

II.

THE ARMORIAL DE BERRY. (SCOTTISH SECTION.)

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In the matter of ancient records of all sorts, Scotland may be compared to a traveller who has fallen among thieves so often that little of his luggage is left. All the more reason then to make the most of what has survived the perils of the journey; which is the excuse for this effort to treat, with more attention than it has yet received, one still existing heraldic record—the Scottish section of the French *Armorial de Berry*.

The good fortune of England in preserving so much of her past is nowhere more conspicuous than in her great collections of heraldic rolls or lists of nobles, knights and squires, with the arms they anciently bore, from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards. Ours in Scotland begin so comparatively late as the sixteenth century, and there is very little of definitely certain date then, till one reaches the 1540's. Before that period, however, some limited light is thrown by three of the great Continental armorials. The earliest is the collection of Scottish coats in the *Armorial de Gelre*, c. 1380; but they only number 42, and include but 22 separate families (*i.e.* with separate surnames) which can be identified with certainty. Moreover, these families, apart from the earls, come almost all from the east side of the country, mostly within a limited range of Edinburgh.

The *Armorial de l'Europe*, c. 1425,¹ has rather more Scots coats, 57 in all, but 5 of these have no names and it is impossible to be sure of the owners, so that only 33 separate families can be identified. They are rather more widely spread than in *Gelre*, yet they still come mostly from the same eastern counties (again apart from the earls).

The *Armorial de Berry* is the latest of the three (c. 1445, as will appear), and its proportion of those heraldic slips and errors only to be expected in a foreign work is somewhat higher, but in two very important respects its Scottish section is far and away ahead of the others. It is much longer, including 125 names (not counting one repetition presumably in error), and some 93 separate families who can with reasonable confidence be identified. Also, it has been deliberately designed to cover the greater

¹ The dates both of this *Armorial* and of *Gelre* can be told pretty exactly from internal evidence.

part of the country and display a representative collection of arms for all Scotland; and in actual fact, apart from one north-eastern area, it includes almost all the most outstanding families of the period. It will be found, moreover, to make certain contacts with history which throw some fresh light on shadowy corners. These features, together with its date—practically a century older than the first certainly dateable native armorials—give it a value and an interest to Scotsmen which has scarcely been realised.

It has already been reproduced in colour in Stodart's *Scottish Arms*, though with only the briefest accompanying text, little more than the identification of the often oddly spelt names, together with a few notes on some of them. Stodart's volumes, it may be added, are not very generally accessible, while their gigantic dimensions put them definitely outside the category of objects that can be man-handled with comfort.

Furthermore, his plates have not the advantage of photographic accuracy, as can be seen by comparing them with the illustrations which accompany this paper. Details of drawing, colours, and names all show a certain number of deviations; good though they are on the whole. For my own plates, I am indebted entirely to the generous interest of Mr Walter G. Grant, F.S.A.Scot., to whom I am under a deep debt of gratitude for providing the most interesting part of this article. I may explain here that the photographs were obtained through the Office de Documentation in Paris, and the correct tinctures given by their heraldic expert, who checked and when necessary corrected the outline tricks I sent him. He also sent me samples of the actual red and blue used in the *Armorial*; though it must be understood that these actually vary somewhat in shade, and that to reproduce such variations would entail far too costly a colour process.

On its artistic side, medieval heraldry is seen in an animated and, one may fairly say, a slap-dash mood. The quaint spirited lions, the admirable boar heads, the extraordinary conceptions of the griffin of Lauder, the unicorn of Kerr of Samuelston, the otters of Meldrum, the lion faces of Macgie, the parrots of Pepdie, and the other more or less successful endeavours to depict animal forms, are interesting and entertaining additions to the heraldic menagerie. As to the ordinaries—bends, chevrons, etc.—the paint was splashed on without a pause for measurement or the ruling of a line; to such an extreme in the case of the cross fleury of Carlyle that it would be unrecognisable unless one knew what it was. Nor did the artist even slacken his headlong career to make his shields approximately symmetrical. To this passion for speed must no doubt be attributed many, probably most, of the errors to be found in

the *Armorial*. On the other hand, one does get a liveliness denied, in this as in other matters, to the severely conscientious.

2.

Gilles le Bouvier, author of the *Armorial*, was a writer, herald, and traveller of no small distinction in his day. His life and works are treated at some length in M. Vallet's scholarly monograph on the *Armorial*.¹ From this authority we learn that he was born in 1386 of a minor armorial family in the province of Berry, set out into the world to make a career in 1402, became Berry King of Arms and premier herald of France in 1420, and served his master King Charles VII. faithfully and diligently in the capacities of envoy and agent as well as herald till his death in or about 1455. His travels took him all over Europe and the near East, and both his accounts of them and his historical works are highly praised by Vallet for their sagacity, impartiality, and cool judgment; while his *Armorial* was a really immense and heraldically most valuable undertaking. In his own preface to it, Bouvier narrates how he travelled through every *Marche* or district of France, collecting his material at first hand from the owners of the arms themselves, and we shall see clear evidence that he followed the same procedure in Scotland.

He adds in his preface, in case any be dissatisfied with the arms he assigns to them, that he was guided neither by love nor hate, but set down the arms exactly as they were given him. In other words, he exercised no official control but accepted the coats on the guarantee of their bearers; a valuable fact in connection with the question of official control of arms during the period when the arms-bearer was a formidable and frequently fiery warrior, and the herald a pacific officer dependent largely on the hospitality and largesse of his patrons.

From a critical examination of the original, together with Bouvier's own account, Vallet gives this interesting description of the premier herald's methods. The *blasons*, he says, appear to have been the direct and original work of the herald himself, the armorial being probably composed of separate "cahiers" (paper booklets) of sketches, "done on the spot and successively by the author. He himself, no doubt, having arrived at the *stations ou domiciles a lui personnels*, transcribed and retouched, with the help, if necessary, of his heraldic painters and his pursuivants or assistants. Thus are explained, in our opinion, the

¹ *Armorial de France, Angleterre, Écosse, Allemagne, Italie, et autres puissances. Composé vers 1450 par Gilles le Bouvier dit Berry.* Par M. Vallet (de Viriville). Paris, 1866.

inequalities of execution . . . the *blasons* unachieved, and the transpositions which several chapters present."

These last words refer to a not infrequent mix-up of folios, made in binding the *cahiers* together, such as one that occurs in the Scots section, where several folios of Norman arms interrupt the sequence of pages. Four "*blasons* unachieved" are also found among the Scottish arms.

Vallet adds one other point, the importance of which will appear later. Inclusion of the arms was voluntary, and "we must suppose also that a certain fee (*droit*), a certain charge (*taxe*), was the price of insertion; a charge paid to the profit of the herald, for whom the work entailed costly and constant travelling. This payment was a matter of right, according to the books of arms of the period, and entirely in harmony with the ancient traditions." (In a footnote Vallet cites various early authorities for this.)

Regarding the date of the *Armorial*, Vallet shows strong reasons for holding that a considerable part, at least, of the French sections or chapters (which include the vast bulk of the work) was done in the late 1440's or early 1450's, and that it ended with Bouvier's death in 1455. The foreign sections, however, might have been collected at almost any time after 1420—or even before, and only in a few countries is there evidence for dating. In Scotland there is none, apart from internal evidence, and Stodart's date, 1450–55, is merely Vallet's estimate of when the whole *Armorial* was completed. I may add that the period 1440–48 is a particularly probable one for Berry's foreign armorial journeys, since his name is not found in French records during those years.

3.

Coming now to the Scottish arms-bearers, they number, as was said, 125, and consist of 15 earls, 101 barons or greater lairds, and 9 individuals. In their arrangement one sees a marked advance on the more haphazard methods of the two earlier armorials. Both in *Gelre* and *Europe*, though a batch of earls comes first, others appear later mixed up with the baronial arms, while the legends sometimes give the owner's christian name and sometimes not. Berry's mind was orderly and (for that period) precise. The earls are confined to 5 rows at the beginning, and the christian names to a group of 9 all together at the end. The earls' arms are each labelled "Le conte de" So-and-so, and almost all the others "Le sire de" or "Ceulx de" (those of), followed sometimes by the surname, but more often by the name of the estate (there appears to be no definite distinction

between these designations "sire" and "ceulx"—or anyhow no consistent distinction). A few others are styled "Monsieur de". This last title is interesting. It is used nowhere else in the *Armorial*, and from that fact alone the peculiar Scots title "Master of" is suggested. A detailed examination in each case where evidence is available not only puts this, I think, beyond reasonable doubt, but gives valuable help in dating the Scottish section.

As was just pointed out, one has to seek this date in such significant heraldic and other facts as can be discovered within the *Armorial* itself; and the following items seem, between them, to provide pretty definite evidence on the point.

1. It cannot well be earlier than the creation of the short-lived earldom of Ormond in 1445, or later than its extinction in 1455 (which was also the date of Berry's death), though since there appears to be no record of the creation, merely the first appearance of the Earl of Ormond in 1445, a year or so earlier is just possible.

2. The inclusion of no fewer than three Livingstone and three Crichton coats not only shows that the date coincided with the rivalry of those two houses, but seems to make it definitely before January 1449–50 when the Livingstones crashed, and Berry would no longer be apt to put in three of their armorials.

3. The arms of Lyon have a baston or bendlet gules. This appears in the seal of the father of the first Lord Lyon who died in 1435. But it is not in the seal of the son, appended somewhere between 1435 and 1445; nor does it ever in fact appear again.¹ In 1445 this son was raised to the peerage, and it seems unlikely that Berry would include the baston in the coat of "Le Sire de Lion" after that year. 1445 would seem in fact to be both the earliest and the latest date possible—or at all events probable—on the actual evidence so far considered.

4. The evidence supporting the view that "Monsieur" must surely mean "Master" consists of a number of facts showing that, in five cases out of six, there actually was a Master c. 1445, who was of full age and responsible position, and who might quite well therefore, for one reason or another, have had his own arms entered in place of the head of the house, to whom he was heir.

It would be going too far afield to enter at all fully into the question of the early usage of this designation, but since it is one of the matters on which the *Armorial* throws a ray of historical light, I may say here that Mr Thomas Innes of Learney, Albany Herald, has kindly and very thoroughly gone into the matter with me, and agrees in the first place,

¹ See *Scottish Armorial Seals* (Rae Macdonald) for all these seals.

that "Monsieur" must be taken to represent Master. He further rejects the suggestion that at that date the term might have been used loosely of the eldest son or heir of a baron below the rank of Earl or Peer of Parliament. These Monsieurs of the *Armorial* must therefore have been the heirs to peerages; from which it follows that several Scottish families were at least created Peers of Parliament at a considerably earlier date than has hitherto been known; even though, for one reason or another (probably the trouble and expense entailed), they backed out of the dignity and are not found as peers in any other record. As will be seen, this would apply to the families of Oliphant, Wemyss, and Murray of Tullibardin, on the evidence of our *Armorial*. These are Mr Innes's opinions. His reasons were very fully stated, and I for one would accept his authority on the question.

Returning to the facts supplying evidence both of date and of the identity of "Monsieur" with Master: Patrick, Master of Gray, eldest son of Andrew first Lord Gray, was married in 1440 and married a second time before 1445, so that he was certainly old enough to appear in the *Armorial* then, with some years to spare. This applies also to Patrick Ruthven of that ilk who was Sheriff Depute under his father Sir John Ruthven, Sheriff of Perth, in 1444. Similarly, the Master of Forbes appears in Parliamentary records in 1445, and succeeded his father in 1448; facts which in themselves point to a date for the *Armorial* before the latter year. As for Monsieur de Rues (Rires), Sir Thomas Wemyss of Rires succeeded his father Duncan before 1443; this Duncan being elder son of Sir John Wemyss of Wemyss. The principal family of Wemyss, however, descended from David, younger son of Sir John, and David's son John, who succeeded c. 1430, only came of age c. 1446. Consequently Thomas Wemyss of Rires was next heir and presumably Tutor of Wemyss in 1445.

Though the Murrays, like the family of Wemyss, are not previously known to have held a peerage till long after this period, it is a coincidence which now seems not without significance that Sir David Murray's estate of Tullibardin, Gask, etc. was erected into a barony in 1443–44, while Sir David's son and heir William is considered to be probably identical with William Murray, arbiter between Lord Ruthven and the town of Perth in 1442. Again we have a Master of sufficient age and responsible position.¹

As will be seen later, "Monsr de quohon" is pretty certainly a mistake,² and the only remaining Master is Monsieur de Quili, a designation which

¹ All the above evidence is from the *Scots Peerage*.

² I.e. "Monsr" itself is, with little doubt, a mistranscription. See next section.

can now be read as Archellie, part of the estate of Lord Oliphant. Here alone the evidence presents a difficulty. Sir John Oliphant died in January 1445–46, and Lawrence his heir was then a minor and only came of age c. 1450.¹ Whether there may perhaps be an explanation on the lines of Wemyss of Rires, I am not aware. Or again, the foreign herald may be responsible for some inconsistency. Lawrence may have been the Monsieur even though under age in 1445. In any event five out of six cases accord with the reading "Master," and are also consistent with a date round about 1445.

5. Later on, in dealing with the 9 individuals at the end, the very year 1445 gains added significance; though certain facts strongly suggest later additions.

Taking all the evidence together, 1445 stands out as the most probable year in which at all events the main bulk of the information was collected, with some items added later, and perhaps the lapse of a few years before the coats were painted in their final form.

4.

The next question concerns the accuracy of Berry's Scots arms, both as to heraldry and names.

Taking the names first; an examination of the so-called "facsimiles" in Stodart leaves an impression of a handwriting so bad and misspellings so extraordinary as to make one wonder how far those names are to be relied on. But when one sees the photographs one discovers that the writing, except where it has occasionally faded, is quite bold and legible. The facsimiles, in fact, not being really done by a mechanical process, but by careful tracing by hand, have the defect of all tracings. They tend to make a handwriting look "spidery," and, especially where it has faded, produce a totally wrong impression. Moreover, they are by no means all correctly shown in *Scottish Arms*. From the photographs it has been possible to correct a number of them, and this again has facilitated the reconstruction of the names. For the readings given here I am indebted to Mr William Angus and Mr H. M. Paton of the Historical Department of the Register House, and I may say that in every case I have accepted their opinion; though at the same time I must add that their readings were corroborations, or sometimes corrections of my own, and the responsibility for them is entirely mine.

As for the misspellings, one must first allow for the almost purely phonetic efforts of a foreigner to tackle Scottish names, and for his use of

¹ *Scots Peerage*.

qu to represent the sound *k*, and then realise that these names, as we have them, are evidently copies of those in his first rough notes, and the mistakes usually due either to misreading or careless copying.

That this is undoubtedly the case can be shown by a few examples. For instance, Carrick appears as "quant" (with "fic" scored out before it). Even a foreigner would never make such a mistake except by misreading an already written "quaric," which could very easily be done. Similarly "morat" was clearly "morai" in the first note, "beue" was "leue" or "leus," and "mandoel" was "macdoel," or perhaps "maicdoel." These are evident cases, and I may add that even the French names sometimes show the same sort of error, clearly due to misreading an original note; *e.g.* "Pestiman" for Pestivien, and "Pruscalet" for Pluscallet.

Instances of names a little more difficult to reconstruct are "bouesel" for Duchal, where *d* has been misread as *b*, a fairly common error; "nesegles" (tresegles) for Terreagles; "de bes" (veg or vec) for Dunvegan, and "du lar" for Dunbar, where an original "dun" has been misread as "de" in one case and "du" in the other.

Other cases will be mentioned later, but these samples serve to show the kind of error frequently found, and its usual source—the misreading of an original note. Contractions are also met with, while occasionally a mistake seems to have arisen where the original name has been corrected by scoring out one or two letters, and then copied uncorrected. In one or other of these ways it is usually possible to explain such misreadings as "fic" for "fif" (Fife), "saincton" for Swinton, "losec" for Leslie, etc. One result of this investigation is to raise a suspicion that the copying of the names was left to a "pursuivant or other assistant."

Once or twice one finds mistakes in the attribution of names to coats. On Pl. VIII. it will be seen that "tranquart" (Cathcart) has been written over two shields, the right one and that of Kennedy of Blairquhan, while "blairian" (Blairquhan) is over Kirkpatrick. Two other puzzling legends seem due to a curious error of exchange. The unmistakable quartered coat of Ogilvy of Auchterhouse (Pl. VI.) is labelled "Monsr de quohon," while the equally unmistakable ermine, fretty gules of Macculoch (Pl. XII.) is styled "ceulx de boisglaui." It took a long time to realise that, to all appearances, the names have actually been interchanged; "Monsr de quohon" being a mistranscription of "macqulou," or something like that, and "boisglaui" a mistranscription of "d'oisglaui." It may be added that on Pl. XIII. two shields are without a legend at all, but fortunately the arms are again unmistakable—Rait and Monipenny.¹

¹ In M. Vallet's *Armorial de France*, etc., these two coats are included in error among the arms of Normandy (Nos. 671 and 672).

In the matter of heraldic errors, these, as already hinted, may, as a rule, safely be put down to overhaste. They consist mainly in the omission of charges, such as the ribbon of Abernethy in the coat of the Earl of Crawford, the three stars in Lindsay of Byres, the engrailed bordure in Gray, the tressure in Lyon, and the annulet in Maxwell of Pollock; together with such errors as the crosses placed on the crescents of Cathcart instead of above them, and the escutcheon instead of voided escutcheon of Rutherford. One also has at least one definite error of addition, in the ribbon put in the second and third quarters of Wemyss of Rires. And various other mistakes, greater or less, will strike heraldic critics; some of which will be referred to later.

But at the same time one must beware of assuming an error when some dissimilarity from the orthodox arms appears. The evidence of early seals sometimes definitely supports Berry as against later recognised forms; as, for instance, the chevron and boar heads of Buchanan (Pl. VII.), the tressure of Murray of Cockpool (Pl. VII.), and the chevrons of Scott of Balwearie (Pl. XII.) and Glen (Pl. XIII.), where in the books lion heads and martlets alone are given.¹ In view of these last four cases, where Berry certainly was justified by the early evidence available, one realises that his *Armorial* sometimes provides valuable evidence as to the form in which arms were actually borne at dates earlier than those covered by official records.

When we come to his colour deviations from orthodoxy, the same question arises—is he simply wrong, or does he show the colours as they really used to be? Here seals, of course, are no help, and one can only say, on the one hand, that his tendency sometimes to reverse the colours of field and charges—as in Kirkpatrick, Melville, and Harcarse, and his red for blue and black for red in the well-known arms of Montgomery and Menzies—must be put down to sheer error; and, on the other hand, that the various Scottish coloured armorials are often themselves contradictory (see Nisbet for instances of this). Hence, just as in the case of charges, he may sometimes be giving the true colours as used in his day. In one particular, however, he certainly was apt to make mistakes, for Vallet specifically says of his French arms that he frequently confounds black and blue. One must therefore always make allowance for this. The black field of Murray of Gask, for instance, and the black boar heads of Cochrane, may simply be disregarded as evidence of colour. Nor, it may be added, need the bear heads of Forbes, caboshed instead of couped, be taken as anything more than a slip on the artist's part.

Later on, various cases will be referred to in more detail, in which

¹ See their seals in *S.A.S.* for evidence in each of these cases.

Berry would seem to have had grounds, and perhaps strong grounds, for displaying unfamiliar colours or charges. Here it may be said generally, as some guide to forming an opinion, that the nett result of the various departures from recognised heraldic orthodoxy in the *Armorial* is to leave an impression of considerable licence and frequent changes in earlier Scottish heraldry; and that impression, it may be added, is strengthened by a study of Rae Macdonald's *Scottish Armorial Seals*. We have Berry's own assurance, already quoted, that he himself took the arms as he found them, in France anyhow, and one must presume that in Scotland he also consulted the susceptibilities of his warlike patrons, and certainly made no alterations that might displease them. But this is not to say that he might not occasionally gratify them by making an addition pleasing to my lord. There is one actual case, inexplicable on any other hypothesis, and very curious in itself.

This is the appearance of a galley in the arms both of the Earl of Angus (Pl. IV.), and the "Sire de Grain"—*i.e.* Graham (Pl. VII.). In the first case it is blue and replaces the red heart of Douglas; in the second it is red on a gold field, with three black escallops in fess above. This last coat, it is to be particularly observed, is evidently that of the Grahams, claimants to the earldom of Strathearn and afterwards Earls of Menteith, since the escallops are not on a chief; see Nos. 1107 and 1108, *Scot. Arm. Seals*. This Berry coat is exactly like the second of those in particular, with the escallops moved up to make room for the galley below. Neither Douglases nor Grahams ever bore a galley, nor is it found in any other coat representing the earldoms of Angus or Strathearn. There seemed, in fact, to be no conceivable reason for its appearance.

The explanation (if my reasoning is right) is interesting and illuminating. Only one other galley appears in the *Armorial*, and that is in the first and fourth quarters of the arms of William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney (Pl. IV.), where it represents his island earldom, and when one remembers that the two previous lines of Orkney earls were actually the houses of Angus and Strathearn, it is difficult to regard these three appearances of the galley as unconnected.

Now, at that very date William Sinclair's right to the earldom of Orkney was being challenged at the Danish court, and in either 1443 or 1446 there was issued at Kirkwall the well-known Diploma, setting forth the evidence for Sinclair's claim, *via* the lines of Strathearn and Angus.¹ Charles of France was nearly akin to King Christopher of Denmark, and naturally highly influential at his court, Berry was Charles's premier herald, and Earl William himself was keenly interested in heraldry. He

¹ Printed in the *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. iii.

was, indeed, its only patron in Scotland at that period known to record. Our first Scottish treatise on the science was written at Roslin Castle by Sir Gilbert le Hay at the Earl's special request.

The appearance of the galleys in the Angus and Graham coats may thus be read as instigated (and handsomely paid for) by William Sinclair in order to supplement by heraldic demonstration, *via* Berry and his royal master, his claim to the earldom of Orkney. Certainly this line of reasoning explains what is otherwise a complete mystery. It is, moreover, to be observed that the other two arms-bearers could feel nothing but gratified by having this record of former dignities added to their arms.

5.

Considering the problems that were set him by so many of the names (not so difficult to read once you know what they ought to be, but a very different story for the first man in the field!), Stodart's identifications of the coats are remarkably successful, and his judgment was extremely sound. Later investigation, however, has enabled corrections to be made, or uncertain coats to be identified in five instances.

The name "Le Conte de Surdelle" (Pl. IV.) naturally seemed to be intended for the Earl of Sutherland, but the blue field with three white lions is so utterly different from the Sutherland red field with three gold stars that Stodart suggested a confusion between that earldom and Ross —with the colours beyond the reach of explanation.

The true reading of "Surdelle," however, may, I think undoubtedly, be seen by comparing it with "dilles" (*d'illes*) above. It must contain the same word "island," while "surd" can well be a corruption of Sodor, the old name for the Hebrides, still found in the title Bishop of Sodor and Man. The "Earl" of the Hebrides-isle was, of course, Macdonald, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, and now one sees how the three lions of Ross reappear in error, instead of the galley of the isles. With both titles, one arms, and the colours of both coats all wrong, "Le Conte de Surdelle" was pretty thoroughly disguised, but I believe he can now be safely identified as that turbulent magnate, the Lord of the Isles.

These two coats of Ross and the Isles, and the confusion between them, are Berry's worst mistake; and the explanation of it, I think, must be that he never visited the far north personally, but simply put in these coats from hearsay, as being of such importance that he considered they should be included. One is reminded of the oriental potentates whose fabulous arms the heralds of old thought essential in any respectable armorial.

The arms of "cranoc" on Pl. VI. were attributed by Stodart to

Gourlay of Kinraig; the proper colours being reversed. In addition, however, to this colour mistake, and more important, the word Kineraig, even in the form "Kincroc," is exceedingly difficult to convert into "Cranoc," as can be realised by trying the experiment. Cranoc is in fact a most unlikely corruption, and I am indebted to a suggestion by the Lord Lyon for what I think must be the true solution—Carney. This could easily become Cranocy, while, as has been pointed out, a black charge can always be read as blue. One is then only left with the field wrong; argent instead of or, and there is more than one instance in Berry of these metals being confused: *e.g.* the fretty of Lyell and the field of Jardine.

The coat labelled "quoquenton" (Pl. VII.) was attributed to Moffat; but there is no known connection between the Moffats and any place resembling this, while their actual arms, as given by Nisbet, have the colours of field and charges again reversed. As they actually stand, the arms are the original coat of Johnston (see Nisbet), only without the cushions on the chief, and since there is no evidence of the Johnstons bearing cushions before the sixteenth century, and the Kirkpatricks certainly did not add theirs till after 1357,¹ the coat is inherently more likely to be Johnston. This is all the more probable since the families of Dumfries and Galloway in the *Armorial* are such a particularly representative collection that the Johnstons are very much more likely to be included. Indeed it would be surprising if they were not. As to the name "quoquenton," if one spells it "Cockenton," and then supposes a bent *l* has been read as *c*, and *r* as *n* (both quite possible mistakes), one gets Lockerton, a by no means improbable French version of Lockerbie, one of the Johnston headquarters. This suggestion at least shows that there is no inherent difficulty in the way of accepting a Johnston attribution for this shield.

The coat on Pl. IX. assigned to "bediton" was left by Stodart as uncertain, but it can now be confidently attributed to Maitland of "lediton"; *i.e.* Ledington or Lethington. Robert Maitland of that date was son of Agnes, daughter of the Earl of Dunbar, and this Robert was given the custody of Dunbar Castle by his uncle.² Thus the red roses and white bordure of Dunbar are explained, while the rest is the proper Maitland arms, or a lion gules. The roses should presumably have been properly placed in the bordure.

On Pl. XIII. will be seen a shield labelled "ceulx de lorn," showing a quartered coat. The first and fourth quarters, or a chief sable, cannot

¹ Kirkpatrick seals in S.A.S.

² *Scots Peerage*.

be identified and must surely be an error. In the second and third the bend has lost all its colour save a few scraps of blue paint, and charges might quite well have been borne upon it once. If these were three mussels, the arms would be Haliburton, and though this is undeniably a shot at a venture, "de lorn" could certainly quite well be a corruption of "dirleton," and no other reading is apparent which could possibly fit the arms. Hence with considerable confidence I would advance Haliburton of Dirleton as the proper family here.

A sixth shield, that of "maquele" on Pl. VI., is so dubious that it would be rash to do more than suggest as a possible solution the family of St Michael, one of whose branches bore argent, a chevron between three cushions sable.¹ Cushions are occasionally shown like this, though not in the two other cases in this *Armorial* (Dunbar of Mochrum and Kirkpatrick). This suggestion is only advanced owing to the complete dearth of any alternatives, and it is advanced with no confidence whatever.

6.

There remain a few other coats which, for one reason or another, call for some special comment.

Of the earls' coats in general (Pls. IV. and V.), it may be mentioned that most of the Scottish earldoms were at that time in the hands of the Crown, largely through the high-handed operations of King James I. Of the rest, though Ross was held by the Macdonalds and Mar by the Erskines, the arms of neither family are quartered with their earldom arms. No fewer than four were held by the Douglases—Douglas, Angus, Moray, and Ormond; Crawford was held by the Lindsays, and Orkney by the Sinclairs. It is characteristic of the times that this last, though really a Norse dignity, should be included in a Scottish roll of arms.

The peculiarly shaped roses in the Lennox coat are evidently what are styled "carrées ou Anglaises" roses when they occur in the Norman arms of des Grages in this same *Armorial*. The still more peculiar first and fourth quarters of Moray, however, quite defy elucidation. Stodart suggests that the intention apparently was to depict Randolph—a tressure and 3 cushions, and when only the first was done, the red saltire was painted on top. So far there seems to be no other explanation; though this, of course, does not explain why that happened.

The very first of the baronial arms, Swinton on Pl. V., has two puzzling features. Why should this family, ancient though they were, take the lead, ahead of a string of the greatest baronial houses in Scotland, seven

¹ St. Michael of Bramson (Nisbet).

of them on that same page being either Peers of Parliament already or shortly to become so? And why should Swinton have entirely wrong colours—a white shield with red charges, instead of a black shield with gold and white?

The only answer apparent—which covers both features—is that this Merse or Berwickshire coat is placed beneath that of the Earl of March (the Merse) who heads the row above, and that it is given the Dunbar colours as those of the feudal superior. Furthermore, it is to be observed that the boar heads are placed in the unusual position of “erect,” thus “respecting” the coat above.

In more than one of the *marches* into which the French arms were divided, there are evident indications (seen in the charges of the coats) of a connection between arms in the same perpendicular column, even when not on the same page.¹ Very far from all the coats are thus connected; that would require infinitely too much time and trouble, but the herald seemed to use this method occasionally. In our Scottish section all the boar heads are erect (save in the last coat, which, as will appear, was added later), while the other animal heads, when not full-faced, look upwards, suggesting the same principle at work. And the following three cases may all be explained on the same lines as Swinton.

On Pl. XII. the arms of Baillie of Lamington show six red roses in a white field, instead of white stars in a blue field; at first sight a bad error. But before acquiring Lamington, these Baillies were of Hoprig in Berwickshire, close to the ancient Dunbar fortalice of Cockburnspath, and here one has not only the Dunbar colours, but their very roses. Again the arms are in the first column, headed (on Pl. V.) by the Earl of March.

On the same Pl. XII. Buchan has the colours of the earldom of Buchan, gold lion heads in a blue field, instead of red or black heads in a white field, and is in the same column as “Le conte de boquan.”

On Pl. VIII. Kerr is black and white instead of red and white, or green, white and black. For black read blue, and both colours and charges are those of Douglas, lord paramount in Roxburghshire. And again Douglas is in the same column.²

In all these cases, the column is the same column 1, and a linking together of arms in such a very involved and unclear way admittedly may seem more fanciful than probable. But this method certainly seems to have been used sometimes with the French coats, and even if the

¹ This is best seen in the arms of the “lignages” of Metz in Lorraine. It is also pretty evident in Provence, and to some degree in Poitou.

² The inscription over the Kerr shield, “ceulx de Moncastel (or Moucastel),” is puzzling. The original Kerr lands lay in Morebattle parish, Roxburghshire. This comprised the ancient parish of Mow, and a vanished stronghold there called Mowcastle suggests itself as a possibility.

appearances in the same column here be mere coincidences, the actual facts with regard to colours and charges in these last four cases are very striking.

On Pl. V. the arms of Stewart of Darnley have the bordure with buckles round the wrong quarters, 1 and 4 instead of 2 and 3. The family also appears as Le Sire d'Aubigny among the arms of the *marche* of Berry, with the same mistake. There they are also given a cotice gules over all. The or and azure of the fess checky is, of course, a mere error for argent and azure.

On the same plate an extraordinary confusion will be seen in the arms of Pollock. They ought to be vert, a saltire or and three hunting horns argent. Apparently Berry has confounded these with the arms of Maxwell of Pollock, and started off with argent a saltire sable. Then, realising his mistake but having no note of the proper arms, he has adapted them to the name of Pollock by the addition of canting charges—a pollock fish and three *poulets*. This effort runs “Le conte de Surdelle” pretty close for the wooden spoon.

According to the books, Leslie, on Pl. VII., should have Abernethy in 2 and 3—or, a lion gules with a ribbon sable over it. But out of 9 Leslie seals in *Scots. Arm. Seals* with this quartered coat (6 being of the Rothes family), not one has a ribbon. It seems therefore impossible that these quarters were Abernethy originally. The arms shown by Berry, a black lion in a white field, are those of Mowat, and seeing that the Mowats of Buchollie and Leslies of Leslie were both Aberdeenshire families, the *Armorial* is in all probability quite correct. Evidently, one would say, Abernethy was introduced at a later period. We have here one of several pieces of evidence showing that sometimes apparent mistakes in Berry actually show early usage.

Plate VIII.: there seems to be no known explanation of the appearance of the Lindsay quarterings in the arms of Herries of Terreagles. Yet their addition is hardly likely to be a mere mistake.

On the same plate appear the mysterious arms of “Vedenmeton”; clearly a branch of the Campbells, but otherwise obscure. It was the fact that the contemporary Sir Duncan Campbell, second son of Sir Colin, first of Ardkinglass, and ancestor of the Ardentinny line, was a Knight of Malta—which might account for the crosslets; and also the difficulty of seeing any other possible reading but “Ardenneten,” that suggested this solution. On putting the point to the Duke of Argyll, whose knowledge of Campbell history is unrivalled, his Grace kindly went into the matter, and fully agreed with my suggestion. Hence I offer it with increased confidence.

The arms of Blackwood on Pl. IX. present a puzzle which I have been

quite unable to solve. There would seem to be no family of Blackwood in a prominent position at that period. Nisbet only mentions a minor Fife family from which came Adam Blackwood, defender of Mary Queen of Scots, who acquired a French estate late in the sixteenth century, and to this family he gives the arms, argent, a saltire and chief sable, the last charged with 3 leaves of trees or. At the same period, however, William Blackwood, Vicar of Duddingston, appended a seal with the arms, a fess between a star and crescent in chief and a mascle in base,¹ which pretty closely resemble those in the *Armorial*. The Irish Blackwoods use *both* these coats, which merely deepens the darkness. On the other hand, the likeliest family is Weir of Blackwood, since their estate (which they held well before the date of the *Armorial*) was not only the most important of the name, but lies in Lanarkshire, and the immediately preceding and following arms all come from that neighbourhood. But unfortunately the Weir arms are quite different from these, and they did not acquire their estate from the Blackwoods, but from the Church. Under the circumstances one can only say that the coat in Berry must have belonged to one or other of those families—Weir or Blackwood.

Also on Pl. IX., the arms of Livingstone of Callander have the second and third quarters, for Callander, curiously distorted. Instead of sable, a bend between 6 billets or, the billets form a compony pattern on the bend. This is certainly not due to hasty drawing, since it is a much more complicated bit of work, but presumably to the original note of the arms not being clear enough.

On Pl. XI. the arms of “bel” must be those of Dunbar of Biel. They are the same as those of “Patry de Dombar” in the *Armorial de l’Europe*, c. 1425, who may pretty safely be identified with Sir Patrick Dunbar of Biel, ambassador to England in 1423; except that his (in *Europe*) have the field or and the charges vert. But these are incredible colours for a Dunbar coat, and doubtless Berry’s can be accepted as correct.

The two Monipenny coats on Pls. XII. and XIII. are dealt with in the article by Mr Albert Van de Put on the Monipenny Breviary in the *Proceedings* for 1921–22, and an account of Sir William Monipenny, afterwards Lord Monipenny, will be found there. He is styled here “Le Sire de Menipegny,” and it will be seen that the dolphin in his first and fourth quarters is markedly different from that charge as shown in Stodart—an instance of the necessity of photography if absolute accuracy is to be secured.

¹ S.A.S. The date was 30th October 1584. There are no fewer than four places called Blackwood in the *Ord. Gazetteer for Scotland*, all described as estates: in Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, and Dumfriesshire (two). (Later) Francisque-Michel in *Les Ecossais en France* gives the French Blackwoods, az, a fess or between a lozange arg. and a star or in chief, and a crescent arg. in base; quartering gu a stag head couped arg. (Reid.)

100 PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY, JANUARY 10, 1938.

Finally, it will be seen that the shield of Scott of Balwearie on Pl. XII. has had the legend above it scored through. This, however, was apparently accidental, as the name is evidently meant for Balwearie.

7.

On going carefully through the *Armorial* with an eye on the locality of the barons' and lairds' estates, one feature becomes early apparent, and that is the large batches of consecutive names from the same part of the country. This feature is not seen in the earls' names; naturally enough, since their estates were usually widespread; but beginning with Stewart of Darnley one has a run of eight west country names, and then come five from the east side north of the Forth. A little later on, beginning with Murray of Cockpool, comes a run of seven from Dumfries and Galloway. Further on, beginning with Sandilands, no fewer than sixteen consecutively belong to the Lothians, or in one case (Cockburn) only just outside. Other shorter runs from one district or another will be found here and there, and there can be no doubt, from this evidence alone, that Berry toured the country, as he did in France, collecting arms first from one district and then from another.

A certain number of names are isolated from their geographical neighbours. Some of these may well have been picked up at odd times, say when the herald was in Edinburgh, though, on the other hand, it is likely enough that the arms got more or less mixed up when the final work was being done in France.

The two coats of MacLeod, the Lewis branch and that of Harris or Dunvegan, are of particular interest in this connection. Unlike the Macdonald arms, they are quite correct, though they came from an equally remote region. How this happened one can only guess, but perhaps an odd time pick-up is the likeliest explanation. One thing, however, seems clear: the Lords of the Isles and the MacLeods were at that time definitely accounted the greatest Hebridean families; the two whose arms should be included in a representative Scottish collection. In fact, apart from the Campbells, they are the only purely Highland or Island families in the *Armorial* (counting only the then Scottish islands).

It is a fact to be noted that the total number of barons and lairds is 101,¹ which points distinctly to an intention of collecting a hundred as nearly as possible. Moreover, they work out as approximately a quarter of that total from the west, from the east south of Forth, and

¹ This is not including the second appearance of Colville on Pl. XIII. No arms are shown, and I have assumed it to be a repetition in error.

from the east north of Forth, with most of the remaining quarter from the south-west and western Border country. This is only very approximate, but it does distinctly suggest that Berry (who was an enthusiastic geographer) aimed at more or less equal quotas of arms from the natural divisions of Scotland. This, I think, can pretty safely be accepted on the evidence as one of the principles guiding his selection.

In itself, this systematic collection of arms on a geographical basis adds value to the *Armorial*, and the value is increased by an evident endeavour to have the collection representative of the greater families and most responsible and outstanding men of the day in Scotland. The number of Livingstone and Crichton coats alone makes this purpose plain. Further, on careful examination it will be found that nearly a third of these 101 baronial families either held a peerage then or became peers (Barons of Parliament, or in a few cases Earls) before the end of the century—and that at a time when the Scots peerage was extremely limited, and, in fact, outside earls, only just beginning. Also, a high proportion of the names on the Parliamentary and General Council records of the period appear in the *Armorial*, while the number of arms-bearers known to have held such offices as Sheriff, Warden of the Marches, Justiciar, Chamberlain of Scotland, and Ambassador is considerable, and would doubtless be much augmented if more national records were available. And the significance of the two MacLeod coats has already been mentioned. The *Armorial*, in fact, gives us a very good idea of who was who in Scotland at that period, and it will be found interesting to note how high a proportion of the names are still borne by landed families. The contrast with England, where the old feudal families were so largely replaced by new men in Tudor times, and the names found on old rolls of arms have only a minute proportion left to-day, is very striking.

There are, however, a number of notable omissions in a representative roll of Scottish arms, such as the hereditary constable and the hereditary marshal; and here one strikes another principle, characteristic of the financially prudent race to which the herald belonged. We have seen that a fee was a condition of insertion in the roll, and to secure the fee from a member of an equally prudent people he obviously had to collect it in person. At the same time the cost of a too extensive tour would seriously diminish his profits. Hence no doubt the fact that his north of the Forth quota was largely drawn from the convenient county of Fife, while the country north of Angus has a mere sprinkling of names. Among the outstanding families omitted are Hay and Keith, the constable and marshal, Fraser, Abernethy and Gordon, as conspicuous examples; not

to speak of Irving, Innes, Grant, and various more from Aberdeenshire and the northern counties adjacent. That district, in fact, is the one area in Scotland to which Berry has done no sort of justice.

The same cause—the necessity of collecting his fees in person—presumably accounts also for a few conspicuous omissions in other districts, such as Sommerville and Boyd. If the lord of the castle were away from home, the herald would pass on.

There was, besides, one particular ground for inclusion, which brings us at once into the realm of history. During the whole period of Gilles Bouvier's active life and participation in the affairs of heraldry and state, England was his country's relentless and for a while triumphant foe, and Scotland her faithful and valiant ally. It was thanks largely to the powerful aid of the Scottish armies led by Buchan, Douglas and the other famous captains from over the North Sea, that France at last threw off the English yoke and struggled to her feet again. The herald must have known many of these men personally, and all the more outstanding by name at least; and it would be only natural if his selection of Scots coats was largely influenced by the service they had rendered to his country. How markedly this actually was the case can be seen by a comparison between the exhaustive lists of Scotsmen on record as serving in France or visiting France in some official capacity during that time of stress, given by Forbes-Leith in his *Scots Guards in France*, and the families whose arms are recorded in Berry's *Armorial*.

The following names in these lists are also found in the *Armorial*: the Earls of Buchan (Stewart), Douglas, Mar (Stewart), Moray (Dunbar), Orkney (Sinclair), and Wigton (Douglas). Also these other families: Bickerton, Buchanan, Campbell of Loudon, Carlyle, Colville, Crawford, Crichton, Cunningham, Fleming, Fockart or Flockart, Forbes, Forrester, Graham, Gray, Hamilton, Herries, Home, Johnston, Kennedy, Kirkpatrick, Leslie, Lindsay, Lyell, Maxwell of Calderwood, Meldrum, Melville, Montgomery, Murray, Normanville or Norvel, Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, Pringle, Rutherford, Seton, Scott, Sibbald, Stewart of Darnley, Swinton, Turnbull, Wardlaw of Torry, and Wishart.

Further, as showing how few of the Scots names famed in France Berry omitted from his *Armorial*, out of 14 knights and one esquire recorded as slain at the Battle of Crevant in 1423, the families of all but 2 are included; out of 19 captains who fell at Verneuil in 1424, all but 3; and out of 14 magnates who accompanied the Earl of Orkney on his voyage to France with Princess Margaret in 1436, the families of every one are entered.

We have here in these facts and figures striking evidence of the close

connection between the *Armorial de Berry* and those pages of history wherein are recorded the exploits of the Scots contingents who fought, and so often died, in France. Also we can now understand how certain families who never played a conspicuous part on the Scottish stage, and who have long since ceased to play a part at all, appear in this select company. Four Bickertons, for instance, three of them knights, fell at Verneuil; Patrick Fockart was Captain of the Guards and Seneschal of Saintonge; and more than one Normanville led his men on the stricken fields of France.

8.

But it is when we come to the 9 names of individuals at the end that the most remarkable evidence appears of the intimate relationship between our *Armorial* and not only the history of France, but one of her most typically national institutions, her army.

That there is some essential distinction between these 9 and the other names in the *Armorial* is evident from the mere fact that they alone bear their christian names instead of the "Ceulx de" or "Sire de" affixed to the others, and form, moreover, a definite group occupying the last three lines (Pls. XIII. and XIV.). For some reason individuals, not families, are here recorded, and the problem was to discover the reason. After an exhaustive search through Scottish records, in which I enjoyed the invaluable and most obliging assistance of Mr William Angus, Keeper of Records, only two of these 9 emerged as men who might perhaps be identified with the holders of offices sufficiently important to provide a possible reason for their inclusion; though, even so, it was not at all apparent why the herald should have selected them.

One of them, simply styled Abercromby, is beyond the reach of documentary research, since his christian name has been manufactured by dividing his surname into two—"Abre Commier." Moreover, his arms were added somewhat later, as shown by the use, in his case alone, of white paint for argent (which has now turned dark), instead of merely leaving the paper blank as in all the other cases,¹ and also by the differently drawn and placed boar heads. This, for the purpose of inquiry, reduces the individuals to 8.

Examining the six shields shown (three unfortunately being "blazons unachieved"), one valuable heraldic clue appears; and this is the vassal or official relationship to one or another of the greater nobles, indicated by added charges. William of Motherwell has a cinquefoil ermine

¹ Information from the Office de Documentation, Paris.

superimposed on each end of his cross moline (a most peculiar arrangement), and as the cinquefoil ermine is the unmistakable bearing of the Hamilton family, and Motherwell lies close to Hamilton, there can be no doubt he was a follower of Lord Hamilton. John Sempill's buckle, placed on a quarter *underneath* his chevron, can pretty safely be read as showing that he was in the service of the buckle-bearing Stewarts of Darnley and Aubigny, a Renfrewshire family like the Sempills; the extraordinary, if not unique, position of the quarter apparently indicating that it was not really part of his arms, but a kind of label affixed by the herald to show whose man he was. The odd position of William Motherwell's cinquefoils presumably has the same significance, and in the light of these two cases, the unheraldically minute star in William Crawford's arms may be taken to be another label—probably of the Douglas family.

The couped saltire in base of Alexander Maquen strongly suggests another instance of the same thing. As there is no such name as "Maquen," or anything resembling it with arms at all like these, he may pretty confidently be counted a Muir whose name has suffered at the hands of the transcriber of the original note. If so, he is presumably identical with Alexander Muir on record as "bailie" or "seneschal" of Kirkeudbright in 1426¹ and 1429,² and "justiciare" in 1448,³ all under William Earl of Douglas, and also recipient in 1417 of the lands of Hershaw and Drumbog in Lanarkshire from Earl Archibald.⁴ As the Earls of Douglas at that period held the lordship of Annandale, the added saltire probably indicates his office under them. The error of making the field blue as well as the fess, and converting the edges of the fess into two red bars, is perhaps due to the sketch having been made from a seal in which the fess was not raised itself but indicated by raised edges which were mistaken for bars. The red border shows that Alexander was a cadet of the Muirs of Caldwell.

Of the rest, the Auchenlecks of that ilk in Angus were hereditary armour-bearers to the Earls of Crawford;⁵ while "Guille Cliston" can only be William Clouston, since there is no possible alternative surname (and confirmation of this will appear presently); and as William Thor-gilson or Clouston was Lawman of Orkney in 1422 and 1425 under Earl William Sinclair,⁶ yet another official relationship to a great noble is suggested. Thus six of the eight seem to have borne either this or a vassal sort of relationship to certain outstanding magnates of the day—

¹ R.M.S.

² R.M.S.

³ Book of Caerlaverock.

⁴ Douglas Book.

⁵ Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot., 1916–17, p. 228.

⁶ See Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot., 1917–18, p. 185, for an account of his seal of arms. The forms Clistoun and Clisten are found in Orkney in 1655–71, the bearer having apparently sojourned long abroad (my own papers).

the Earls of Douglas, Orkney, and Crawford, and the Lords Hamilton and Stewart of Darnley. And if this be so, we can pretty safely take it that the same applies to the other two.

But why should these particular men have been selected for inclusion in the *Armorial*? The answer, discovered at last by a fortunate chance, will perhaps only be fully appreciated by those readers, not too modern in their tastes to be wearied by great literature, who have ridden to Liège with Quentin Durward and fought through its streets with Le Balafré. They were, in fact, members of that famous corps the Scots Guards of the French King. In the muster rolls published by Forbes-Leith seven of their names are there: Guillaume Craffort, Guillaume a Cluisson (Clouston),¹ Jehan Simple, Guillaume de Moudreville dit Clisdal (Clydesdale), and Guillaume Achlet (Auchenleck) of the *Archiers du corps du Roy*; and George Banathin and James Rooz of the *Hommes d'armes de la Garde du corps du dit Sire*.

These cannot be seven mere coincidences; they are our very men themselves. Nor can there be any reasonable doubt that the evidence of vassal or official relationship supplies the reason why these seven particular guardsmen were selected. The great nobles must have had a hand in the matter. Further, by a significant coincidence, the apparent date of Berry's visit to Scotland, 1445, was also the very year in which the French standing army was constituted, with the reorganised Gendarmes Écossais and Scots Guards as its two premier companies. Putting all this together, it would seem, with really very little room for question, that the distinguished herald and royal envoy combined his *Armorial* with some persuasive recruiting work. He would appear to have secured from certain Scottish nobles the promise of one or more men of family for the reconstituted Scots Guards, each accompanied, no doubt, by the five or so followers, such as obeyed Le Balafré; and this service to his country he acknowledged in his *Armorial* by entering the names and arms of these gentlemen, ticketed, so to speak, in such a way that their liege-lord would get the credit for his generosity.²

¹ "Actuisson" in the printed rolls; *l* having been read as *t*. I am indebted to the Office de Documentation for pointing this out to me. Some years later James a Cluizton, Cluizon, or Cluisson, is also several times misspelt Actuisson. The prefix "a" is the Scots "o," and at one time or another in these muster rolls a great many of the Scottish territorial surnames have it affixed to them, and are misleadingly printed Abourdit or Abourdie (Borthwick), Alomesdel (Lumsden), etc.

² The earliest muster rolls, from 1449 on for some years, contain a number of foreign names, some evidently German. It is evident therefore that there was some difficulty, just at that period, in securing a sufficient number of Scotsmen of the right type for the Guards; for they had to be both well born and "real giants," as a contemporary observer describes them (*Scots Guards in France*). This fact accords remarkably with the evidence of the *Armorial* and helps to explain the recognition given to the assistance afforded by these particular Scottish nobles. The foreign element disappears later.

Of the seven, all but two appear in the earliest extant muster roll of 1449, and may reasonably be presumed to be in the missing rolls which no doubt began at the reorganisation of the Scots Guards in 1445. The exceptions are James Ros or Rozz¹ who first appears in 1450, and George Bannatyne who does not appear till 1452. Yet these two are in the first line of three. One must suppose, then, either that Berry knew they were going to join, or that all nine names were added a few years later than the rest; unless we are to redate the whole *Armorial*, and against this is the evidence already cited, together with the significance of the year 1445. Very likely both suppositions are correct, and one may also reasonably think that the whole work of putting the *Armorial* into its final form was only done some little time after the herald's Scottish tour.

The eighth man, Alexander Maquen or Muir, is not in the muster rolls, but there is a considerable collection of Galloway and Annandale names from his jurisdiction, including a quite remarkable number of south country Macs: Maclellans, Macmorans, Macgies, and Macauslands especially; also Macuiguen (McQuiggan), McCreary, Macharry, Macalem (McCallum), Macartney, Maclaire, and McClure. And Maxwells and Johnstons are strongly represented, besides one or two more from the same district. Moreover, there is a still more surprising collection of Orkney, and even Shetland names, chiefly Sinclairs, Cloustons, and Rendalls, but also including (either in the Guards or Gendarmes Écossais) various other distinctive Orkney surnames, such as Draver, Machin (Magnus) of Brogar, Arcus or Arcusson,² Arold (Harrold or Haraldson), and Omand, to cite some of the most unmistakable examples; and from Shetland, Acle (Aclay), Nysvenon or Nyffenain (Neven), and apparently Howich (Hawick). With little doubt William Clouston actually was the Lawman of 1425, since he was clearly an old, or at the least elderly, man in 1451, when he alone of the Archers du Corps got no horse allowance, but instead £100 "pour lui aider à vivre et soutenir son estat"—a veteran of standing evidently.³ He and Alexander Muir, as Lawman and Justiciary, may

¹ He is also once spelt Rose, and from these forms he would appear to have belonged to one of the families of Ross or Roze who bore water budgets, not to the three-lion Rosses.

² Printed Artus and Artusson; *c* having been read as *t*; a very common error everywhere.

³ Further evidence of his age is afforded by the note in 1462 on Donat a Cluisson (presumably a younger brother) and another, who had ceased to be fit for service owing to their "ancien aage et debilitation de leurs personnes." In these notes on certain of the Guardsmen there are also to be found references to two more of the seven in the *Armorial*, showing them to be men of ability or position above the average. In 1476 Guille Craffort "homme d'armes extraordinaire de la garde du Roy" had lately been taken by the king "oultre le nombre ordinaire pour le servir et soy tenir à l'entour de sa personne." And in 1462 (vol. i), when the original element of men-at-arms had been separated from the archer guards and become part of the Gendarmes Écossais, a note refers to "George Bannaytin escuyer de Royaume d'Éscoce, ayant la conduite de XIII hommes d'armes et XXXIV archiers."

very likely, then, have taken out contingents from their jurisdictions at an earlier date; Muir subsequently returning home. Certainly Norsemen from those far northern archipelagoes and strange Macs from the wilds of Galloway are not inherently likely ingredients in the Scots Guards of the King of France, so that some special effort instigated by the Earls of Orkney and Douglas is very definitely suggested. There is not the same firm basis of recorded facts in the case of Alexander "Maquen" as with the others, but this solution appears far from unlikely.

The peculiar interest of this Scottish section of the *Armorial de Berry* can now be realised, in that it not only gives a representative collection of the arms of the greater families of Scotland in the middle of the fifteenth century, but is linked to the history of France in so far as it was nearly and most beneficially affected by the old alliance with Scotland. It may, indeed, be considered as to no small degree a tribute to the gentlemen adventurers from overseas who so valiantly helped France to regain her freedom and self-respect.

9.

A comparison between the types of arms in one country and another seems to have had little attraction for writers on heraldry, in this country at least;¹ yet it is pretty evident that one is bound to learn at least something thereby, and actually it will be found that the differences in type suggest interesting questions. In the dim beginnings of heraldry there was clearly some fundamental reason why in Central Europe (*e.g.* Germany and Poland) allusive charges, mostly animals, figured so largely, while in Western Europe (*e.g.* France and England) arms were mainly either founded on the ordinaries, or consisted of fields divided into stripes, checkers, lozengy panels, etc.; or of small charges usually of a mathematical form—circular, oblong, or diamond shaped, together with simple conventional objects such as stars and crescents. The follies and fancies of earlier heraldic writers, by giving recondite explanations of such simple charges as a fess or a pale, instead of using their eyes and observing that maritime flags are striped in exactly that way for the practical reason of distinctive visibility at a distance, obscured the subject with quite remarkable success. Though it is well enough recognised that the primary object of armoury was to make each captain in the field distinguishable by his followers and fellow-leaders (often at a considerable distance), not even yet has the pretty obvious conclusion been drawn.

¹ One must make an exception in favour of W. S. Ellis, who went into this feature in his *Antiquities of Heraldry*.

There is no space here to pursue this line of reasoning further, beyond suggesting that anybody interested in the subject would find it a profitable form of entertainment to take a selection of Bayeaux tapestry banners, early arms of a simple pattern type—to coin a useful word—(such as de Grey and Warren), and International Code signal flags, mix them up, and then see if he could tell which was which. If he remains of the opinion that heraldry took its origin from devices painted on the shield (practically invisible to any but the enemy in front of it), and at a date as late as its adaptation to the totally different purpose of sealing, he will have a gift for faith in traditional views denied to the present writer.

In a general way, Scottish arms are of the same type as English. But there are certain national characteristics, and this collection of 122 representative coats, almost all belonging to the greater or the most ancient families in the land, illustrates these excellently. The pattern type, quite meaningless, except where, as in the case of Stewart, it can be readily combined with an allusion, is prominent throughout; sometimes quite simple, as in Carrick, Strathearn, and Ruthven; sometimes with stereotyped small charges added, as in Douglas and Muir; sometimes composed of these last alone, like Seton and Livingstone (apart from their later tressures). But compared with *early* English arms, before heraldry had reached the new rich in Tudor times, one or two marked differences can be seen. For instance, out of the whole 122 shields, only 4 have two ordinaries of the same kind—two chevrons (twice), two cotices, and three bars; while in the 110 coats in the Falkirk Roll of 1298 there are 15; and this represents a fair average for English collections. Further, the English ordinaries frequently have engrailed or indented edges, whereas in this *Armorial* only 2 are shown, while another ought to be (engrailed bordure in Gray).

Again, the English coats are constantly powdered or *semée* with small charges—crosslets, billets, and fleur-de-lis especially; and in numerous other cases the definite groups of small charges—or even lions—run up to six. That in fact is the favourite number, and groups of three placed 2 and 1 are comparatively rare. There are, for instance, only 9 in the Falkirk Roll. The Scots shields in *Berry*, on the other hand, include no fewer than 41 with such groups of three, and only half a dozen with more (excluding four charges placed round a cross or saltire); none at all being *semée*. Furthermore, English armoury is rich in divided fields—checky, quarterly, barry, etc.; while Ruthven and Campbell are the only examples here.

The consequence is a very much greater simplicity, severity, and regularity of appearance in the Scottish coats. They would seem, in

fact, to characterise a race already destined to Presbyterianism, business habits, and a marked anti-decorative mentality. English armoury rather accords with the richness of cathedral and college architecture, and its shields, lavishly bespangled with small gold and silver charges (in the great majority of cases these were or or argent), remind one that on the south side of the Border a "real gentleman" is one who makes no parsimonious comments on the bill.

Another, and an interesting national difference, is to be seen in the matter of animal forms. The lion is almost equally common in both countries, and is far and away the animal oftenest displayed. In England, of other animals, the martlet alone appears at all frequently, and this curious little bird is practically only used in groups of at least six; whereas in these Scottish coats where it appears—Rutherford, Normanville, Cairns, and Glen—there are three in each case. One finds also a very few eagles, but, apart from these three, animal forms are almost negligible. In our *Armorial*, on the other hand, at least 16 different species appear in 47 separate coats; 5 (including the lion) more than once. A few make a canting allusion to the surname, but the great majority do not; and this is apart from the lion, which was very rarely used anywhere for that purpose.

A sufficiently kenspeckle animal form, such as a hedgehog or a stag head, would make almost as distinguishable a device on a fluttering banner as a barry or checky pattern, and could be quite as ancient a bearing.¹ (It may be observed that on the present line of reasoning, antiquity must be closely allied to utility, since the original purpose of cognizances was obviously to be of use—not merely to indicate gentility.) Even if an animal form was not quite as ideally distinguishable at a distance as a fess or a chevron, it had the compensating advantage of indicating the owner by the play either upon his name or some locality associated with him. One must, in fact, always expect an original allusion to something in such charges. But what was this something in so many of those old Scots coats bearing boar heads, otters, and other animal forms, of which we have samples in *Berry*, and which certainly did not pun upon the surname?

¹ This applies equally to the two very interesting MacLeod coats, both of which display a single and particularly distinctive charge: a mountain inflamed and a castle. Here again the temptation to wander too far afield has to be resisted, but I may mention briefly that they both seem to be *mustering-place* charges—a beacon hill (a Ward or Wart hill as it is called in Orkney, from *varða*, a beacon) somewhere in Lewis; and the famous castle of Dunvegan. This type of charge appears to have been peculiarly associated with the Norsemen of the Scottish isles, and also with a number of Highland families—though in the latter case it is usually found in the form of a war-cry, such as "Tulloch Ard!" of MacKenzie and "Craigellachie!" of Grant. See *Heraldry in Scotland* (Stevenson), p. 218, and "Our Ward Hills and Ensigns" in the *Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society* for 1931-32 (J. S. C.).

In the case of a couple of such cognizances it is possible to cite a scrap or two of evidence, which I trust may not be considered altogether outside the range of this paper. These two are the animals just mentioned—the otter and the boar.

The otter will be found in our *Armorial* forming the arms of Meldrum (Pl. XII.). Originally they bore a paly coat, and the first record of the otter is in the arms of Alexander Meldrum of Seggie in 1449.¹ Of other early otter coats, not canting (like that of Otterburn), four are on record in Scotland: those of Balfour, Fullarton, Lithgow of Drygrange, and Graden of that ilk.² Now it is a noteworthy fact that the estate of Seggie in Fife lies just at the point where the River Eden falls into its estuary; Balfour at the confluence of the only other two considerable Fife rivers, Leven and Ore; Fullarton at the mouth of the chief river in Ayrshire, the Irvine; Drygrange at the junction of the Lauder Water with the Tweed; and Graden close to the junction of the burn of Graden and the Tweed. Seeing that the otter is pre-eminently a river animal, this remarkable series of coincidences is definitely suggestive. The locality was surely alluded to by the charge.

Several boar-head coats are to be seen in the *Armorial*, but we must go outside it to find the one example that seems to throw a ray of light on the origin of the charge. In the twelfth century William de Graham acquired the estate of Dalkeith, and his descendants held it till about the middle of the fourteenth. Out of eight Graham Seals from c. 1260–85 to 1320,³ five had boar heads placed outside the shield, one having this charge also within the shield, while a sixth replaced the family escallops by three boar heads. The estate passed from them to the Douglases, and on the seals of these Douglases of Dalkeith (afterwards of Morton) the crest, when one is shown, from 1344 onwards was a boar accompanied by either one or two trees;⁴ clearly, one would say, the same boar as in the Graham arms.

The boar was, of course, a woodland animal, and within the park of Dalkeith there still survive remnants of the ancient Caledonian Forest. Here it would seem not only as though the animal again alluded to the locality, but that the boar existed as a cognizance before the Grahams acquired the estate, since it appears as an addition to their own ancient arms. It would be interesting to see whether a connection of boar or boar-head charges with ancient forests can be traced elsewhere.⁵ Anyhow,

¹ S.A.S.

² These last two will be found in Nisbet.

³ S.A.S.

⁴ S.A.S.

⁵ It is worth noting that the chief home of the boar-head charges was the Merse or Berwickshire, where Swinton, Gordon, Nisbet, Redpath, Duns, and several other families bore them (see Nisbet), and that the Scandinavian form of Merse or March was *mörk*, properly “border-land,” which came

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there is in this Dalkeith case and that of the otters a distinct indication of a very ancient native element in Scottish armoury, peculiar to the soil.

It only remains to express my deep obligation to the Lord Lyon, Sir Francis J. Grant, for the facilities he has most kindly afforded me for pursuing this investigation at a long distance from records usually available; to Mr Thomas Innes of Learney, Albany Herald, for invaluable help in various matters; to Messrs George Waterston & Sons, for the great pains they have taken with the plates; and to the staff at the Historical Department of the Register House for so patiently and courteously gratifying a voracious appetite for facts.

to have the meaning of "forest," owing to the border-lands usually being forest country. If this was the history of the Scottish name Merse, one has pretty strong support for the view advanced above.

PLATES IV-XIV.

PLATE IV. (folio 157 Verso)		
<i>Le conte de boquan</i> Earl of Buchan	<i>Le conte de craffort</i> Earl of Crawford (1 and 4 Lindsay; 2 and 3 Abernethy)	<i>Le conte dilles</i> Earl of Ross
<i>Le conte de quant</i> Earl of Carrick	<i>Le conte de fic</i> Earl of Fife	<i>Le conte destra'ne</i> Earl of Strathearn
<i>Le conte de lenay</i> Earl of Lennox	<i>Le conte de surdelle</i> Lord of the Isles	<i>Le conte de mare</i> Earl of Mar
<i>Le conte dugles</i> Earl of Douglas	<i>Le conte dangos</i> Earl of Angus (1 and 4 Angus; 2 and 3 Douglas)	<i>Le conte dorquenay</i> Earl of Orkney (1 and 4 Orkney; 2 and 3 Sinclair)

PLATE V. (f^o 158)

<i>Le conte de la marche</i> Earl of March (Dunbar Arms)	<i>Le conte de morat</i> Earl of Moray (1 and 4, see Text)	<i>Le conte dormont</i> Earl of Ormond
<i>Le sire de saincton</i> Swinton	<i>Le sire de linesay</i> Lindsay (of Byres)	<i>Le sire de seton</i> Seton
<i>Le sire de dernele</i> Stewart of Darnley (1 and 4 Aubigny)	<i>Le sire de mongoboy</i> Montgomery (2 and 3 Eglinton)	<i>Le sire de poloc</i> Pollock
<i>Le sire de begart</i> Fleming of Biggar (2 and 3 Fraser)	<i>Le sire de hameleton</i> Hamilton	<i>Le sire de quimaus</i> Cunningham of Kilmaurs (2 and 3 Dennistoun)

PLATE VI. (f^o 158 V^o)

<i>Le sire de bouesel</i> Lyell of Duchal	<i>Le sire de Roualle</i> Muir of Rowallan	<i>Le sire de cranoc</i> Carnegy
<i>Monsieur de quili</i> Oliphant of Archellie	<i>Monsieur de gray</i> Gray	<i>Monsieur de quothon</i> Ogilvy of Auchterhouse (2 and 3 Ramsay)
<i>Monsieur de Rouen</i> Ruthven	<i>Le sire de beue</i> MacLeod of Lewis	<i>Le sire de lion</i> Lyon
<i>Le sire de maquele</i> (see Text)	<i>Le sire de bes</i> MacLeod of Dunvegan	<i>Monsieur de forbois</i> Forbes

PLATE VII. (f^o 159)

<i>Le sire de grain</i> Graham	<i>Le sire de losec</i> Leslie (2 and 3 Mowat?)	<i>Le sire de bouquenel</i> Buchanan
<i>Monsieur de Rues</i> Wemyss of Rires (2 and 3 Bisset)	<i>Le sire de chastelmont</i> Stewart of Castlemilk	<i>Le sire de copal</i> Murray of Cockpool
<i>Le sire de queinmont</i> Carlyle of Kinmont	<i>Ceulx de quoquenton</i> Johnston	<i>Ceulx de Mandoel</i> Macdowal
<i>Ceulx de sans</i> Crichton of Sanquhar	<i>Ceulx de dapliction</i> Stewart of Dalswinton	<i>Ceulx du lar</i> Dunbar of Mochrum

PLATE VIII. (f° 159 V°)

<i>Ceulx de moucastel</i> Kerr	<i>Ceulx dandresel</i> Lordship of Annandale	<i>Ceulx de nesegles</i> Herries of Terreagles (2 and 3 Lindsay?)
<i>Ceulx dapecart</i> Jardine of Applegarth	<i>Ceulx de blairian</i> Kirkpatrick	<i>Ceulx de tranquart</i> Kennedy of Blairquhan
<i>Ceulx de tranquart</i> Cathcart	<i>Ceulx de bouldy</i> Maclellan of Bombie	<i>Ceulx de maligny</i> Macgie
<i>Le seignuer de lodun</i> Campbell of Loudon	<i>Ceulx de vedenmeton</i> Campbell (of Ardentinny?)	<i>Ceulx de foucart (on ?)</i> Fockart

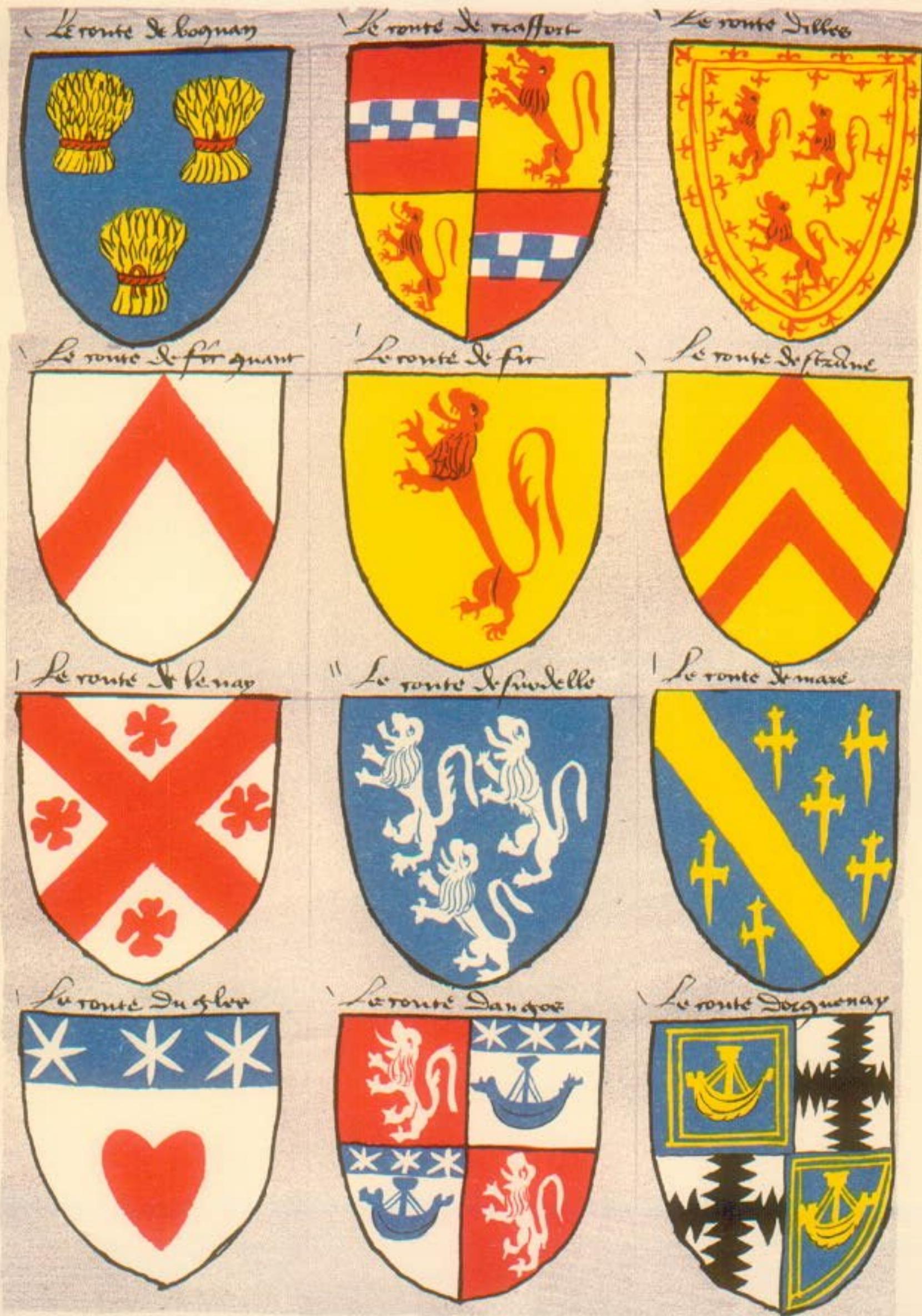
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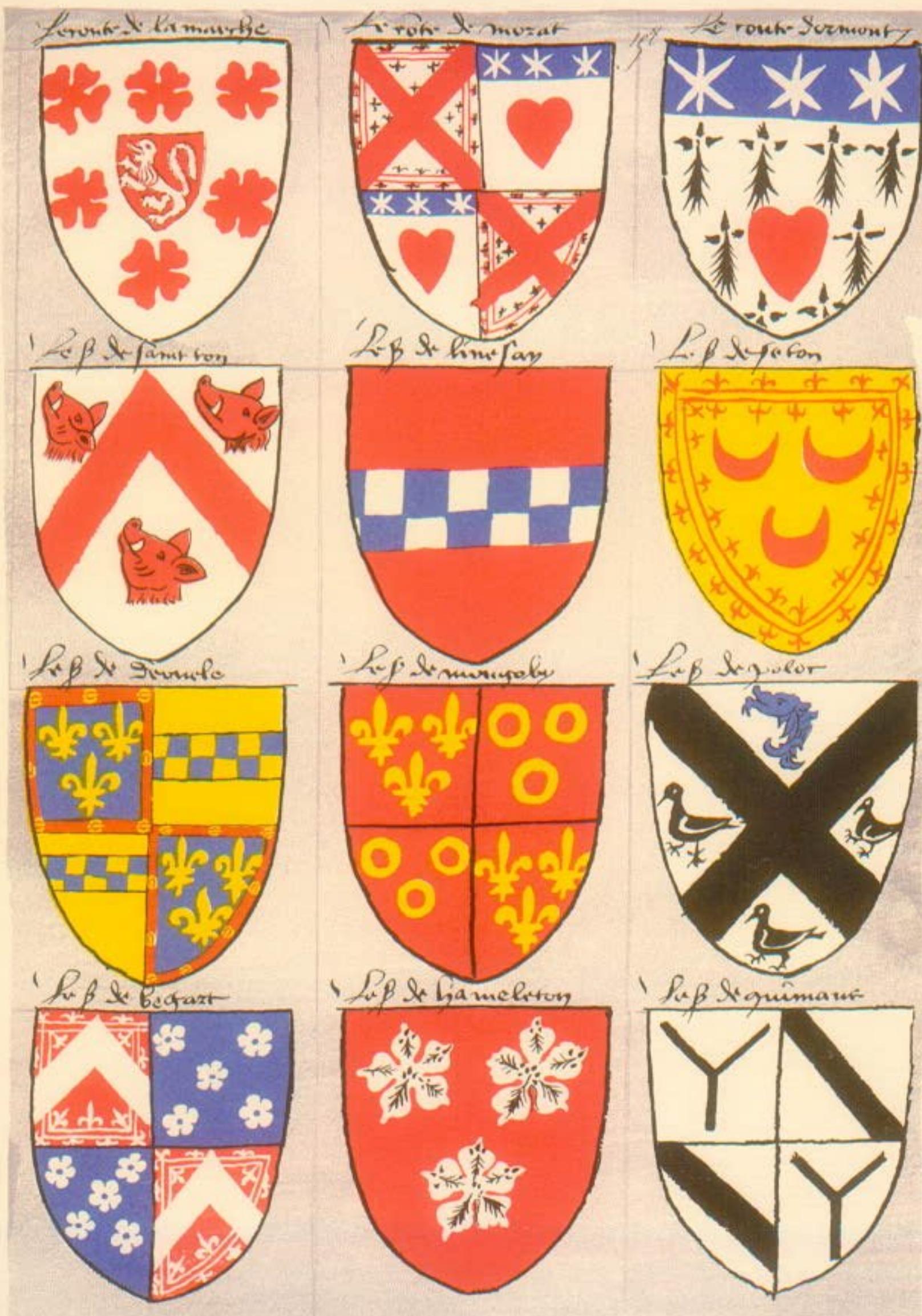
<i>Ceulx de blauchut</i> Blackwood (Weir of?)	<i>Ceulx de quarehut</i> Maxwell of Calderwood	<i>Ceulx de helioton</i> Sempill of Elliotstoun
<i>Ceulx de dunegles</i> Home of Dunglass (1 and 4 Pepdie)	<i>Ceulx de maligny</i> Melville	<i>Ceulx de limeton</i> Livingstone
<i>Ceulx de callemy</i> Livingstone of Callander (2 and 3 Callander)	<i>Ceulx de crenoc</i> Menzies of Enoch	<i>Monsieur de gasc</i> Murray of Gask
<i>Ceulx de toury</i> Wardlaw of Torry (2 and 3 Valange)	<i>Ceulx de domhery</i> Livingstone of Drumry	<i>Ceulx de bediton</i> Maitland of Lethington

PLATE X. (f° 160 V°)

<i>Ceulx de balgony</i> Sibbald of Balgony	<i>Ceulx de coruille</i> Colville (2 and 3 Lindsay)	<i>Ceulx de Rieuderfu</i> Rutherford
<i>Ceulx de tourneboule</i> Turnbull	<i>Ceulx de qualor</i> Sandilands of Calder (1 and 4 Douglas)	<i>Ceulx de bas</i> Lauder of Bass
<i>Ceulx de dondas</i> Dundas	<i>Ceulx de bernbaquel</i> Mowbray of Barnbougal	<i>Ceulx de criston</i> Crichton
<i>Ceulx daluoby</i> Ramsay of Dalhousie	<i>Ceulx de carmes</i> Crichton of Cairns (2 and 3 Cairns)	<i>Ceulx de lufennes</i> Bickerton of Luffness

PLATE XI. (f° 161)		
<i>Le sire de bocquint</i> Borthwick	<i>Ceulx de helles</i> Hepburn of Hailes	<i>Ceulx de salmeton</i> Kerr of Samuelton
<i>Ceulx de bacilli</i> Towers of Dalry	<i>Ceulx de bel</i> Dunbar of Biel	<i>Ceulx de lanton</i> Cockburn of Langton
<i>Ceulx de corcofin</i> Forrester of Corstorphine	<i>Ceulx de listaurie</i> Logan of Restalrig	<i>Ceulx de haldor</i> Dishington of Ardross
<i>Ceulx de haubogle</i> Hopringle	<i>Ceulx de herques</i> Harcarse	<i>Ceulx de Dalhel</i> Dalzell
PLATE XII. (f° 161 V°)		
<i>Ceulx de lamiton</i> Baillie of Lamington	<i>Ceulx de laguière</i> Scott of Balwearie	<i>Ceulx de dongan</i> Normanville of Boquhan, <i>i.e.</i> of Gargunnock
<i>Ceulx de poloc</i> Maxwell of Pollock	<i>Ceulx dabrecherme</i> Abercromby	<i>Ceulx de boisglaui</i> Maculloch
<i>Ceulx de melledron</i> Meldrum	<i>Le sire de crafort</i> Crawford	<i>Le sire de Rample</i> Dalrymple
<i>Ceulx de bogiry</i> Buchan	<i>Le sire de coqueran</i> Cochrane	<i>Le sire de menipegny</i> Monipenny
PLATE XIII. (f° 166)		
<i>Ceulx de grenan</i> Crawford of Grenan	(No name) Rait	(No name) Monipenny of Pitmilly
<i>Ceulx de Ratri</i> Rattray	<i>Ceulx de bousainuelle</i> Boswell	<i>Ceulx de glin</i> Glen
<i>Ceulx de lorn</i> Haliburton of Dirleton?	<i>Ceulx de Wishart</i> Wishart	<i>Ceulx de colleuille</i> Colville
<i>Jorge bannantin</i> George Bannatyne	<i>Jagues de Rous</i> James Ross	<i>Guille cliston</i> William Clouston
PLATE XIV. (f° 166 V°)		
<i>Guilleme crafort</i> William Crawford	<i>Guille arculet?</i> William Auchenleck	<i>Guilleme de modreuille</i> William of Motherwell
<i>Jehan simple</i> John Sempill	<i>Alixendre maquen</i> Alexander Muir	<i>Abre commier</i> Abercromby

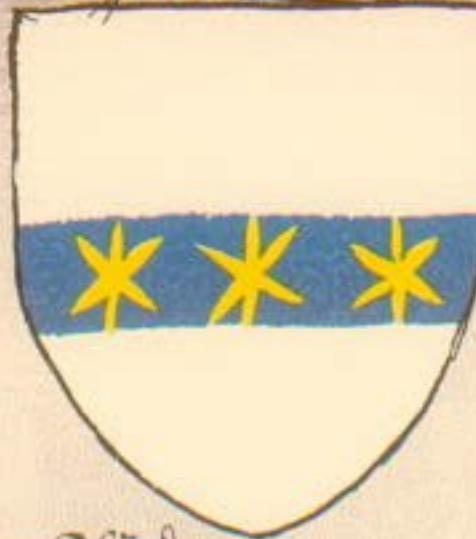




Lez de Compte



Lez de Noualle



Lez de rauor



Lez de goutte



Lez de gray



Lez le quachon



Lez de Denen



Lez de bome



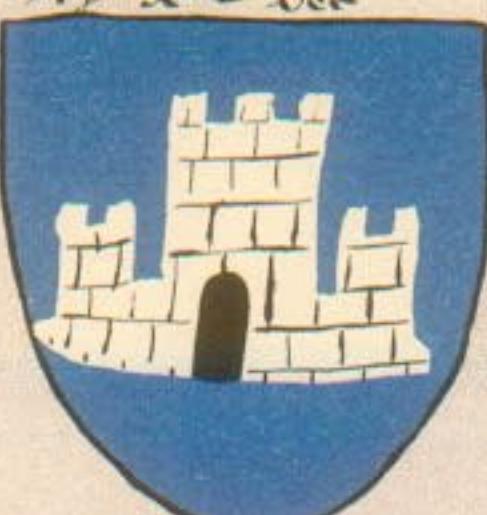
Lez de lion



Lez de magnete



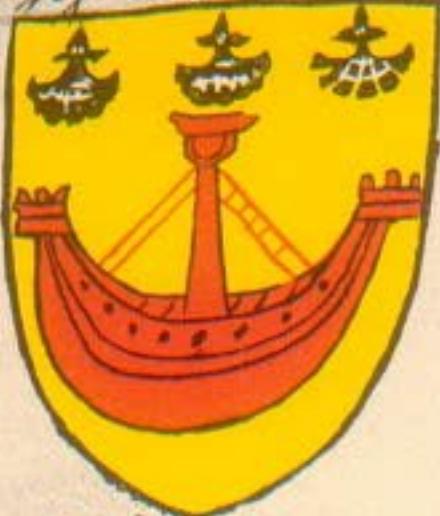
Lez de vez



Lez de porcine



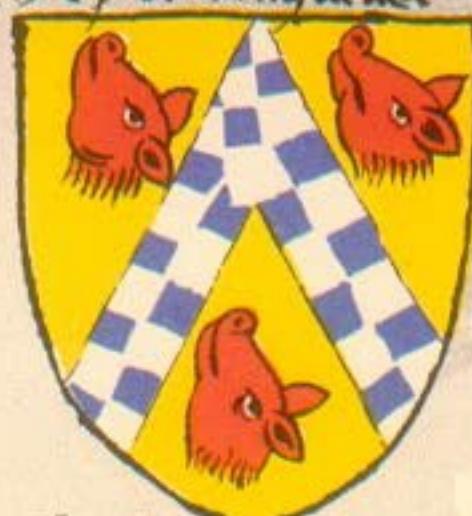
Leſſe de graine



Leſſe de leſſer



Leſſe de longuevel



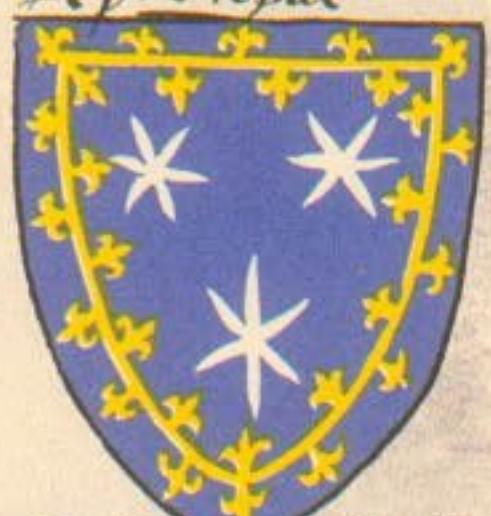
Leſſe de venne



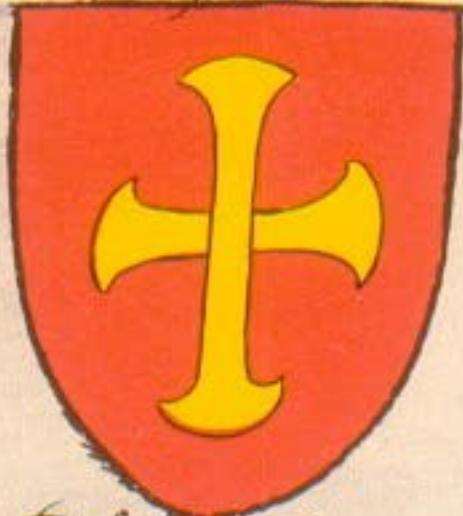
Leſſe de chasteblain



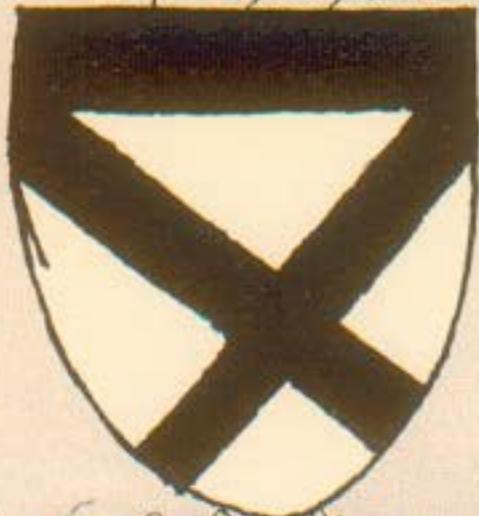
Leſſe de royal



Leſſe de queninmont



Enbly de queninmont



Enbly de mandoel



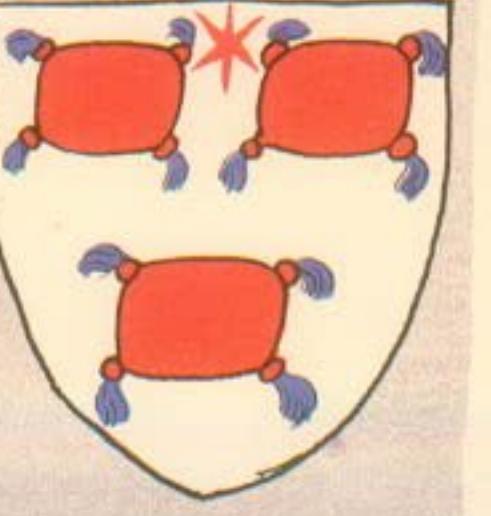
Enbly de fane

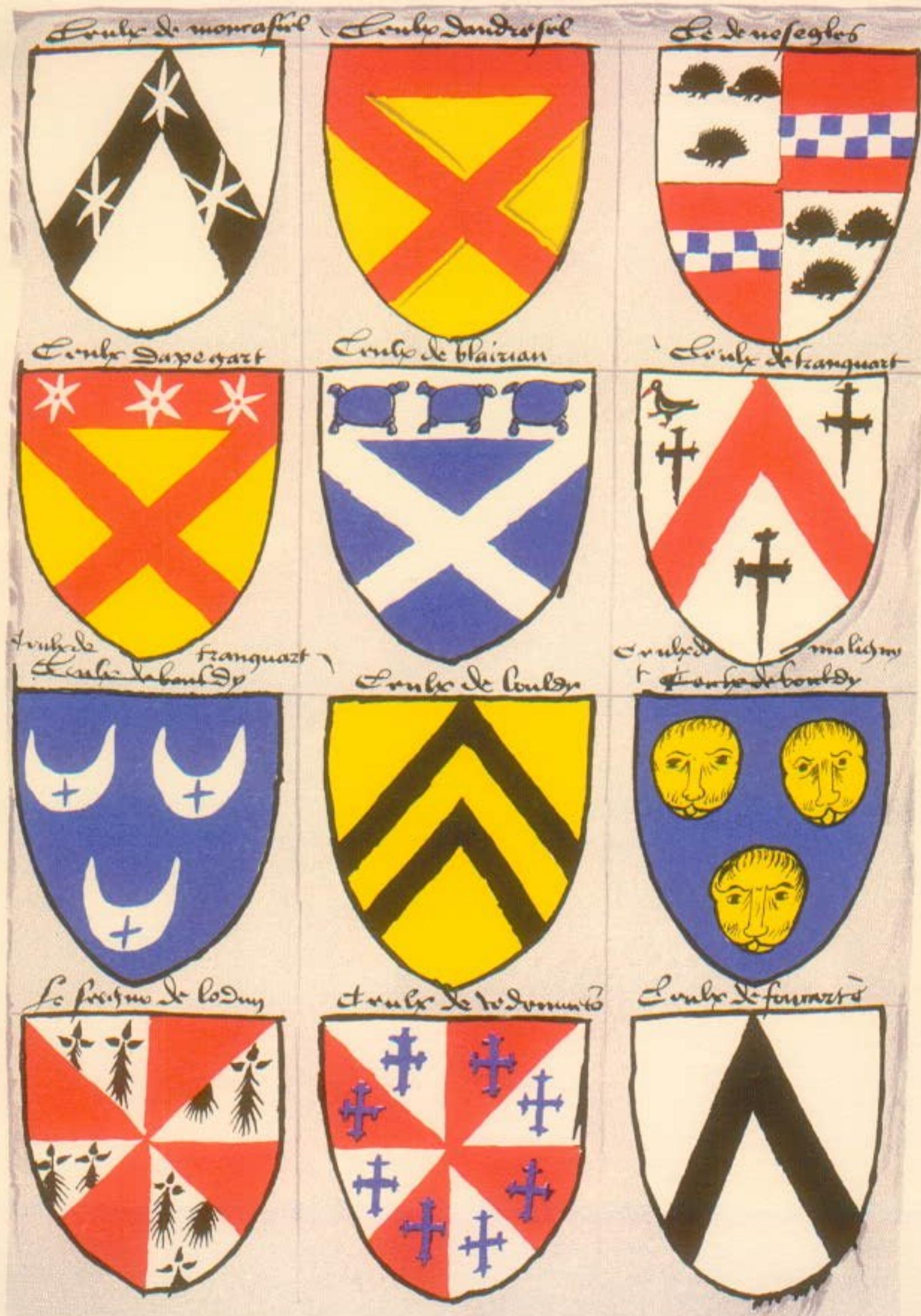


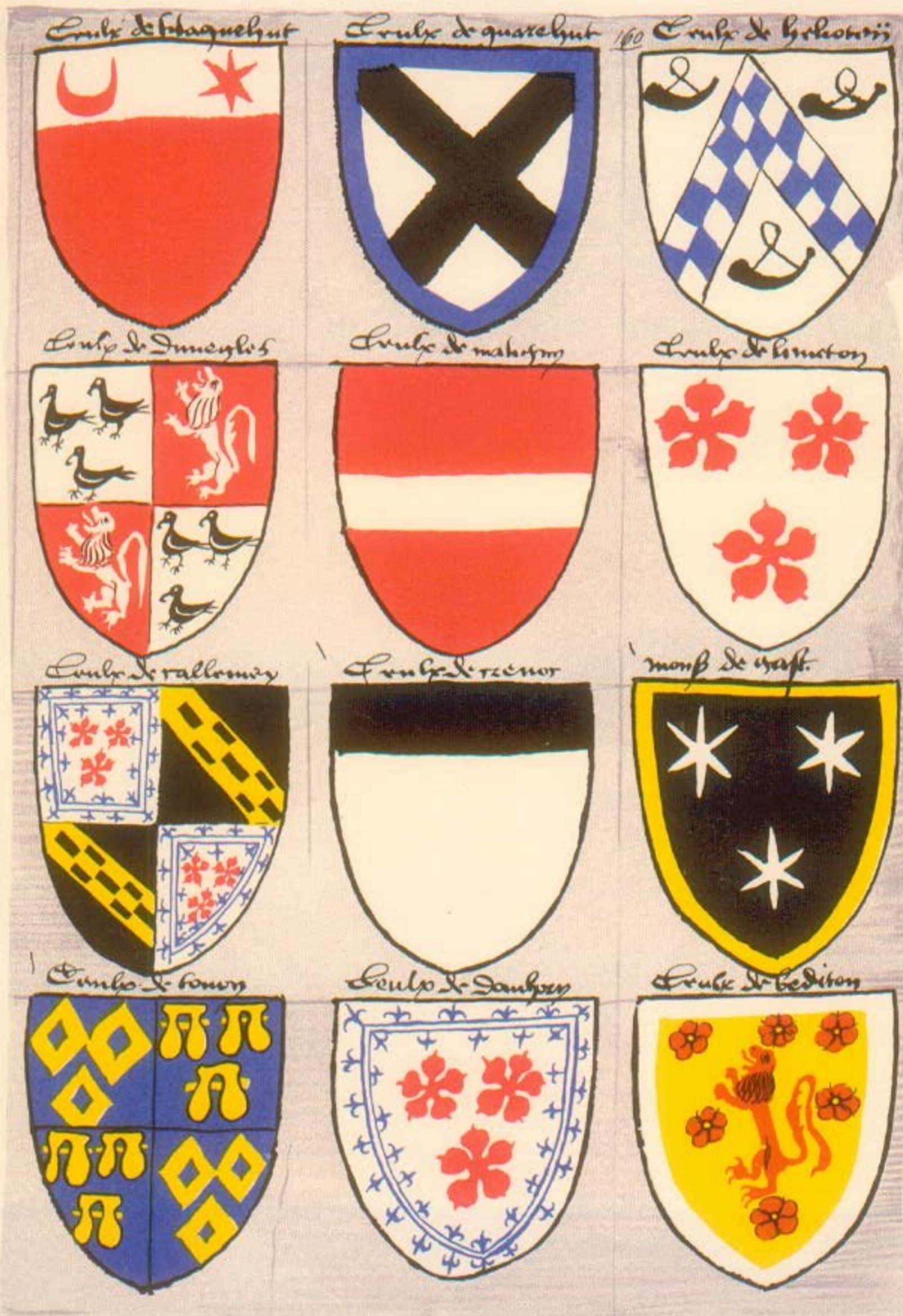
Enbly de wilton

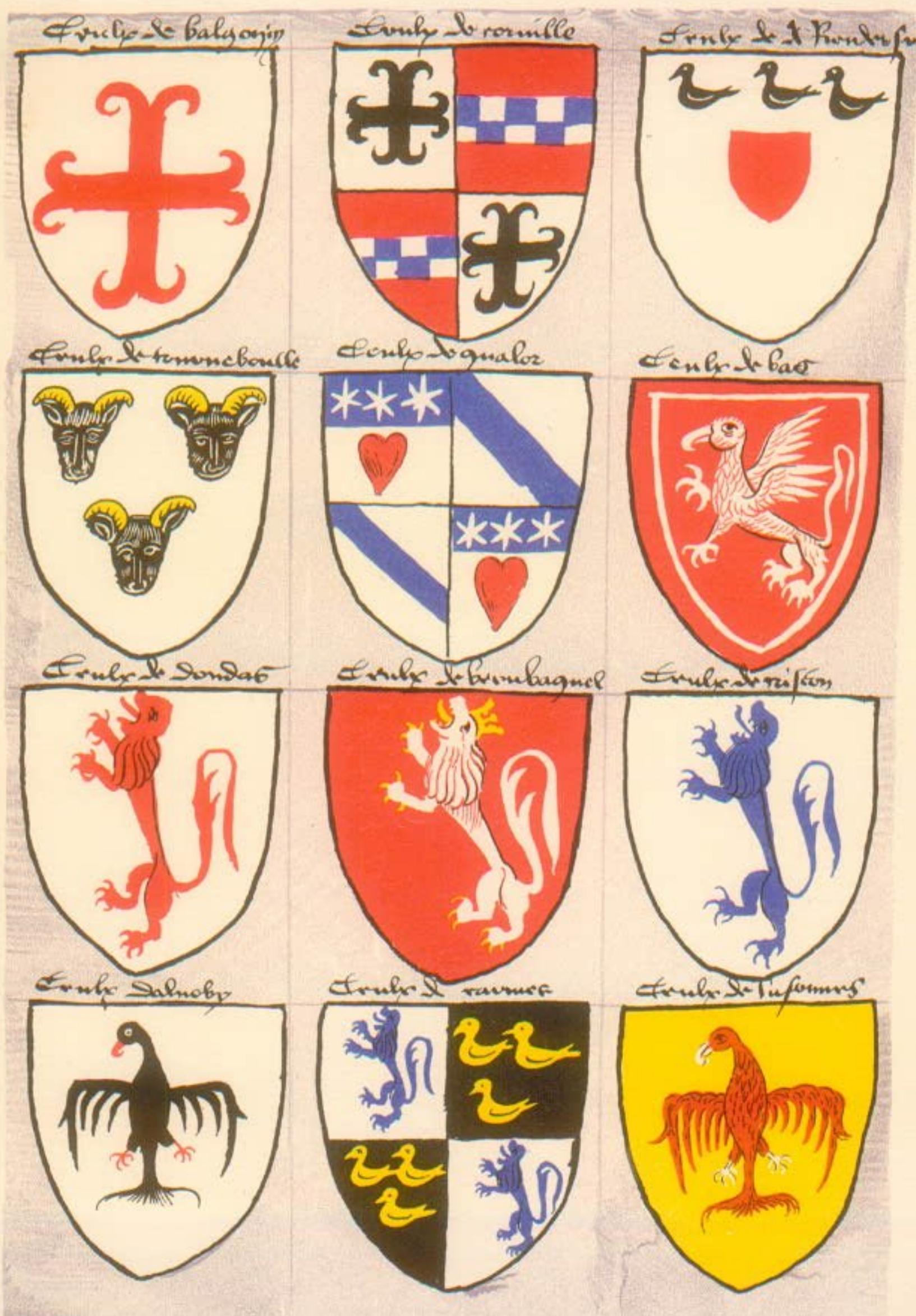


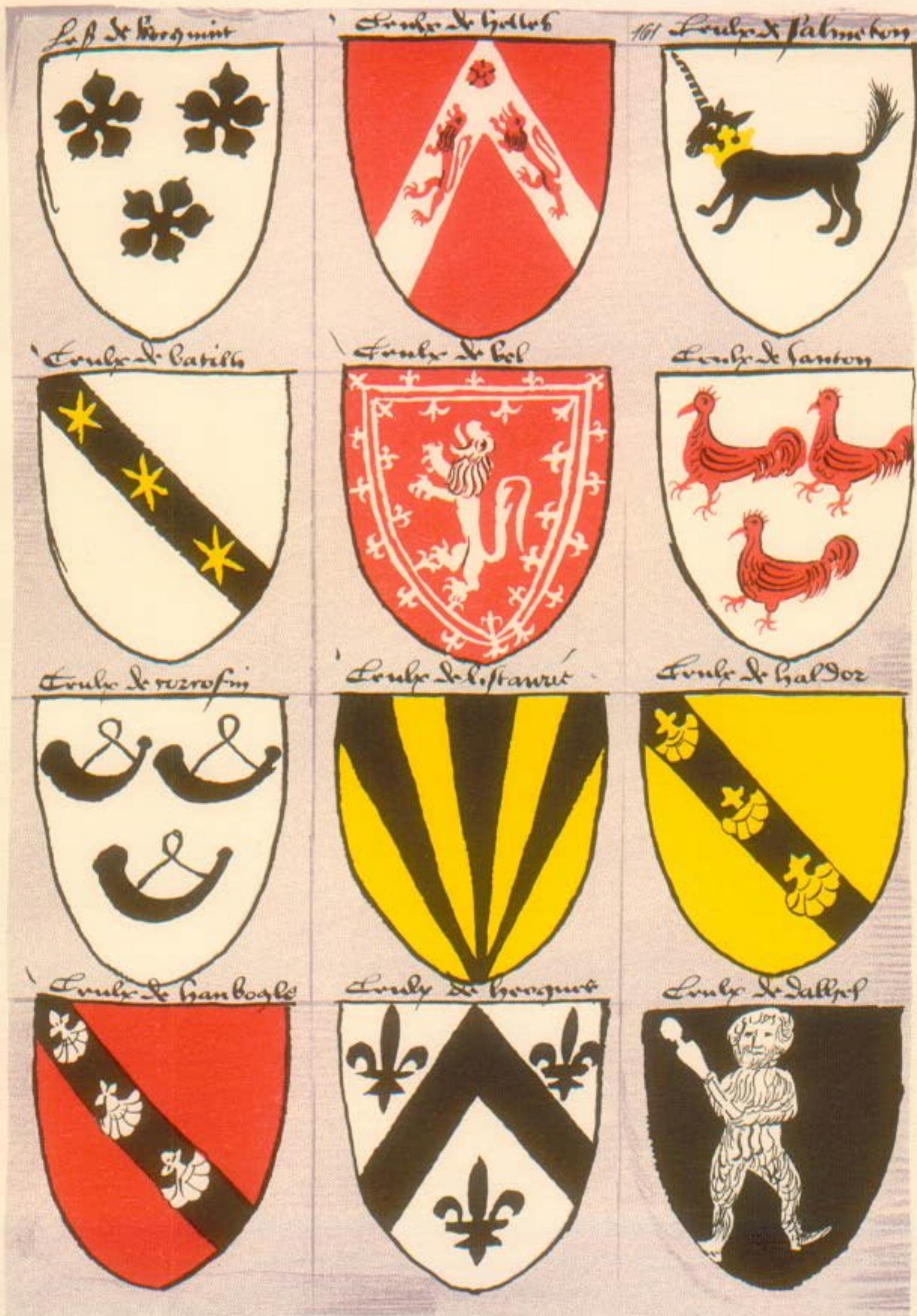
Enbly du car

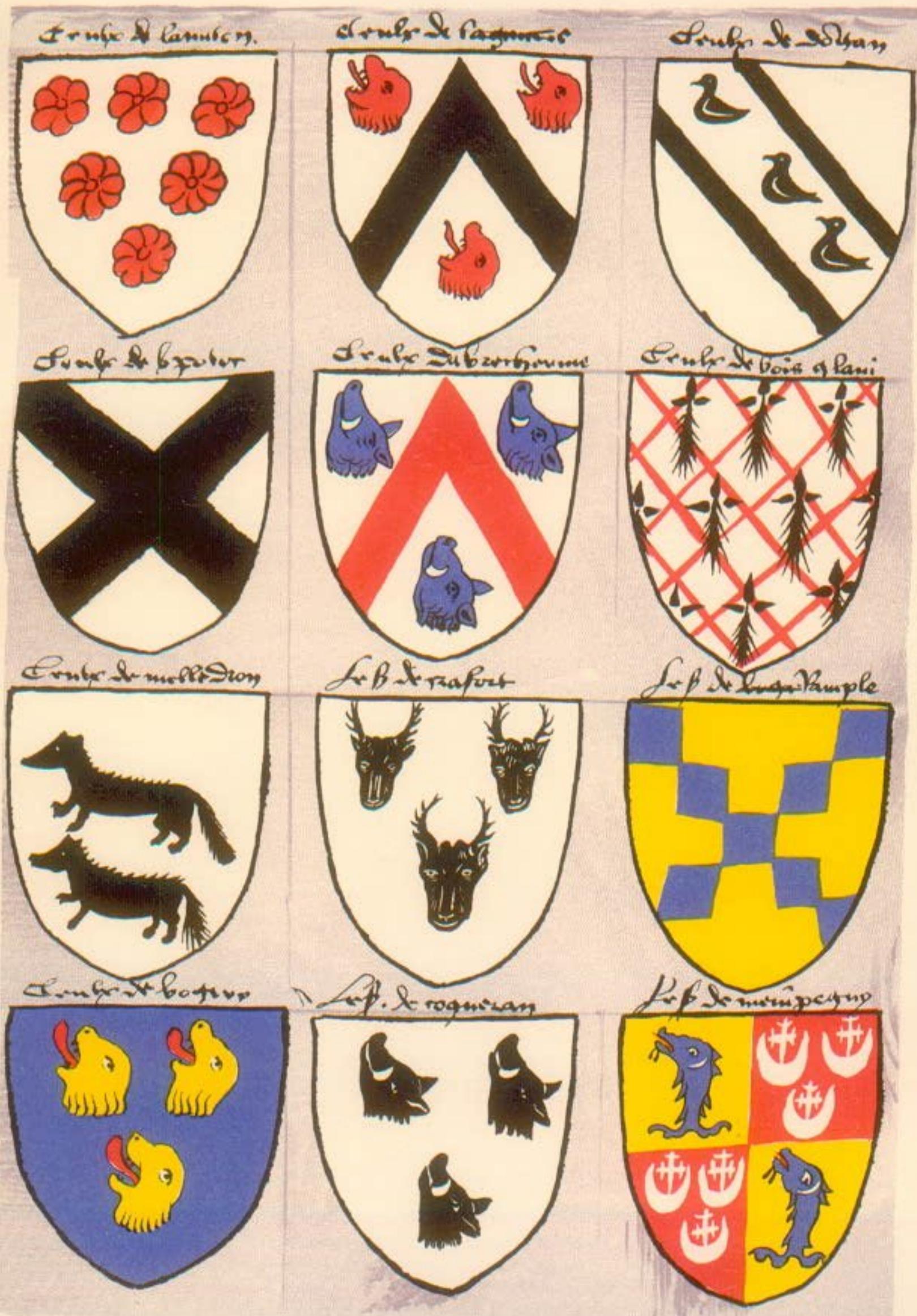




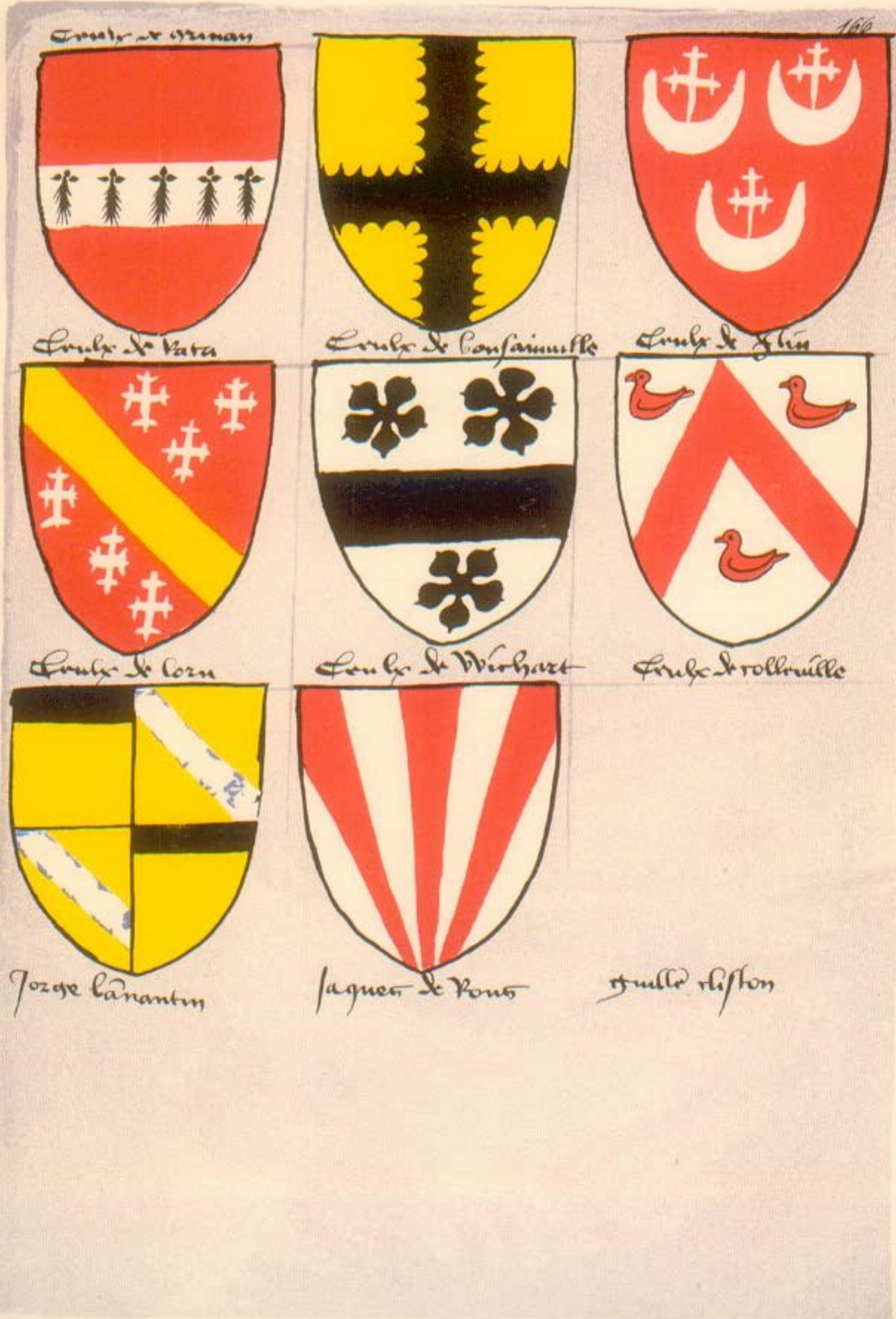




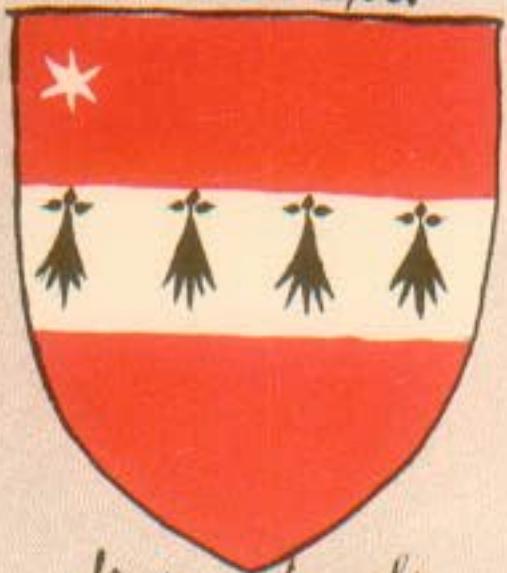




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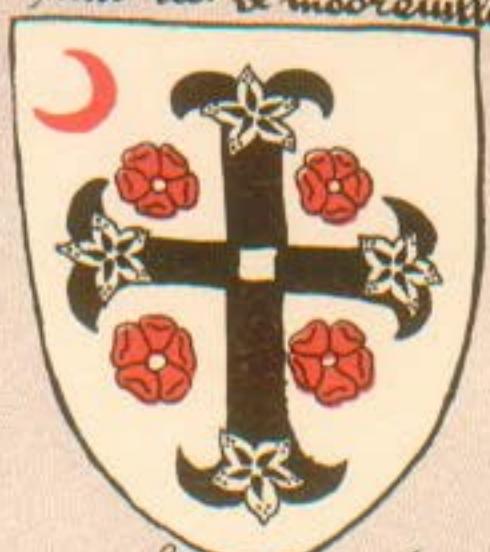
Guilleme masort



guille' arrulet



guille' lez le madreuil



jenan simple



alipendit magnus



a b're communis

