the receipt are destitute of all detail, the conclusion seems warrantable that the reference is to the maces, and that they were deposited in Dunnottar Castle during this "tyme of trouble" and were given back to the messenger of the university on the 11th August 1651. This was almost immediately before the castle was invested by the English troops.

The curious point to notice is the statement in the letter that "safety is expected for them in this place" at that precise date.

A brief *resumé* of the chief events of that period forms a curious commentary on the statement. The battle of Dunbar was fought on the 3rd September 1650, and King Charles II., after his coronation on the 1st January 1651, assumed command of the Scottish army before Stirling. After the defeat near Inverkeithing, he resolved to transfer the war from Scotland to England; and moving south by rapid marches he entered England on the 6th August 1651, and was defeated by Cromwell at Worcester on the 3rd September 1651. Meanwhile General Monk, who had been left by Cromwell in command of the English troops, had not been idle. On the 11th August 1651 he attacked Stirling Castle and on the 14th it capitulated. Immediately thereafter he marched on Dundee, and, punishing its partial resistance by the extremities of fire and sword, completely sacked it by the 6th September. This punishment so terrified the neighbouring burghs, that

¹ *Register of Deeds*, Mackenzie, vol. lxxxviii.

Montrose, Aberdeen, and St Andrews surrendered without resistance. Amid such circumstances as these it does seem strange to find the expression that safety was to be expected for the "monuments" of the university in St Andrews.

It is not likely that much more information will now be forthcoming which might throw any light on the deposition of the maces in Dunnottar Castle, and it might not be necessary to do more than merely mention the circumstance, were it not that it casts a doubtful light upon the next incident in the history of the maces.

For wellnigh two centuries the story has been told of the discovery in 1683, in the tomb of Bishop Kennedy in the Chapel of St Salvator's College, of six ancient maces supposed to have been concealed there during the troublous times of the Reformation.¹ Three of them, according to tradition, were retained at St Andrews, while the other three were given to the Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen.

An examination of Bishop Kennedy's tomb was made in 1842, when it was discovered from the construction of the interior that the vault had originally been accessible by a flight of steps: that it had been made to receive only one tenant, and that the body of the Bishop had been originally embalmed. Dr Robert Chambers, who conducted the investigation, thought it probable, from the appearance of the vault, that the body of the Bishop had been exposed as an object of veneration in pre-Reformation times. If this was the case it would have been easy to obtain access to the vault for the purpose of depositing the maces.

Further, the tomb was found to be filled up with earth, mixed with bones and fragments of a coffin and a shroud, all in great confusion. It is thus evident that at one time it had been opened and its contents rifled. It is therefore possible, although we have no actual evidence of the fact, that the maces of the University of St Andrews had been concealed there at one time, and also that they had been discovered there

¹ Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 195.

Defoe's *Tour*, vol. iii. p. 155.

Billings' *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, vol. i.

Lyon's *History of St Andrews*, vol. ii. p. 198.

Archæologia Scotica, vol. iv. p. 383.

subsequently; but their traditional number as well as the traditional dates must be discarded. There could not have been six maces, for in all the records of the University only three are at any time mentioned; and the story, moreover, as to the disposal of the additional three to the other Scottish Universities, can be distinctly disproved in the case of each of them, as will be seen subsequently. It is also clear that they could not have been in the tomb in Archbishop Spotswood's time, as the addition of his arms to the Arts mace testifies; nor could they have been there during the Commonwealth if they were in Dunnottar Castle.

In 1685, as we learn from the inscription engraved on the medal attached to the mace of St Salvator's College, this mace was repaired by order of Dr Skene, who was Principal of the College in that year.

The first reference in the minutes of the Senatus¹ to the maces occurs in 1707, when a resolution regulating the payments for their use at funerals was passed:—

St Andrews, 12th June, 1707.—The University being met, they appointed that the minimum to be payed for the silver staves at funerals shall be half-a-crown, and that the porters who carrie the other two staves shall have each of them a sixth part thereof, and so proportionally of whatever shall be given.

ROBERT RAMSAY, *Rector.*

The maces of the University were in the custody of the Rector up to 1737, but, as appears from a subsequent minute, the University resolved that they should henceforth be deposited in the Public Library:—

May 3rd, 1737.—The Rector represented to the University that seeing he and his family might probably be out of town for some time this summer, it would be necessary that the silver staves should be deposited somewhere else than with him; whereupon the University appointed that in the Rector's absence the silver staves should be laid up in the Library.

The last reference of any importance to the maces is an interesting discussion on the report of a Committee relating to the practice of the Masters attending with the maces at funerals.

The extracts from the minutes of the Senatus are here given verbatim:—

¹ The minutes of the Senatus commence in 1696.

Decr. 30th, 1737.—Some Masters having complained that they were too frequently called to attend on publick burials, Masters Francis Pringle, David Young, John Young, and James Kemp were appointed as a Committee to bring in an overture thereanent, and the Rector is to convene them.

Jan. 23rd, 1738.—The Report of the Committeë appointed to bring in an overture for easing the grievances of Masters on account of their frequent attendance on common and daily funerals of the inhabitants of the town, and when the staves shall be used at burjalls, was read. The University having reasoned for some time thereupon, a motion was made to delay the further consideration thereof till the 20th of February next; and a vote being demanded thereupon, it was put to the vote, proceed or delay to the said day, and rolls being called and votes marked, it carried delay. Wherefore the University did and hereby do delay the further consideration of the said report till the said 20th of February next.

Feb. 20th, 1738.—This day, the Minute of January 23rd, referring the further consideration of the Committee's Report anent their staves to this day's meeting, was read, likewise the said Report; which the University taking into their consideration, and having reasoned some time on the first and second articles of the said Report, and made some amendments thereon, it was put to the vote, approve of the same or not; and rolls being called and votes marked, it carried approve. Thereafter, they proceeded to the consideration of the third article, which being likewise reasoned upon some time, and amended, it was unanimously agreed to as amended; and therefore the University did and hereby do enact in the terms following:—That seeing the frequent attendance on common and ordinary funerals of the inhabitants of the town and others occasions a great loss of time to the Masters, as it often coincides with their hours of teaching, and that it is an avocation from their proper business which the Masters of other Universities within this kingdom are free from,—Therefore the University decrees, that in time to come the Rector shall only require the Masters' attendance and use the staves on occasion of the funerals of a member of the University, that is, of a master or scholar therein, if invited thereto. 2. That the archbedle and other macers shall attend their master at such funerals without the expectation of drink money on the part of the defunct. 3. That the two Facultie Maces, as being the Honours of (the) University, and of the two Faculties of Divinity and of Arts within the same, be in time coming repositied in the Publick Library under lock and key for safe custody, till the usual or necessary business of the University or Faculties therein require the use of them, on which occasions the library keeper is hereby ordered to give them out on the order of the Rector and of the Deans of Faculties respectively. And seeing the two Faculties' Maces have been repositied in the Publick Library by order of University since May 3rd, 1737, the library keeper was required to observe the above law with respect to them in all time coming

THE MACE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

This mace (Plate III. No. 4) is of silver partially gilt, and is wrought out with cast figures, buttresses, and crocketing, with engraved panels and shields and with a little enamelling. It weighs 128 oz. 5 dwt., and measures over all 4 feet $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length. The different portions of the rod are screwed together, and it has no core.

In its form and general outline it is similar to the Arts mace of the St Andrews University, but it differs materially from it in many details.

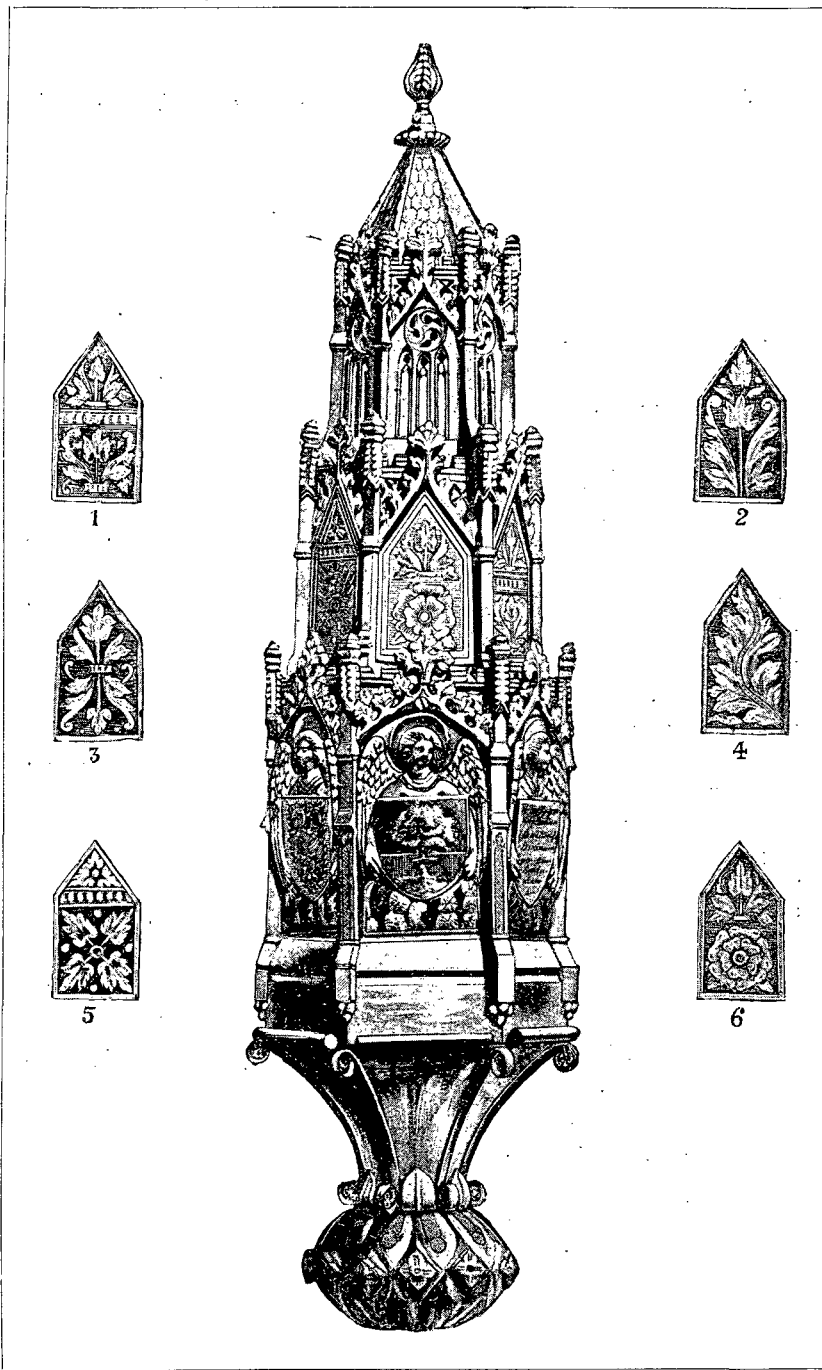
The shaft is divided into three divisions of equal length by belchered bands of similar design to the St Andrews mace, and the capital or neck-band of the shaft is, as in the latter mace, of more elaborate work. From this the head is coved out to a hexagonal form in plan, with small ribs at the angles, each rib terminating at both extremities in a trefoil cusped loop. The junction of the capital and the head is screened by six leaves, with their points turned upwards.

The head (Plate VIII.) is an elaborate piece of tabernacle work of three stages. The lower stage is treated with pinnaced buttresses, decorated with cusped panels in their lower part, and with intakes above.

The whole of each panel or bay is filled with the figure of an angel emerging from clouds enamelled blue, with expanded wings and with hands grasping a heater-shaped shield. Each bay is surmounted by an ogee crocketed arch, terminating in a foliated finial. This stage, as well as the two upper stages, is terminated by an embattled band.

The six shields in the hands of the angels bear the following engraving :—

- I. Hæc Virga empta fuit publicis Academiae Glasguensis sumptibus A.D. 1465, in Galliam ablata A.D. 1560; et Academiae restituta A.D. 1590 (fig. 14).
- II. Quarterly 1st and 4th (*argent*) on a chief (*gules*) two stars (*of the field*); 2nd and 3rd (*argent*) a man's heart (*gules*) on a chief (*azure*) two stars (*of the field*)—the arms of Douglas of Dalkeith, as borne by the Regent Morton, the restorer of the College (fig. 15).



Knop of the Mace of the University of Glasgow.

III. Quarterly i. and iv. grand quarters, quartered, 1st and 4th *gules*, three cinquefoils ermine (for Hamilton), 2nd and 3rd *arg.* a lymphad sails furred sable flagged *gules* (for Arran); ii. grand quarter, quartered, 1st *arg.* a saltire *gules*, 2nd *azure* a lion rampant *arg.*, 3rd quarterly 1st and 4th *arg.* (probably left blank for Mar), 2nd and 3rd *gules* a fret (possibly for Lyle),¹

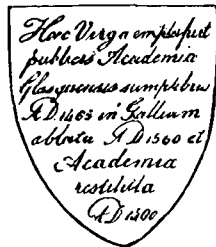


Fig. 14. Inscription on the Mace of Glasgow University (actual size).

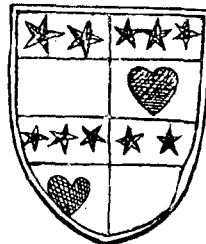


Fig. 15. Arms of the Regent Morton on the Mace of Glasgow University (actual size).

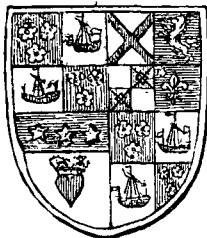


Fig. 16. Arms of Lord Hamilton on the Mace of Glasgow University (actual size).

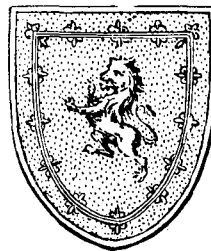


Fig. 17. Arms of Scotland on the Mace of Glasgow University (actual size).

4th, *azure* a fleur-de-lis *arg.*, in dexter chief point a mullet *arg.*; III. Grand quarter, *arg.* a man's heart, *gules*, ensigned with an imperial crown, or and on a chief *azure* three stars of the first—the arms of James, first Lord Hamilton, the first endower of the College (fig. 16).

¹ On an old armorial by Hector le Breton, Roy d'armes de France, in the Heralds' College, London, the arms of Lord Lyle are depicted as in this quarter, with the exception that the position of the quarterings is reversed.

- IV. Or a lion rampant (*gules*), within a double tressure flory counterflory of the second—the arms of Scotland (fig. 17).
- V. Arg. three bull's heads erased (*sable*) armed (*vert*) within a border indented of the second—the arms of Bishop Turnbull, founder of the University (fig. 18).
- VI. Parted per fess, *arg.* and *gules* on a mount, a tree ppr. the stem surmounted by a salmon on his back, ppr. a signet-ring in his mouth, on the top of the tree a robin redbreast, and on the sinister fess point an ancient hand-bell both also proper—the arms of the city of Glasgow (fig. 19),



Fig. 18. Arms of Bishop Turnbull on the Mace of Glasgow University (actual size).

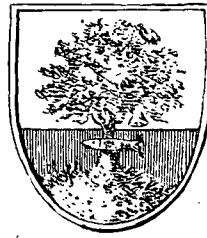


Fig. 19. Arms of Glasgow on the Mace of Glasgow University (actual size).

It may be noted that these engravings have been executed at three distinct periods. The oldest shield is unquestionably that of the Regent Morton. Bishop Turnbull's appears to be of later date. The former of these may be as old as 1590, the date of the restitution of the mace, but the latter, from its cutting, does not appear to be so old. The arms of Glasgow are in a style which was not used before the middle of last century; and as all the remaining shields correspond with it in style, they must be of late eighteenth century work. All the engravings are, moreover, of a markedly Scottish character, and none of them have been cut by the hands of the workman who made the mace.

The middle stage is similar in plan to the first, but smaller in size, and separated from it by an intake or splayed course. The pinnacled

buttresses are continued at each angle, but the canopies, which in the lower stage are arched, are in this one simply pointed and crocketed, with pierced work in the spandrils. Each of the bays is filled with flat panels, with engraved ornamentation. One of these (Plate VIII. No. 5) appears from its workmanship to be both a newer plate and more recently engraved than the other five.

The top stage is similar to the second in the form of the canopies and the buttresses, and is also diminished in size with an intake. Each side is filled with a miniature representation of a window in pierced tracery work, with three lights, surmounted by a circle enclosing pear-shaped cusped openings. All these openings are of the same design.

The whole is surmounted by a pyramidal roof, decorated with crockets in low relief at each angle, and with a foliated finial at the apex. The roof is chased in imitation of tiling.

The foot of the shaft swells out with a curve and is decorated with fluting. Upon the bottom of the foot is engraved the date MDXC in characters of that period (fig. 20).

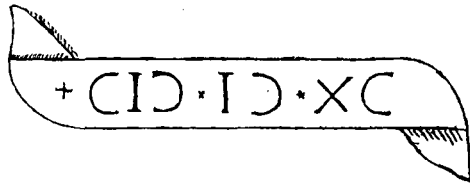


Fig. 20. Date on foot of the Mace of Glasgow University (actual size).

This mace has at different times very evidently undergone much alteration and renovation. Besides the restoration of the shields with the arms and inscription which has already been noted, it is clear that the engraved panels in the middle stage are not the original panels of the mace. The manner in which they are secured to it primarily suggests this. They are fixed in position by screws passing through an inner lining which is fitted into this portion of the mace. They are thus put on from the outside and present that appearance, instead of (as has evidently been originally intended) being slipped in from

behind so as to abut against the mouldings surrounding them. Neither the style of their decoration nor the quality of their work is consistent with that of the original portions of the mace. Moreover, it seems probable, when this mace is compared with those at St Andrews, that these panels once contained the figures of saints, and the supposition is probably not unwarranted that these were exchanged in 1590, on the restitution of the mace, for designs less objectionable to the Reformers of that period.

The history of the mace is so well authenticated that it is altogether unnecessary to enter into any elaborate argument for the purpose of refuting the story that it is one of those said to have been found in Bishop Kennedy's tomb. Although the shield bearing its history has unquestionably been engraved in comparatively recent years, there is no reason to doubt the facts stated in the inscription. On the 25th October 1460,¹ when Master David Cadzow, Canon of Glasgow, the first rector of the University, was again elected Lord Rector, he gave twenty nobles as a subscription towards the University mace. In 1465,² by the common consent of all the nations, a committee of four was appointed to collect funds by taxing the several nations for the

¹ 25th October 1460.—Congregacione universitatis tenta in domo capitulari eiusdem anno etc. sexagesimo electus fuit in rectorem universitatis venerabilis et egregius vir Magister David Cadyow licenciatus in decretis et canonicus Glasguensis Item eadem congregacione idem dominus rector statim post pronunciationem suam libere contulit ad fabricam virge universitatis viginti nobilia que deliberavit collectoribus deputatis ab universitate videlicet Domino Alexandro M'Alon vicario de Kilbirny et Magistro Duncano Bunch vicario de Dundonald.—*Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, Maitland Club, vol. ii. p. 68.

² 1465.—Congregacione universitatis tenta in domo capitulari ecclesie Glasguensis in festo Sanctorum Crispini et Crispiniani anno etc. sexagesimo quinto ubi electi fuere venerabiles et egregij viri intrantes pro electione novi rectoris Magistri Johannes Crechtoun canonicus Glasguensis Thomas Forsith rector Glasguensis Gilbertus Maxwell et vicarius de Kilbirny videlicet Dominus Alexander Makcalon qui unanimi consensu continuaverunt in rectorem universitatis egregium virum Magistrum David Cadyow canonicum Glasguensem. Preterea in eadem congregacione de consensu communi omnium nacionum electi fuere quatuor taxatores videlicet Magistri Johannes Crechtoun Willelmus Simpill canonici Glasguenses Duncanus Bunch et vicarius de Kilbirny ad taxandum singula supposita universitatis secundum eorum facultates pro confectione virge universitatis quorum taxationi et eiusdem solucioni se universaliter sua sponte summiserunt.—*Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 71.

completion of the mace. In 1469 it may be inferred from one of the minutes that the mace was in use, for in that year it was resolved that the Rector, when going to church on Sundays, or on the minor double feasts, should wear a distinguishing habit, and should have a white wooden rod carried before him; while on the greater double feasts¹ he was to wear a richer dress, and have the silver mace carried before him.

In 1490 the University resolved to discontinue the practice of the Rector going in procession to church on Sundays, and at the same time it decided on the reformation of the silver mace, at the expense of the University.²

Whether the mace had up to this time been incomplete, or whether the "reformation" took the form of an addition or of an alteration, cannot be ascertained from any existing records; but apparently it was now completed, for no more collections for it are mentioned.

In 1519 Master Robert Maxwell, Chancellor of the Diocese of Moray, out of regard for the safety of the silver mace, which was deemed fit for use only on the most solemn occasions, presented to the University on being elected Rector, a cane staff,³ mounted with silver at the extremities and in the middle, to be borne before the Rector on Sundays and the minor feasts and at common meetings.

No more references to the mace are found till after the Reformation, when, in *The Inventar of the evidents lettres gudis and geir pertaining to the College of Glasgow, 8th November 1582*, the following entry occurs:—"The Dean of Glasgow Mr James Balfour had the pedellis

¹ Item in maioribus duplicibus per totum annum incedat in habitu meliori cum turma honesta et virga argentea precedente.—*Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, Maitland Club, vol. ii. p. 75.

² 3rd December 1490.—Item avisetur universitas de reformatione cappe capuciorum et virge argentee conclusit universitas quod fiat reformatio et correccio eorundem expensis universitatis et quod expense in premissis levantur per rectorem de bursa universitatis a bursariis eiusdem et causet reformationem fieri etc. ut premittitur in articulo precedente.—*Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 106.

³ 23rd November 1519.—Quo die venerabilis et egregius vir Magister Robertus Maxwell cancellarius Moraviensis canonicusque Glasguensis ac alme Universitatis eiusdem rector dedit donavit et concessit universitati unum baculum arundineum in superiori inferiori ac mediis partibus deargentatum pro perpetuo apud universitatem remansurum deferendum coram rectore diebus dominicis et aliis festis minoribus aliisque congregationibus et vocacionibus ut moris est.—*Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 137.

staff of sylver in keping quhilk was the fairest that was in any Universitie of Scotland, and hes not yet rendret it." ¹

From the inscription on the mace we learn that it was recovered in 1590, and in the *Inventur of the guddis and inspreth pertening to the Colledge of Glasgow* (c. 1614) ² is narrated the history of its abstraction and restoration:—"Item, in the Principal his studi ane silver staff, callit the Rector's staff of five pund sevin unce ane quarter unce veight quhilk Mr James Balfure deane of Glasgow Rector the yeir of God 1560 gave to the Bisshop of Glasgow quho carijt the same with all the Silver Warke and hail Juels of the Hie Kirk to Paris with him. Notwithstanding the said staff be the Travels of Mr Patrick Sharpe Principal was recoverit mendit and augmentit the year of God MDXC. as the dait on the end of the staff bears."

Since the sale to the Union Railway Company of the High Street property, gifted in 1460 by Lord Hamilton, the mace is the oldest possession of the University, and it forms an interesting link with the ancient *studium generale* of 1451.

The four maces already described are of a design entirely different from the others in Scotland; and before proceeding further, it may be desirable to discuss briefly the history of their origin.

The form of the military mace, as has been pointed out, was probably a development of the club of the savage, and the Scottish University maces appear to have had an origin equally primitive: they seem to be one of the many developments of the simple rod of authority. The rod or staff has from time immemorial been regarded as the symbol of authority, and from it have probably sprung the many forms of rods now in use. Originally these rods were known as staves, and it may be interesting to note that the University maces were most frequently called staves or wands in the inventories and in the minutes of the Senatus, and that they were seldom described as maces.

Pugin, in his Glossary, ³ describes the staves used for different purposes:—(1) Pastoral staves for bishops and abbots, as emblems of jurisdiction; (2) Cantors' staves, to regulate the ceremonies of the choir; (3) Processional staves, for keeping the line in a march; (4) Staves for con-

¹ *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, Maitland Club, vol. iii. p. 517.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 523.

³ Pugin's Glossary, pp. 190-193.

fraternities, for carrying images and emblems; (5) Cross staves, to bear the cross elevated in processions; (6) Staves of honour and office called verges or maces, to bear before dignitaries.

The origin of all these has been traced to the rod, and the various developments they underwent may be said to be mere reflections of the architectural features of the period and place in which they were made.

The bishop's crosier was originally a staff surmounted by a ball; and from this ball, which was still retained, sprang in later times the crook. By the fifteenth century the ball or knob had developed into an elaborate structure of tabernacle work, frequently in several stages.

One example of this period may be referred to, as it has some connection with the Scottish Universities—the pastoral staff of Bishop Elphinstone, who founded the University of Aberdeen. The drawing of this staff (fig. 21) is taken from his portrait, a reproduction of which appears as the frontispiece of *Fasti Aberdonenses* (Spalding Club). Although the tabernacle work in this staff is only in one stage, the general character of its design is remarkably like that of the maces.¹

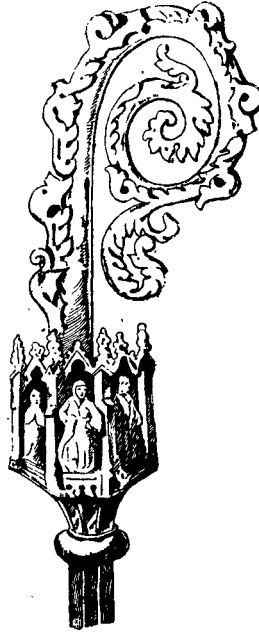


Fig. 21.—Pastoral Staff of Bishop Elphinstone.

The continental maces or verges of the fifteenth century were in many cases of precisely similar design to the crosiers, except that they lacked the crooks. Pugin describes them as long staves surmounted by tabernacles, with images or emblems having reference to the particular guild by whom they were borne. In the case of the Universities, whose colleges were frequently dedicated to and called after Saints, and whose

¹ The Pastoral Staff of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester (1367–1404), founder of New College, Oxford (late 14th century); the Limerick Crosier (early 15th century); and two pastoral staves at South Kensington, Nos. 7950 and 7952, should also be compared with the early maces, as their tabernacle work, particularly that of the Limerick crosier, is similar in design. See *Ecclesiastical Metal Work of the Middle Ages*, Arundel Society, 1868. Plates 16, 17, and 18.

rectors were invariably churchmen, the images and emblems would, in conformity with this principle, be of an ecclesiastical character, and their surprising resemblance to crosiers is thus naturally and easily explained.

How this form of mace came to be introduced into Scotland is also equally easily explained, and has already been referred to in discussing the question of the identity of the mace of the Faculty of Arts at St Andrews. All the Bishops who founded the Scottish Universities, and most, if not all, the earliest Professors, received much of their training and education on the Continent, and were consequently familiar with the splendid equipments of the ancient Universities of Paris and Bologna, after the constitution of which the Scottish Universities were modelled. As is evident from the records of the benefactions of the former, they richly endowed the Colleges and supplied them with all the requisite ornaments and furnishings; and if we are to judge from the description of these in the inventories, it is evident that not only the maces but also most of the gold and silver work came from the Continent. The friendly intercourse which existed between Scotland and France during the fifteenth century would also do much to facilitate the procuring of such articles from abroad.

THE BELL-HEADED MACES.

The other maces which are still preserved in Scotland are all of one type, differing distinctly from those already described, but exactly similar to the common type of mace prevalent in England.

From various records it can be gathered that there were macers in Scotland as early as the fourteenth century. Their duties consisted in giving attendance in Parliament and Privy Council and in the Courts of the Lords of Council and Session, of Exchequer, and of the Justiciars, for the calling of witnesses and the preservation of order. On their appointment to office they received a sum varying from £10 to £24 for the purchase of a gilt mace,¹ which apparently became their own

¹ In solucione facta in auro ad deaurandum clavam Johannis Strang clavigeri regis l. s. (1445-6), Exchequer Rolls, No. 201 :—

1488. Item, to Willeam Cambell to by his mayce xx^{ti} li.—Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, vol. i. p. 90.

1488. Item, to Pate of Nysbet to mak his mayce xxiiij li.—*Ibid.*, p. 99.

1491. Item, the sailm day, to Sande Melwin, new made masare, to mak him a mais x li.—*Ibid.*, p. 185.

property; and it is probably from this circumstance that none of the earliest of these maces have been preserved to our time.

The most prominent feature of the bell-headed mace is the large bell or bowl-shaped head bearing the royal arms, and surmounted by an open arched or imperial crown.

Of this type there appear to have been in Scotland some which are now missing. In the *Extracts from the Registers of the Privy Council and other papers connected with the method and manner of ryding the Scottish Parliament (1550-1703)*,¹ and in the drawings by Sommers in



Fig. 22.—Maces of the Privy Council, from the Riding of the Scottish Parliament (Chalmers Collection, Advocates' Library).

the Chalmers Collection (Advocates' Library), are mentioned and figured maces which no longer exist. The two maces of the Privy Council (fig. 22) may be referred to as an example.

There are, however, still preserved in Scotland ten specimens belong-

¹ *Miscellany of the Mailland Club*, vol. iii. pp. 101-137.

ing respectively to the City of Edinburgh, the Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh, and the College of Justice.

MACE AND SWORD OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

This mace (Plate IX., No. 1) is of silver, gilded all over, and measures 3 feet 2 inches in length. The head is hemispherical in form, and bears on its lower portion in relief four circles of threaded wire, two of them enclosing a thistle surmounted by an imperial crown, dividing the letters I.R., and the other two a castle—the arms of the City of Edinburgh. The upper portion of the bell-head forms the fillet of the crown which surmounts the mace, and is enriched, in place of the usual gems, with figures of thistles, roses, harps, and fleurs-de-lis.

Above the fillet the head is continued upwards and inside the cresting of the crown with a graceful curve, and is closed at the top with a plate bearing the arms of King James VI.

The cresting of the crown is formed of threaded wires, intertwined through each other, and soldered at each point, where they bear fleurs-de-lis and crosses patée alternately.

From within the cresting spring four arches, which are surmounted at their junction by the orb and cross.

The shaft of the mace is baluster-shaped, and is divided into three lengths by a vase-shaped knop in the middle, and a moulded band above and below it. These bands are all richly decorated with a stamped pattern.

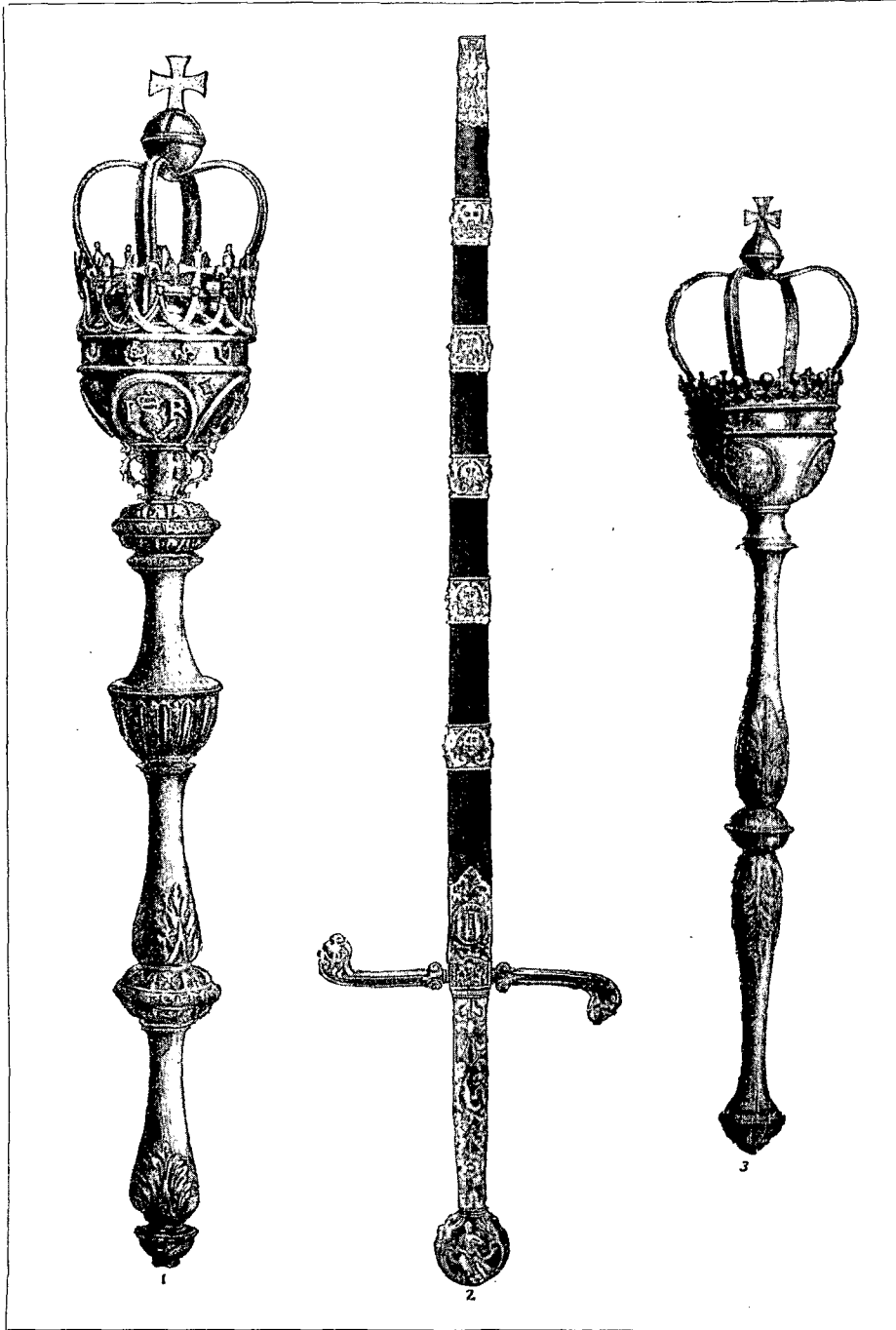
The neckband is enriched with four scroll-shaped brackets, with dragonesque terminals, which extend from the lower portion of the head to the upper moulded band.

The two lower portions of the shaft are decorated with acanthus leaf ornamentation, and the rod is terminated by a vase-shaped pendant.

The mace is a massive and substantial piece of work, weighing 142 oz. 4 dwt., and is constructed in many different portions with a silver tube as a core for the shaft.

It bears the name-punch of George Robertson,¹ an Edinburgh goldsmith, and the date 1617.

¹ George Robertson obtained the freedom of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of Edinburgh on 6th December 1616. Besides this mace his mark is found on the communion cups at Dunfermline, Holywood, and Methlic.



1. Mace of the City of Edinburgh. 2. Sword of the City of Edinburgh.
3. Mace of the University of Edinburgh.

On the 18th December 1616, as appears from the Town Council Records, the order for the mace was given :—

Decimo octavo Decembris 1^m vj^c xvj.

The quhilk day the Provost, Baillies, Deyne of Gild, Thesurer, and Counsall being conveynit, ordains Johne Byris, thesaurer, to mak ane fair Mase to be borne befor the Proveist, of ten pund wecht of silver, and to caus mak the same partiall gilt, the samine to be maid be the advyse of David Aikenheid deyne of gild, and George Foulls, m^r of the Cunzie hous, and the expenses debursit thairupone sall be allowit to him in his compts.

From the City Treasurer's Accounts (1616-17, fol. 471) the amount paid for it is ascertained :—

Item, payit for the new Maiss paid our gilt, maid be George Robertstone, weyand ane hundrethe fyftie nyne vnce, at v. lib. x. s. the vnce, is viij.^c lxxiiij. lib. x. s.

Item, for ane caice to put it in, x lib. xiiij s. iiij. d.

It would appear from other two extracts in the Council Records that there was an older mace, which, from the weight quoted, must have been much smaller :—

Mr Williame Stewart, Maisser, delyverit the auld Maiss, quhilk he had of the guid Towne to the Deyne of Gild, to be kepit be him (vol. xiv. fo. 416).

1632. Item, ane band maid be Alex^r Maxwell, maser to the guid town, for delywerie of thair Mais, weyand fourtie vneces and an half of the suit

In addition to the mace, the civic insignia include a sword. This (Plate IX., No. 2) measures 4 feet $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, and is elaborately mounted in silver gilt. The blade, which is tapered and round at the point, is two-edged, and measures 3 feet long and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at the heel. The portion nearest the hilt is richly decorated on both sides with an etched pattern, partly filled in with gold, and bears a thistle and the date 1627.

The pommel and grip measure 13 inches in length, and are made of silver gilt. The grip is decorated on one side with a unicorn rampant in relief between a thistle and a harp, flat chased, and on the other side with a lion rampant between a rose and a fleur-de-lis, while each of the flat edges bears a castle, with thistles above and below. All these decorations are placed upside down and the entire grip, it may also

be noted, is of different workmanship from the rest of the handle, and is evidently an addition by a Scottish craftsman.

The pommel is decorated on each side with a winged female figure without arms, while on the front and back are two draped female figures resting on festoons, worked out in *repoussé*, the one with two trumpets in her hands, and the other bearing a branch, probably symbolical respectively of Fame and Glory.

The traverse guard measures $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and is terminated at each end with a scroll, enriched with a grotesque head.

The scabbard is of wood, covered with crimson velvet, and is mounted with seven silver-gilt mounts. Those which cover the mouth and the tip are of different workmanship from the others, and are, like the grip of the handle, of Scottish manufacture. That at the mouth bears on one side a coronation medal of Charles I., and on the other side a representation of the Castle, while the tip is decorated with scroll and figure ornamentation executed by flat chasing.

The other five mounts are alike in pattern and in width, and are embossed on each side with a grotesque mask, surrounded by scrolls.

On no portion of the scabbard does any hall-mark appear; and although it is probable that the sword was mounted in London, in the absence of a hall-mark this cannot be definitely established.

It will be noted that it is only on those portions of the mounting that have been renewed by the Scottish goldsmith that the national and civic emblems appear, and although the sword bears the date 1627, when it was presented it is possible that it was not specially made for presentation to the City of Edinburgh; it is also likely that these additions were added purposely afterwards with the view of making it more appropriate.

Both the mace and the sword were provided for the special purpose of enhancing the dignity and pre-eminence of the Lord Provost and Magistrates. They were both invariably committed into the keeping of the Lord Provost for the time being, and were delivered to him upon induction to office, to be by him returned upon demitting it, for the use of his successor.

The charter, dated 10th November 1609, granted by James VI.,

bears "that it was clearly known and made manifest to him that, in all well-constituted commonwealths, the whole Magistrats were not only permitted but were ordered to carry and bear Bundles of Rods and such ensigns before them, as signs and tokens of their magistracy, and to induce the common people to the greater reverence, and thereby declare and set forth certain tokens of their authority."

It seems probable that at this time the City of Edinburgh possessed the mace which is afterwards referred to in the Records as "the auld Maiss." They must, however, have deemed it unworthy of the purpose set forth in the charter, for in 1616, as we see from the Records already quoted, they gave authority for the making of "ane fair Mase," which still continues to be used.

Authority to bear, along with the mace, a civic sword before the Lord Provost was granted by the same charter in 1609, which states that—

"His Majesty willed and granted that in all time comeing the Provost of the said burgh of Edinburgh, and his successors, shall have the privilege of bearing and carrying before them, when passing through their streets, a sword, sheathed in velvet, of such kind and as oft, as is used to be carried before the Mayor of London."

But no gift of a sword accompanied or followed this privilege, and the Council did not obtain one until 1627, when King Charles I. presented that one still in use.

Both the circumstance and the reason for the gift are set forth in the following minute of the Council and in the letter from the King:—

"Quarto Aprilis Im^m vj^o vigesimo septimo.

"The quhilk day David Aikinheid of Kilwyiss, Proveist, &c., . . . being conveynit in Counsall, compeirit Mr Johne Hay, and productit his Majesties letter direct to the Proveist, Baillies, and Counsall of this burgh, of the dait the 3 day of Marche 1627, quhilk they ordayne to be insert and registrat in thair Counsall buikes, *ad futuram rei memoriam*; Quhair of the tenour follows: sic *suprascrabitur*.

"CHARLES R.

"Trustie and weilbelovit, We greet you weill. We have persavied by the effectes your affectioun to oure service, whereof We will not be unmyndfull when furder occasioun sall offer, wherby we may expres oure respect unto yow. We have sent yow a token of Oure favour, a Sword and a Gowne to be

worne by your Proveist, at such times and in such manner as was appointed by our late deare Father. As yow have begun to be cairfull in our service, We doe not doubt but yow will frome tyme to time continow to doe the like ; and speciallie in giving your best furtherance, in so far as you can convenientlie doe, to S^r James Baillie of Lochend, knight, who is to advance divers gret soumes of money for our important and urgent service abroad : And lykwayes that yow encourage our remanent Borrowes to doe the like, and to pay such pairt of the taxatiounis as ar to be payit by theme, with all convenient diligence that possibill can be used ; which recommending unto your serious caire, and which We will tak as acceptable service doone by yow unto ws, We bid yow fairweill.

“ Frome our Court at Newmarket, the 3 of Merche 1627.”

“ And also the said Mr Johnne producit the Sword sent be his Majestie and delyverit the same to my Lord Proveist, to be keiped be him to the Tounes use, and ordanis to advyse aganis Fryday nixt quha sall beir, and quhen the same sall begin to be borne before the Proveist” (vol. xiv. fo. 41).

For some years after the mace and sword were in the possession of the City they appear to have been regularly used on all civic occasions, but the practice had apparently fallen into desuetude prior to 1657, for in that year it was resuscitated by an act and deed of the Corporation :—

“ *Sept. 25th, 1657.*—The Counsell taking to consideration that the auncient forme of wearing red gowns for the present and old Magistratts, and black gowns for the rest of the Counsellers, at the electioun of Magistratts and uthir solemne occasiouns, was both a necessariè and comelie custome, Theirfoir thinks fitt and ordaines the same to be renewed at the nixt electioun day, and from thence furth in all solemne dayis. And that the mace and sword be likwayis provyded to be caried befor the Provest and Baillies as formerlie.”

The most brilliant of the many functions in which the civic mace and sword have been borne was probably the Riding of the old Scottish Parliament. In the Chalmers Collection in the Advocates' Library there are preserved a series of drawings by John Sommers representing this ceremony about the year 1681, and among the personages forming the procession appears the Lord Provost, preceded by two officers, with the mace and sword (fig. 23).

In recent years the most interesting circumstance in connection with the civic insignia was an action which was raised in the Court of Session in 1843 by a minority of the Town Council to establish the right of

having the mace and sword borne before the Town Council when officially attending divine service. The action was the outcome of a resolution of the Council of 16th November 1843, in which the Council resolved—"That in future they discontinue their official attendance at



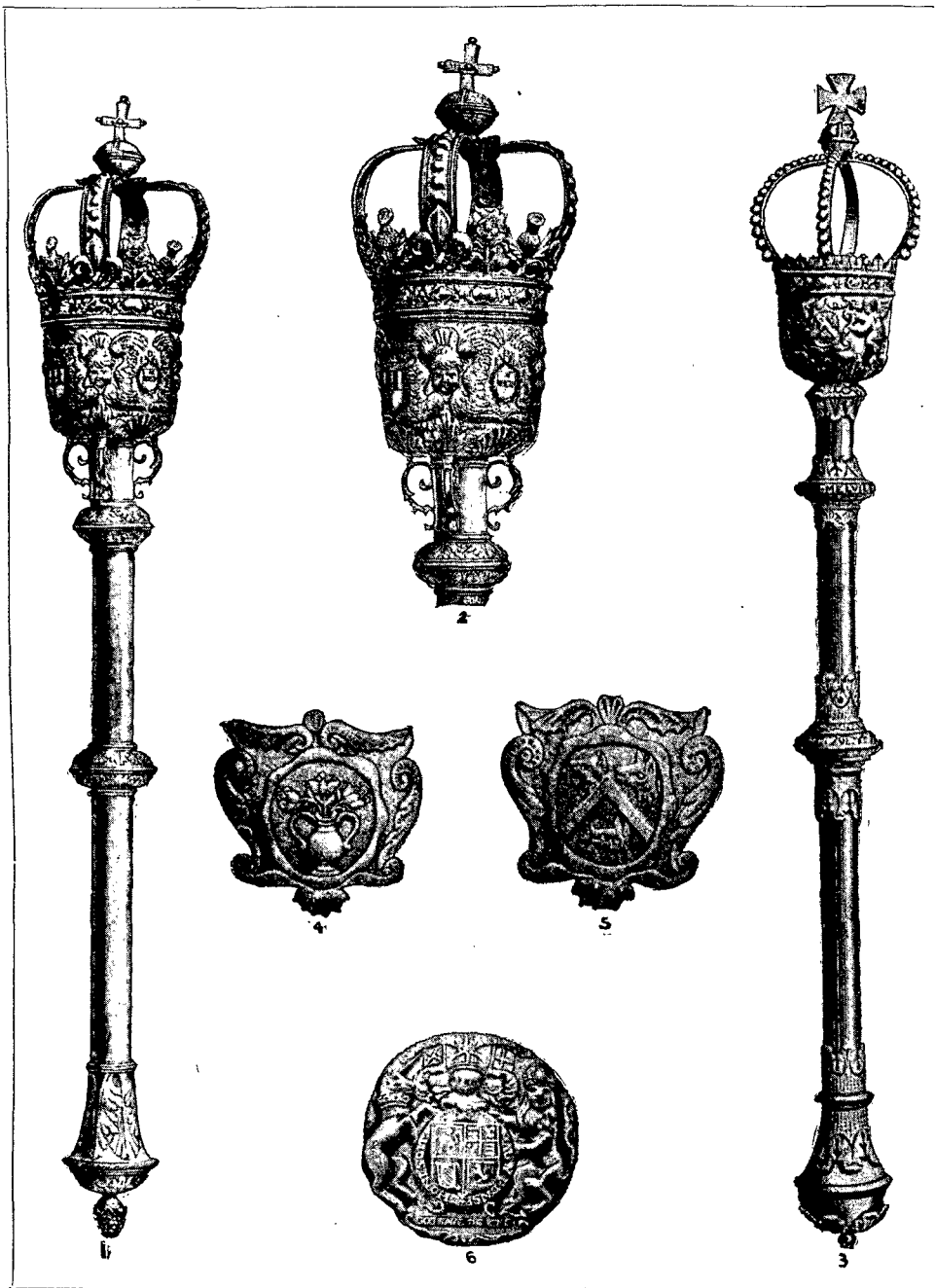
Fig. 23.—Sword and Mace of the City of Edinburgh, as borne in the Riding of the Scottish Parliament, circa 1681.

church, and hereby prohibit and discharge their officers from carrying the mace or other insignia to any place of worship in time to come."

Interim interdict was granted at the instance of the minority, and the mace and sword are still borne before the Lord Provost and Magistrates when officially attending divine service.

MACE OF KING'S COLLEGE, ABERDEEN.

The University of Aberdeen possesses two maces, the older of which belongs to King's College (Plate X. No. 3). It is of silver, and as appears both from its hall-mark and also from an inscription, was



1. Mace of Marischal College, Aberdeen. 2. Head of ditto. 3. Mace of King's College, Aberdeen.
4. Earliest Cognizance of the University of Aberdeen on ditto. 5. Arms of Bishop Elphinstone
on ditto. 6. Royal Arms on ditto.

manufactured in 1650 by Walter Melvil, an Aberdeen goldsmith. It measures 3 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and weighs 55 oz. 1 dwt. The head is bowl-shaped, and has embossed on one side the earliest cognizance of the University—the emblem of the Virgin—a pot with three lilies (Plate X. No. 6), and on the other side the arms of the founder of the college, Bishop Elphinstone—(*argent*) a chevron (*sable*) betwixt three boars' heads (*gules*) (Plate X. No. 5). The cartouches containing the arms are supported at each side by winged cherubs of a curious Scottish character. The bowl is surmounted by an imperial crown closed by four arches, enriched with beading, and bearing at their junction the orb and cross. On the band of the crown are embossed representations of the gems on the fillet of the Scottish crown in the Regalia, with the figures of the harp, thistle, rose and fleur-de-lis between. The staff is of cylindrical form and plain, and is divided into two lengths and a short neckband, by two moulded bands, each enriched with chasing, and with two collars of acanthus leaves above and below. Around the upper band is this inscription in raised letters, WALTERUS MELVIL FECIT 1650.

The bowl is closed above with a plate, on which are embossed the royal arms as borne by the Stuarts till 1688, and underneath in raised letters is inscribed GOD SAVE THE KING.

The shaft at its lower termination is finished with a trumpet-shaped pendant, closed by a dome decorated with acanthus leaves displayed.

This mace has been made in a number of pieces, which have been pinned together, and rigidity has been given to the whole by a wooden core or rod fixed inside and extending the entire length of the shaft.

The goldsmith who made this mace was Walter Melvil, a goldsmith of considerable note in Aberdeen. He was both deacon of the hammermen and deacon-convener of the trades in 1662, and master of the hospital in 1656-7. His mark is found also on the Strathnaver cup in Marischal College, 1653, on a communion cup at Ellon, and on several medals.

This mace in one respect forms a curious commentary upon the regard the goldsmith had for the Act of Parliament, which prescribed the quality of the silver he should use, and also upon the attention he paid to the frequent letters the Incorporation of Goldsmiths at Edinburgh issued regarding the debasing of the silver. Even on a superficial

examination, it is evident that the quality of the silver of the rod proper is inferior to that of the decorated portions of the mace, and an assay which was taken to confirm this, shows that the quality of the silver in the rod is 10 oz. 10 dwt., and that of the ornamental portions 10 oz. 13 dwt. 12 gs., while it should all have been xi. deniers (*i.e.*, in the proportion of 11 oz. to the 12 oz.).

The circumstance that this fraud passed unnoticed leads to the inferences that the supervision of the goldsmiths' work must have been ineffective at this time in Aberdeen, and also, as the saving effected through using the inferior quality must have been small, that silver must either have been expensive, or difficult to procure for trade purposes.

It may be noted that as the mace was in a much dilapidated condition, it was recently repaired.

There is nothing in the nature of a history attached to this mace, nor is it known definitely what special circumstance may have led to its being procured. It has been conjectured that it may have been made to do duty on the occasion of the visit of Charles II. to Aberdeen on the 7th July 1650, or on the 25th February following, while he was still King of Scotland only.

This is not the original mace of King's College, as it appears from an entry in the *Registrum omnium Vasorum argenteorum*, &c., of King's College, dated 1542, that there had previously been two older maces. Among the ornaments of the Rector¹ in that list are included a silver mace bearing the arms of the King and of Bishop Elphinstone, and also another mace of five parts overlaid with silver, the gift of the Rector of Kynkell.

It is by no means improbable that the older of these maces was the gift of Bishop Elphinstone. The Bishop, as the record of his life shows, was munificent in his benefactions to the College. If speculation as to the form of the mace be permitted, it also seems probable that its design was similar to those at Glasgow and at St Andrews, which have heads of tabernacle form. This seems all the more likely from the fact that Bishop

¹ Item baculus rectoris argenti, cum armis Regis et Fundatoris ponderis . . . argenti. Item alius baculus argentatus, in quinque partibus, dono prefati rectoris de Kynkell.—*Fasti Aberdonenses*, 1494-1854, Spalding Club, p. 571.

Elphinstone both studied in his earlier years at Glasgow and was Dean of the Faculty of Arts in the University there in 1471-2, besides spending nine years on the Continent, studying at the Universities of Paris, of Orleans, and at most of the celebrated schools abroad. He must therefore have been well acquainted with the typical form of university mace. His pastoral staff (fig. 21) may again be referred to, for its design is of the tabernacle form. He would, moreover, find no difficulty in obtaining a mace from abroad, for he was frequently employed in embassies to France, Burgundy, and Austria. When this older mace went amissing has not been ascertained, but its loss is certainly much to be deplored.

The other mace, which from its description seems to have been for use on minor occasions, as was the case with a similar rod in the Glasgow University, was the gift of Alexander Galloway,¹ Prebendary of Kynkell, who was elected four times Rector of the University within the period 1516-1549. Of its disappearance there is likewise no record preserved.

MACE OF MARISCHAL COLLEGE, ABERDEEN.

This mace (Plate X. No. 1) is of silver, gilded all over; it measures 3 feet in length, and weighs 70 oz. 10 dwt.

The head is bowl-shaped, and is richly embossed with four cherubs' heads, each with three pairs of wings, leaving between them four plain spaces, upon two of which—contiguous to each other—are engraved (1) the arms of James Leslie, who was Principal from 1661 till 1679—(*argent*) on a fesse (*azure*) three buckles (*or*) a mullet in the middle chief point for difference (fig. 24); and (2) parted per fess *gules* and *argent*, the upper part charged with two pallets—of the second (fig. 25),

¹ The Rector of Kynkell was a distinguished friend both to the Cathedral and the University of Aberdeen. He flourished under four bishops (the last four preceding the Reformation), and was very active in carrying Elphinstone's and Dunbar's plans into effect. He took a great interest in the buildings of the College and the Bridge of Dee. It was by his care and expense that the transcripts of the more ancient Church records were formed, which are now preserved in the University Library, and have been used for the "Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis" (Ker's *Donaides* p. 19).—*Fasti Aberdonenses*, Spalding Club, p. xxv.

evidently intended for the arms of the Earl Marischal, although the proper blazon is *argent* on a chief *gules* three pallets *or*.

The other two plain portions of the head bear no engraving. The lower portion of the head is decorated with leaf ornament, displayed, while the top is closed by a domed plate, on which are embossed the royal arms as borne by the Stuarts till 1688. The head is surmounted



Fig. 24.—Arms of Principal Leslie on the Mace of Marischal College, Aberdeen (actual size).

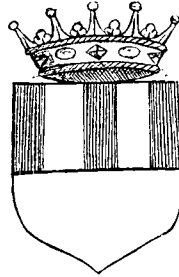


Fig. 25.—Arms of the Earl Marischal on the Mace of Marischal College, Aberdeen (actual size).

by an open arched crown, the cresting of which is composed of thistles, roses, and fleurs-de-lis. The fillet or band of the crown is enriched with representations of lozenge and oval-shaped stones in settings, all executed in *repoussé*. The beads or pearls on the arches of the crown are also executed in *repoussé*, and are not *appliqué*, as in the mace of King's College.

The staff of the mace is cylindrical, with a wooden core inside. It is divided into two divisions and a neckband by two moulded bands, with twisted wire mouldings and chased leaf ornamentation, and is terminated at its lower extremity by a bell-shaped pendant, to which a bunch of grapes is attached. The neckband is enriched with three scroll-brackets, which extend from the lower portion of the head to the upper moulded band.

The workmanship of the mace is exceedingly good, and the *repoussé* work is executed throughout with considerable artistic skill; but the

quality of the silver is slightly deficient, being only in the proportion of 10 oz. 15 dwt. 12 gs. to the 12 oz.

It is probably because of this that it bears no hall-mark, and thus it is difficult to say where it was made. Happily the account for it has been preserved, from which it is ascertained that it was obtained in London, although it is doubtful, from the absence of the hall-mark, if it was made there.

The following is a copy of the account which is still preserved in Marischal College :—

Account of the Mace or Sceptre.

25 May 1671. Price £31, 14/- sterling.

I, William Clerk, Doctor in Physick, do acknowledge me to have received from Docto^r James Lesly, Principal of Marischall's Colledge in New Aberdene, the sum of one and thirty pounds and fourteen shillings lawfull money of England, of which sum I do hereby discharge the said Docto^r James Lesly, his Heirs Ex^{rs} and Adm^{rs}, witness these presents written and subscribed with my own hand at London the five and twentieth day of May in the yeare of God One thousand six hundred seventy and one.

WILL. CLERK, M.D.

It has been already remarked that Aberdeen was one of the three Scottish Universities which were each said to have received one of the maces found in Bishop Kennedy's tomb in 1683. But as the mace of King's College was obtained in 1650, and that of Marischal College in 1671, they were not then in need of a mace. Moreover, as the origin of both these maces can be traced, the reputed gift could not have been either of them. There is no evidence that the University of Aberdeen, or either of the other two universities specified, ever received such a gift, and the story in this respect must be regarded as mythical.

MACE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

This mace (Plate IX. No. 3) is made of silver; it measures 2 feet $3\frac{3}{4}$ in length, and weighs (exclusive of the iron core in the shaft) 33 oz. 6 dwt. The head is bell-shaped, and is divided into four circular compart-

ments which bear respectively the arms of the City of Edinburgh; the arms of the University; a Scottish thistle surmounted by an imperial crown, and the letters I. R. VI.; and the following inscription:—
 NOVĀ HAC CLAVĀ ARGENTĒĀ ACADEMIAM SUAM DONAVIT SENATUS EDINBURGENSIS CONSULE THO. ELDER PRÆTORE ACADEMICO GUL. CREECH, A.D. 1789.

The head, which is closed with a plate upon which are engraved the arms of King James VI., is surmounted by an open arched crown, with a cresting of crosses patée and fleurs-de-lis, with the orb and cross.

The shaft of the mace is baluster-shaped, and is divided into two lengths by a moulded band in the middle. Both these divisions are decorated with acanthus leaf ornamentation.

The hall-mark shows that the mace was manufactured by William Davie,¹ an Edinburgh goldsmith, in 1789.

The University of Edinburgh was one of the three Scottish universities which were said to have received one of the maces alleged to have been found in Bishop Kennedy's tomb at St Andrews in 1683; but what is known of the Edinburgh College mace completely negatives this supposition.

It is certain that the College of Edinburgh had a mace in 1640, which was provided specially with a view to attaching some honour and dignity to the office of the Rector. The College had been unfortunate for some time in its selection of Rectors. Andrew Ramsay, who was the first elected, treated his office, which he held from 1620 till 1626, as a merely nominal one. The same course was adopted by Lord Prestongrange (a Lord of Session), who was elected in 1627, and gave the oath *de fidei administratione*, but did nothing further. He died in 1631, and the office of Rector remained in abeyance, until nine years later the Town Council resolved to revive it.

They ordained in 1640 that a Rector of the College should be appointed annually, with six Assessors, to be chosen from the Council, the Ministers, and the Masters of the College. An elaborate table of his

¹ William Davie was admitted to the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of Edinburgh on 7th Aug. 1740; he was deacon in 1774-6, and again in 1778-80. Besides this mace, his mark may be seen on the communion cups of Lanark and Larbert.

duties was drawn up, and it was arranged that a certain amount of pomp should be attached to his person: a silver mace was provided to be carried before him, and one of his students was appointed to be his "bedall" or macer, with a stipend of £20 (Scots) per annum.

This mace,¹ which was first borne before Henderson, the new Rector, was used till nearly the close of last century. Besides being used for ceremonials in which the Rector took part, we find that it was frequently lent for the use of others. It was borrowed by the Town Council "for use of the public" in 1651, and was restored to the College Librarians in 1655; and in 1660 it was "lent to the Macer of the Committee of Parliament till they got one of their own."

In 1787 the mace was stolen. Professor Dalzel, then librarian, reported that "on the night betwixt the 29th and 30th October 1787 the door of the library was broken open by thieves, and the mace stolen from the press where it was usually deposited." The Magistrates immediately, but without effect, offered "a reward of ten guineas for the discovery of the delinquents."

On the 2nd October 1789 the following statement appears in the *Caledonian Mercurius* :—

"William Creech, Esq^{re}. (the College Bailie), in name of the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council, presented to the Senatus Academicus of the University of Edinburgh, assembled in the Library, an elegant new silver Mace, decorated with the Royal Ensigns of King James VI., the Founder of the College, and with the arms of the City and University, beautifully enchased, and having the following inscription engraved on one of the compartments under the crown. . . ."

There was a very special and extraordinary reason for this act of liberality, namely, that public opinion in Edinburgh had come to attribute the theft of the old mace to one of the Town Council themselves. This was the notorious Deacon Brodie, who stood high in repute as a pious, wealthy, and substantial citizen, until he was tried and condemned to death on the 29th August 1788 for robbing the Excise Office. This was only one of a series of startling robberies, the perpetrators of

¹ An account of the mace of Edinburgh University will be found in Grant's *History of Edinburgh University*, from which most of the facts here stated are taken.

which remained undiscovered. After the execution of Brodie, people began to ascribe many of these to him, and among them they laid the theft of the College mace at the Deacon's door. The accusation seems probable, as from Deacon Brodie's official position as one of the patrons of the College, he could easily ascertain where the mace was kept, while his proclivities would induce him to abstract it.

At all events, it is said that the Town Council were "so black affronted" at the disgrace brought on them by one of their own members, that they hastened to get the matter hushed up by presenting a new mace to the College.

Mutual compliments were then interchanged between the Town Council and the Professors; and Principal Robertson, in name of the Senatus, "respectfully received and gratefully acknowledged" the gift. And the new mace came, in fact, just in time to be carried in procession at the laying of the foundation-stone of the new University buildings in November 1789.

In the description of the mace the "arms of the University" are mentioned. These arms seem to have been devised for the express purpose of being engraved on this mace.

Up to this date the University had no armorial bearings, nor yet had they a common seal. On the 3rd October 1789 the following report was made on the subject:—

"Mr Dalzel reported, that whereas the University were not in possession of a common seal for affixing or suspending to their diplomas or public deeds, but were under the necessity at every graduation of applying for one of the City seals, which was inconvenient, and unsuitable to the dignity of the University, he, with the approbation of several of his colleagues, had desired Mr James Cummyng, of the Lyon Office, to make out a device, which had been done accordingly, and that Mr Robert Boswell, the Lyon King of Arms Deputy, had consented, at the desire of Mr Fraser Tytler, to issue a patent from the said office (without demanding the usual fee), authorising the College to use the said device as their arms in all time to come, viz. :—*Argent on a saltire azure between a thistle in chief proper and a castle on a rock in base sable a book expanded or*, as the same are represented on one of the compartments of the new mace. Which having met with the approbation of the Senatus Academicus, they ordered the said arms to be engraved on a seal, to be used for the future as the seal of the University."

THE LORD PRESIDENT'S OR OLD EXCHEQUER MACE.

This mace (Plate XI. No. 1) is made of silver, gilded all over. It measures 4 feet $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length, and weighs 232 oz. 8 dwt.

The head is bowl-shaped, and is decorated entirely with *repoussé* work. It is divided by armless winged cherubs, ending in acanthus foliage, into four compartments, containing respectively a thistle, rose, fleur-de-lis, and harp, all surmounted by an imperial crown, and dividing the initials C. R.

At the bottom of the bowl is an ornament composed of four thistles, with leaves displayed, pierced out of plate, and soldered on.

The head (Plate XI. No. 2) is closed by a plate bearing the royal arms (Plate XI. No. 4), and is surmounted by an imperial crown with a jewelled fillet supporting a cresting of Maltese crosses and fleurs-de-lis elevated on rays, from within which there spring four arches bearing the orb and cross.

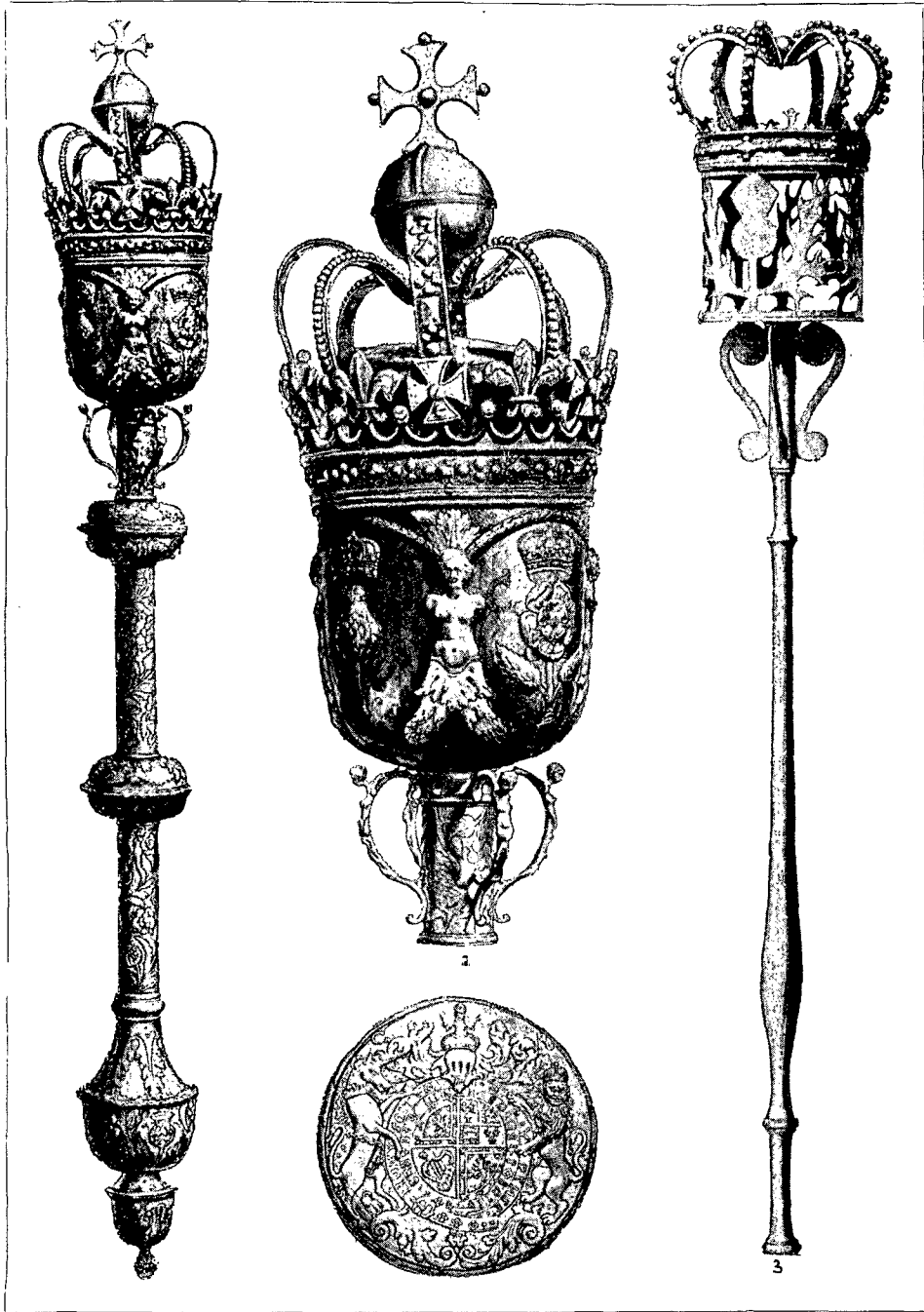
The shaft is divided into two divisions and a neckband by two large moulded bands, decorated with acanthus foliage. The neckband is enriched with four scroll brackets, with figurehead terminals, and on all the three divisions is chased a spiral ornament of thistles and roses.

The foot of the rod is bell-shaped, closed with an inverted dome chased with thistles and roses, and is terminated by a pendant with four leaves enclosing a ball.

It bears the London hall-mark for 1667, and on an escutcheon an anchor dividing the maker's initials, T. H.

In size, weight, and appearance this mace bears a most striking resemblance to that used by the House of Commons from 1660 till now, which is likewise of silver gilt, measuring 4 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and weighing 251 oz. 2 dwt. 2 gs.

It is evident from its imposing appearance that it must originally have been made for a high officer of the Crown; and although no information has been obtained from any existing records, the likeness it bears to that in several portraits has led to the conclusion that it is the mace used latterly by the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland.



1. The Lord President's or old Exchequer Mace. 2. Head of ditto. 3. The Mace of the High Court of Justiciary. 4. Arms on the head of the Lord President's Mace.

In the engravings of the portraits of the Earl of Perth, 1685,¹ the Earl of Marchmont, 1698,² and the Earl of Seafield, 1704,³ a mace is figured in saltire, with the Treasurer's bag. In all these the design of the mace is practically the same, with this exception, that the initials of the Sovereign under whom they respectively held office are engraved on



Fig. 26.—The Mace-Bearer, from Sommers' Illustrations of the Riding of the Scottish Parliament.

the head. The first bears the initials I. R., the second W. R., and the third A. R., while the initials on this mace are C. R. Such an alteration as this might naturally be expected from the artists, and cannot therefore be regarded of much importance, for it is well known that the mace never became the property of the Lord Treasurer, but was handed

¹ James, Earl of Perth, Lord Drummond and Stobhall.—R. White's engraving after Roiley, 1685.

² The Earl of Marchmont.—R. White's engraving after Kneller, 1698.

³ James, Earl of Seafield.—J. Smith's engraving after Kneller, 1704.

over, on his demitting office, to his successor. A mace resembling this one is also shown in Sommers' illustrations of the Riding of the Scottish Parliament, in the hands of a mounted mace-bearer (fig. 26), but much importance cannot be attached to that representation of it, for it is necessarily very small.

This mace only dates from 1667, so that it cannot be the mace originally obtained for enhancing the dignity of the Lord Treasurer. A letter, dated 9th January 1609, addressed to the Privy Council, ordains that the Treasurer shall thereafter, in his public appearances, have a silver gilt mace carried before him, which was followed on the 28th of the same month by an Act of the Council prescribing that on all such occasions as the Treasurer "sall come ony way abroad in ony of the streitis of ony burgh, citie, or toun of this kingdome, [he] sall carry a small walking rod or stalff in his hand, and sall caus cary a silver maice overgilt by ane immediatlie going before him."¹

In 1616 there is a reference to this mace, when it was delivered up by Sir Gideon Murray of Elibank :—

The quhilk day, in the presence of the Lords of Secreit Counsall, compeirit personallie Sir Gedeone Murray of Elibank, knight, Deputie Thesaurair, and produceit and exhibite befor the saidis Lordis the maice callit the Thesaurairis maice, 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 maice, 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 kingdome, to the effect he may caus the saide maice be borne befor him in all tymes comeing during the tyme of his office, and upoun production of the said maice and the delyverie of the same to the said Erll of Mar the said Sir Gideone Murray askit instrumentis.²

In 1621 there are other two references to the same mace in the Privy Council Records, in connection with the delivery of the Regalia.

Although the Treasurer's Mace is frequently mentioned in the accounts of different ceremonials about this period, no description of it is given, and consequently its form is unknown.

No trace is found of any other Lord Treasurer's mace until the

¹ *Register of the Privy Council*, vol. viii. pp. 233, 548.

² *Ibid.*, vol. x. p. 674.



Fig. 27. Rod or Sceptre shown with the Regalia in the Crown-room.

resemblance of this one to those in the portraits mentioned leads us to believe that a new mace was obtained shortly after the Restoration. The date when this mace was made—1667—also coincides with that opinion. It is possible that in the spoliation of public and private property during the Civil Wars the old mace may have been destroyed, and that it therefore became necessary to get a new one. At any rate, it is clear that there was used between this date and the Union a mace resembling this one so closely that we appear to be warranted in identifying the latter as the Lord Treasurer's mace. A careful search has been made in the Accounts of the Lord Treasurer in 1667 with a view to discover the payment for this mace, but the manner in which the accounts were kept at that time renders it impossible to trace the payment.

On the constituting of the Court of the Barons of Exchequer, which practically took over the functions of the Lord Treasurer, the mace of the Lord Treasurer appears to have been handed over to the Chief Baron, for in the portrait of Sir James Montgomery, Bart., Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, 1721,¹ it is again figured.

Since the abolition of that Court, when its judicial functions were transferred to the Court of Session, it has been used by the Lord President. Once a year, however, when Her Majesty's Lord High Commissioner comes to the meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, it is carried before the Commissioner in the ceremonials of that occasion, which are perhaps the sole survivors of the many pageants in which it once was proudly borne.

One interesting circumstance may be said to result from the tracing of the history of this mace, viz., the doubtful light it casts on the identity of the rod shown along with

¹ From the portrait by Sir Henry Raeburn,—Scot. Nat. Portrait Gallery.

the Regalia, which has hitherto been described as the Lord Treasurer's Mace (fig. 27).

Although the Regalia were minutely described in the Act of Deposition, no mention was made of the rod found in the chest beside them; and Sir Walter Scott, in arriving at the conclusion that it was the mace of the Lord Treasurer, appears to have been misled by the circumstance that the Treasurer's mace was invariably delivered up along with the Regalia when they passed from the custody of one Lord Treasurer to another. But the circumstances in which the Regalia were deposited in the Castle in 1707 were not analagous to this, and there was no reason whatever why the Lord Treasurer should thus have divested himself of his rod of office, not when the Regalia were being given up by him, but when they were being surrendered by the Earl Marischall, under protest, into his custody.

That he did not do so, appears to be clear from the fact that this rod does not bear the slightest resemblance to the mace figured in the portraits of the Lord Treasurers already mentioned.

The identity, therefore, of the rod found with the Regalia still remains to be established.

On the one hand, it can hardly be maintained, after what has been said about maces, that it contains any of their typical features; and on the other hand, there can be as little doubt that it presents all the features of a sceptre.

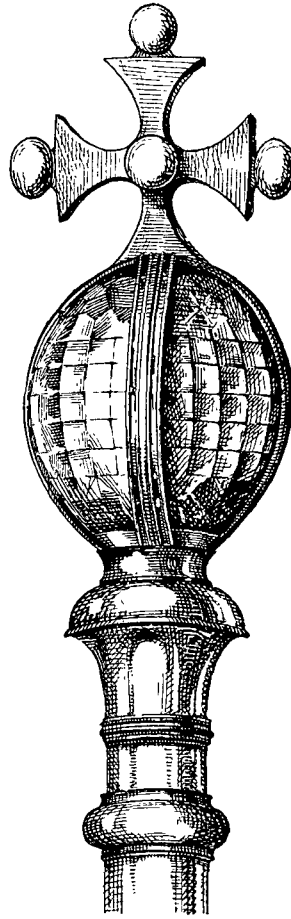


Fig. 28. Head of Rod or Sceptre shown with the Regalia in the Crown-room.

The rod is surmounted by the orb and cross (fig. 28), and the former, as is well known, was the sign of sovereign authority and majesty.

But it has hitherto been impossible to discover whose particular sceptre it is. In addition to the King's sceptre, there was a Queen's sceptre. One is referred to in Tennand's Inventory of 1542 as "ane sceptour with ane quhyte hand," but that description does not agree with the appearance of this rod. Possibly some entry in the Lord Treasurer's Accounts, or in some other records, may yet be found which will elucidate the point.

MACE OF THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICIARY.

This mace (Plate XI. No. 3), as befits the emblem of avenging justice, is of iron, and is borne before the Lord Justice-General, Lord Justice-Clerk or other Justiciary Judges when they preside at a criminal assize.

The head is of cylindrical form, and gilded, and its entire surface is occupied by three thistles with leaves displayed, while the ground is pierced out. It is surmounted by an open crown with six beaded arches.

The staff is plain, and is divided by two small moulded bands; it is also enriched at its upper end with three plain scroll brackets.

This mace does not seem to be very old, but its precise antiquity has not been ascertained.

In addition to this mace, which is used only in Edinburgh, there are similar maces in all the towns where the Justiciary Judges hold their Court while on circuit. None of these are of any particular interest or of any great antiquity, and it has not been thought necessary for the purpose of this paper to figure them or describe them minutely.

MACES OF THE COURT OF SESSION.

There are five silver maces used by the Court of Session. One of them is used by the Lord Justice-Clerk when he sits in the Second Division, and the others are used by the Lords Ordinary when sitting with a jury. In their general form, size, and appearance they are very

similar; but as they differ in minor respects, they may be described separately. In all of them it will be noted that the crown surmounting their heads lacks the jewelled fillet which generally appears in maces of this type. This may be accounted for by the fact that the oldest lacks this detail, and that the others are all more or less copies of it.

I. That which seems to be the oldest (Plate XII. No. 1) is unstamped and undated, and bears no indication when it was made, except the arms, which are those used by the Stuarts from 1603 till 1688.

It is made of silver, measures 27 inches in length, and weighs 38 oz. 18 dwt.

The head is bell-shaped, and bears the thistle, rose, fleur-de-lis, and harp, all made separately of silver, gilded, and fixed by nuts and screws.

The head is surmounted by a cresting of leaves, which is partially broken away, and is closed by a flat plate, to which is attached by a nut and screw a shield bearing the royal arms, rudely enamelled in blue. The crown is closed by four arches, surmounted by the orb and cross.

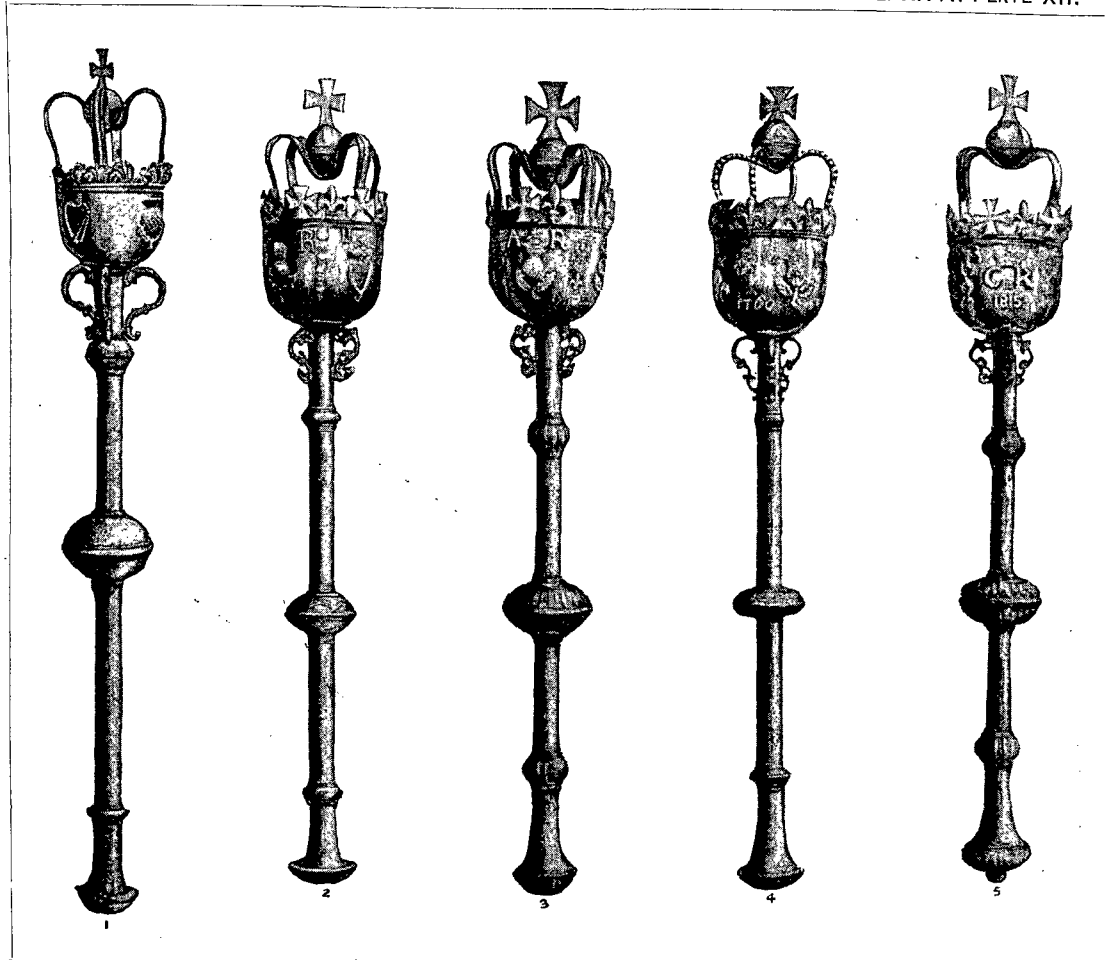
The rod is divided into two divisions by one large and two smaller moulded bands.

The neckband is enriched with three scroll brackets, and the foot is terminated by a bell-shaped pendant.

II. This mace (Plate XII. No. 2) is made of silver: it measures 25 inches in length, and weighs 37 oz. 15 dwt.

The head is bell-shaped, and is divided into four divisions by caryatides of cast-silver, soldered on. In the spaces are respectively a thistle, harp, fleur-de-lis, and rose, all crowned, and on two of the divisions there also appear in relief the letters C. R. II. The head is closed by a flat plate bearing the royal arms in silver gilt, and is surmounted by a cresting of Maltese crosses and fleurs-de-lis, from which spring four arches bearing the orb and cross.

The shaft is similar in form to that of the previous mace, but the central moulded band is smaller, and is decorated with a stamped pattern.



Maces of the Court of Session.

Three scroll brackets, richly worked, likewise enrich the neckband of this mace.

To the end of the rod is soldered a silver plate engraved with the initials *F. G.*—which may have been the initials of one of the macers who used it.

The mace bears the Edinburgh hall-mark, and is stamped with the maker's punch of Edward Cleghorn, who was admitted to the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of Edinburgh in 1649, and the deacon's punch of Andrew Burrell, deacon 1653-4 and 1659-61.

III. This mace (Plate XII. No. 3) is made of silver: it measures $25\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, and weighs 44 oz. 6 dwt.

The head is bell-shaped, and is divided into four divisions by curious ornaments, each consisting of a harp, fleur-de-lis, rose, and thistle, placed one on the top of the other, and surmounted by a *lac d'amour*. The spaces are filled respectively with a thistle, rose, fleur-de-lis, and harp, all crowned, and dividing the initials A. R.

The head is closed by a domed plate bearing the royal arms, and is surmounted by a crown, with a cresting of fleurs-de-lis and crosses, from which there spring four arches, bearing the orb and cross.

The shaft is divided in the middle by a large knob, decorated with fluting, while above it and below it are two smaller fluted bands. The neckband, as in the previous mace, is also enriched with three scroll brackets, and the foot of the rod is bell-shaped.

The mace bears the Edinburgh hall-mark for the year 1704-5, and the maker's punch of Alexander Kincaid, who was admitted to the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of Edinburgh in 1694.

IV. This mace (Plate XII. No. 4) is made of silver: it measures $25\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, and weighs 38 oz. 15 dwt. The head is similar in form to the others, and is decorated with the same emblems, but it bears the initials G. R. II. and the date 1760.

It is surmounted by a crown with four beaded arches, and in the form and division of its rod resembles the previous maces.

Its decoration, however, is a distinct reflection of the style of orna-

mentation known as that of Louis XIV., which then prevailed; and in this mace it finds expression in the form of the scroll brackets at the neckband, and in the ornaments which divide the head and enrich the moulded band of its shaft.

The mace bears for a hall-mark the initials W. S. and a thistle twice repeated. No mention of any goldsmith with these initials is found about that period in the books of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of Edinburgh, and it may also be noted that the thistle was only introduced in 1759 as one of the statutory stamps for Edinburgh plate. The maker may, nevertheless, have been an Edinburgh goldsmith.

V. This mace (Plate XII. No. 5) is of silver: it measures $27\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, and weighs 50 oz. 7 dwt. Its design is in all respects like



Fig. 29. Macers of the Court of Session.—From Sommers' Illustrations of the Riding of the Scottish Parliament.

that of the mace made in 1704-5 (Plate XII. No. 3),—with these exceptions, that it only bears the rose, thistle, and harp on its head, and in the fourth space the initials G. R. III., surmounted by a crown and the date 1815, and it has the arms of George III. on the dome above the head. It bears the Edinburgh hall-mark for the year 1815.

Of none of the maces of the College of Justice is there a recorded history; but if they had the gift of speech, what a history they could tell! Besides being used for their strictly judicial purposes, they were also borne in other important ceremonials, such as the Riding of the Scottish Parliament, in Sommers' Illustrations of which they are figured (fig. 29).

The oldest of them have thus been the silent witnesses of many a great event and many a strange debate, and much of what was transacted in their presence belongs to the history of the country.

To deal with the historic memories associated with them is beyond the scope of this paper; but it may be said that since the picturesque exterior of the Old Parliament House was destroyed by the iconoclastic "improvers" of 1829, they form one of the few visible links which carry the present generation back both to the succession of distinguished men who for centuries maintained the dignity and honour of the Scottish bench and bar, and also to the time when Scotland had a Parliament of its own.

This closes the account of all the old maces now known to be in existence in Scotland.

Two types common in England are conspicuous by their absence here,—the semi-military type already referred to, and also those made or altered during the Commonwealth, which bear the arms of the State.

Of those that have gone amissing at various times and from various causes the number is inconsiderable. The maces of the King's Macers of the fourteenth and fifteenth century were probably disposed of on the death of their owners; the ancient maces of the University of Aberdeen cannot be traced after the Reformation, and the earliest Lord Treasurer's mace seems to have disappeared about the time of the Civil Wars; the old mace of the City of Edinburgh was evidently disposed of after the present one was obtained, and the two maces of the Privy Council were probably sold when that body ceased to exist; the mace of the University of Edinburgh alone had an untimely end, for late in the eighteenth century it fell a prey to a burglar's cupidity.

The surprising circumstance, considering the rude character of the times in which they were used, and the loose way in which they were

generally kept, is not that so many, but that so few of them have been destroyed.

Their history covers a profoundly interesting and eventful period of Scottish history. The oldest of them carry us back to the Middle Ages, and may possibly have been handled by some to whom the Wars of Independence were but as a tale of yesterday; and in the march of time they carry us through the Reformation, the Revolution, the Civil Wars, the Restoration, the Union, and the Rebellions. The advance of civilisation has practically rendered unnecessary the principal purposes they were intended to fulfil; but still, as of old, they serve to uphold the majesty of the law, to symbolise the favour of the Sovereign, to mark the pre-eminence of the Lord Provost, and to enhance the dignity of the Rectors of our Universities.

In concluding, I now desire to return my best thanks for the assistance I have received in compiling this paper. To the University, Civic, and Judicial Authorities I am indebted for the great facilities they afforded, both for examining the maces and the records in their custody. To Mr J. Maitland Anderson, Librarian of the St Andrews University, I owe special thanks for the great pains he took in searching the manuscript records under his charge for information bearing on the history of the maces of the University of St Andrews. From Mr J. Balfour Paul, the Lyon King of Arms, I have received considerable assistance in identifying and describing the arms on the different maces. Many suggestions and much valuable information, which would have been otherwise difficult for me to obtain, I owe to Dr Thomas Dickson, Curator of the Historical Department, Register House. Mr Hippolyte J. Blanc has assisted me also, in describing the architectural features of the maces; and to many others I am afraid I have been burdensome,—to none more so than to Dr Joseph Anderson, whose unflinching courtesy and invaluable help it is a pleasure to acknowledge.