

The 'Diary' of Sir Thomas Hope (1633-45) Lord Advocate (1616-46)

OF all contemporary materials for historical study none are more valuable than those 'human documents,' Diaries and Letters. The Scottish national character for marked individuality has so seldom indulged in personal revelation of opinion and feeling that it is unwise to overlook the few specimens we have. Such neglect seems to have overtaken the 'Diary' of Sir Thomas Hope. Published more than sixty years ago by the Bannatyne Club, historical writers have done little to popularise its merits. The editing of the volume gave no help in reading between the lines, though it was a great service even to put into print the very small and obscure writing of the MS., still preserved at Pinkie House by Sir Alexander Hope, the representative of the elder branch of the family founded by Sir Thomas. At first sight but a series of short, disconnected entries, the 'Diary' is found to throw a flood of light on the public events of what was one of the most momentous periods of British history. Besides, it reveals the *vie intime* of an interesting character, his social and professional life in Edinburgh and in his rural retreat, his intellectual calibre, and his attitude to contemporary movements in Church and State.

The 'Diary' is not only a private confessional, but a record of daily occurrences as affecting not only a public man but a citizen of the capital and a country gentleman. In regard to public events there is the reticence to be expected. But the expression of personal feeling and of the ties of family relationship is of the frankest. In this last respect it is, for its time and country, unique. We have no such picture of family life as this revelation of the grandson of an exiled Frenchman, a Des Houblons of Picardy, assimilating all the Calvinistic sincerity and dourness of a time and country in which these qualities were so conspicuous. It is possible, in a limited space, to exhibit but a few of the features of the work.

As King's advocate Sir Thomas was in a position to see everything, and especially events that seem to us of great moment. Keen as all his compeers were in business and the watchful study of character and conduct, shrewd in a bargain or a law plea, sticklers for orthodoxy in so far as prudently and privately interpreted, we can only regret that neither he nor any other of his day ever dreamt of being a Pepys or a Walpole. Thus in the 'Diary' Montrose is, 'about 8 of nycht, putt in the Castell be the Committie, June, 1641,' without a word of comment. Next month there is the off-hand entry:—'Mr. John Stewart beheidit at the Mercat Croce for his leysis aganis the Erll of Erygill.' We have more about the King's last visit and Parliament in Scotland, when he was so hastily called away by the rebellion in Ireland (1641), but this we owe to a hot point of privilege between the Advocate and another officer of State. The Privy Council sat long over the Royal Proclamation of the visit 'till efter tuelff. Bot the knok was holden bak, and the croce clothit with tapestrie, quhilk the Prouest and Baillies being sent for could not find. But I causit bring als monie furth off my hous,' (in the Cowgate and not far off) 'vthorwais it wald haif bene done without couering.' There was not much enthusiasm in the Covenanting Town Council of Edinburgh over the visit.

As the time drew nearer there were other difficulties, the Earl of Winton telling the Privy Council that he was 'inhabill to ludge the King at Seytoun,' near Prestonpans and one of the finest mansions in Scotland. The King arrived at Halyruid at last, 'about six at evin.' Three days later he 'cam to the Parliament in coche, about 10.' It was held in the new Parliament House, in the hall as we see it now. The huddled up close of this Parliament, marking, as it proved, the crisis of the King's fate, is significantly noted in brief:—'17 Nov. The Parliament raid. 18 Nov. The Kingis Majestie tuik journey to Ingland.'

The stirring events of 1638 are but briefly referred to, but there was natural confusion in the capital, when with the following spring came the news that the King was preparing to suppress the Covenant by force of arms. There is a brave 'wappenschawing' in Edinburgh at which the College of Justice musters 500, including 'ane number of the auld advocates and wryters.' A few days before, the Castle is 'braschit be pittardis and takin be the nobilitie.' Young Sir Thomas commands General Leslie's bodyguard, while his brother and brother-in-law, Sir Charles Erskine, both rode out under the Banner of the Covenant. Sir

The 'Diary' of Sir Thomas Hope 425

Thomas himself could hardly be a combatant, so he hands over his arms to his sons:—'My putrinell or carabin, indentit of rowat' (? Rouen) 'work; sword and pistolles; long carabin of rowet work all indentit' (inlaid), 'with the brace iron key and gold string; litill rowat carabin of mother-a-perll stok, to be usit quhen I haif not to do therwith, but to be readie quhen I call for it.' While at his house of Craighall he buys in Cupar, near by, two pistols, which he entrusts to his man there, along with the 'calmes key' or mould for bullets, 'to keip and dress for my use.' There is also the anxious stowing away of valuables. Sir Charles Erskine is instructed 'to put within my little irne kist his coffer with jewellis. All thir, with the meikill irne kist and writts being therein, ar putt in the laich volt cellar for eschewing of fyre; and committis the rest to the Lord.' Later on Lady Hope, with a packet of letters, crosses over from Fife 'to close vp the voutis, and sand the vpmost houssis for feir of grenades.' Meantime the King's fleet appears in the Inchkeith roads and his army is nearing the Border. At Foulden, near Berwick, the Advocate meets his Majesty in conference. The Estates are thereafter summoned, a peace is patched up, and the King makes a hasty return southwards to meet still more serious troubles.

The crisis of the Parliamentary struggle came in 1643, when the Solemn League and Covenant finally commits the whole Covenanting strength to the overthrow of the King. Sir Thomas notes the momentous 'subscryving in the Eistmost Kirk of St. Jells' (13 Oct.). Among others 'Mr. Merschell, the Ingliche minister' (the Stephen Marshall of Milton's 'Smectymnuus'), 'spak, being sitting with the Ingliche Commissioners under the reideris dask; and the nobilmen satt foiranent the minister, at the syd of ane tabill covert with greyn; and all the persones of the Committie satt at the tuo endis of the tabill, in a traverse tabill both south and north.' Sir Thomas tells us that 'being thair I renewit my vow to adhere' to the Covenant, but he wisely stopped short at that part which required him 'to mayntene the privilegis of the Parliament of England,' with which as a subject of Scotland he had nothing to do. This precisely involved the point on which the covenanting parties were to split. But as yet all are on the full tide of the new enthusiasm. With the new year the 'old crookbacked soldier,' General Leslie, marches south with that Scotch contingent that was to prove the undoing of the King:—(8 Jan., 1644) 'General Leslie cam to my chamber about 6 at nycht and tuik leave of me, being to

begin his journey to Ingland on the morow.' With him went the recruits from Sir Thomas's own lands:—' This day, gevin to the soiours of Craighall, quho gois vnder Capt. Moffet, ilk of them thair collarrs' (colours) 'of blue and yellow silk ribbins, quhilk cost 4 merks. To them to drink amang them, j angell.' Of the terrible doings of Montrose in harrying the land for King Charles during the following summer the 'Diary' says nothing, but in a letter to Sir Charles Erskine (7 Aug., 1645) he is told how the fiery Royalist swept over the plain of Alloa and Dollar like a blight, and, as a matter of personal interest to Sir Charles, he adds, 'this last nycht thay wer at Alloway, quhair as I heir Montroiss wes resett be zour brother' (Earl of Mar), 'quhilk I will not believe.'

It is the Church and not the Law that connects Sir Thomas with two notable contemporaries, Johnston of Warristoun and Alexander Henderson, joint authors of the National Covenant. The former is entered as a name and nothing more. Henderson's historic appearances are noted, as well as some of the occasions when he was heard preaching, but without a single indication of the impression made by this very remarkable man. In 1642 he baptizes a grandchild of Sir Thomas's, one of the witnesses being Sir William Dick, the great banker who financed the Covenanting resistance. The same year found Sir Thomas at his ¹ place of Cramond, where he had built the laird's aisle in the church. Here 'Mr. Alex. Henrysoun, ministrat the Communioun for x tables, and also preichit efternone.' On both occasions the memorandum, *palliatus*, is added, as if he regarded the fact of the preacher being gowned as a Prelatic innovation. He elsewhere records his objection to Laud's innovation, kneeling at the Sacrament, as well as the fact that that prying prelate had written him a letter reprimanding him for communicating at Pencaitland, doubtless in offensive Low Church fashion. Henderson's sermons are almost the only ones of the century that make tolerable reading to a modern, so that it is unfortunate we do not have, from so shrewd and honest a layman, some estimate of the effect on this occasion. It is quite characteristic, however, to note only that Henderson was gowned, perhaps as an

¹This 'Place' is better known as Hopetoun. Sir Thomas's son, Sir James, fell heir to it and to the Leadhills mines through a marriage that his shrewd father negotiated for him. His grandson, Charles, was first Earl of Hopetoun and ancestor of the Marquis of Linlithgow. Sir James sat on the bench (1649-61) as Lord Hopetoun.

expression of the preacher's dislike to the growing influence of the Brownists or Independents who were soon to rob the old Scots Church service of much of its beauty.

The nearest church to the Cowgate house was the Magdalen Chapel, close to the base of the Free Library, but it is mentioned once, and then only in the matter of the baptism of a grandchild, 'verie waik, and I desyrit him to be baptisit; quhilk my wyff excusit, that they durst not tak the bairne furth in the cold air.' The compromise was the Chapel, but 'my wyff wes angrie at my greife.' As a State official Sir Thomas would be expected always to worship in the East Kirk of St. Giles, where he must have been a steady attender, to judge by this:—'At 2 efternone I had a heavy brasche of the colick, quhilk vexit me till I vomit all, and gatt rest in my bed till Sounday in the morning, at quhilk I wes delyverit, and rose to the preiching; for quhilk I gif God prais.' Sometimes a fire perturbed the congregation. On a Sunday in 1639 Mr. Alex. Henrysoun has just begun the exhortation prayer when there was a fray in the kirk, due to the report of a fire in a house 'on the north syd of the gait; quhair-upon a gritt part of the pepill, with the Provest and Magistrates, ischit furth; and the minister stayit till thair return, be the space of 3 quartern of ane hour.' Altogether the clergy, even the leaders, get no prominence in the 'Diary,' strengthening the general impression one must form that the momentous rising of 1638 was essentially a movement of the barons, deeply roused by the King's threatened resumption of the Crown teinds in the hands of the lay patrons.

Sir Thomas was a devout man both in public and private according to the fashion of the time. We have no note of long wrestlings in private prayer such as Johnston of Warristoun is said to have indulged in, though he tells us once of being so engaged before rising in the morning, when he is answered by spiritual whisperings, unheard, he adds, by his wife. To that gross form of superstition—witchcraft, and demoniacal possession—there is no reference. But it is characteristic of that 'closer walk with God,' ever present to the Covenanter, that he reads a divine message in all his spiritual communings. His record of them we ought to be grateful for, since it brings us into the closest personal touch with him.

The old-world pride of family is revealed in the estates purchased as well as in the numerous references to the doings of the children and all the tender ties formed through them. In

this there is some compensation for the absence of that shrewd observation of men and things which was scarce possible in those days of caution, reticence, and often forced religiosity. Such references are all the more valuable, too, because we have scarce any pictures of family life at that time. The sons—John, Thomas, James, and Alexander, the scheming for their worldly advancement, the girls, and their husbands, and children—these all figure with more or less fulness in the ‘Diary’ and ‘Letters.’ Of their mother there are few direct personal notes, a revelation quite in keeping with the conventional expression of deep feeling in vogue. She is always simply ‘my wyff.’ When he writes of another’s wife she is ‘your bedfellow.’

The third son, Alexander, quite in keeping with old custom, separated himself from the family interests, and took the side of King Charles, ‘quhom,’ as his father says, ‘he idolit as his god.’ His extravagance seems to have been a shock to his old-fashioned parents. The story of it is worth telling as an exceptional revelation of deep feeling on the part of the old man. In 1635 Alexander is sent to follow his fortunes at Court, there to push for place, as so many young Scots nobles had been doing since the Union. The *persona grata* who introduced him was entrusted with fifty gold pieces for his service. What, for those days, were large money payments had too often to follow those pieces, generally through friends who were bound for Court, such as the Earl of Mar, Lord Lorn (the great Argyll). Success in suing came at last, and in significant fashion:—‘(25 Oct., 1636) Letters to my sone with thanks to sundry gentlemen for concerting with him to agrie with Taverner to putt off the Chancellar from Mungo Murray, in the suit of the place of carver, for quhilk Mr. Alexander is to pay to Taverner £150 sterling.’ To sustain the dignity of the young Scot, ‘at this tyme one Peter Loch, a footmen, wes sent up to serve my sone, to quhom was gevin fyve dollors,’ a sum ridiculously out of keeping with his master’s spending, which seems to have been on an alarming scale, to judge by these notes:—‘(14 Juni, 1637) A letter from my wyff to Mr. Alexander, forbidding him to send the watche, and chyding him for his spending’; (28 July) ‘ressavit letters to pay to Patrik Wod £70 sterling, quhilk he had borrowit from his factor’ (agent), ‘to the quhilk I wrot a very angrie letter and his mother another’; Sir Thomas is so angry that the letter is ‘directit to him in his mother’s name,’ and shortly after the elder brother, Thomas, is instructed to write, ‘because I wald not wrytt myself.’

It seems that Alexander had secured a pension of £150 sterling as His Majesty's Special Carver.

A gift, from his mother, is in striking contrast to her son's costly watch:—'Item, one from his mother with the nott of the aittis, peiss, cheiss, salmond, and hering sent to him.' In 1641 we have a deeply pathetic appeal to the son from the father himself:—'As for the last part of your letter concerning yourself it hes gevin so deep a wound to my hart that I must take tyme to gather my spirit. The Lord pittie me, and direct yow in a more prudent way, and keep yow from tempting him by distrust and diffidence in not waiting patientlie for a releiff of your distresses from him, and in crocing the wearie hart of your aged father, and bringing his gray haire to the grave with sorrow. Butt of this at greter lenth quhen I haif digestit in some mesur the excess of my present greif.' Imprudence of this kind was abhorrent to the nature of the Advocate, who ever laboured to fulfil the apostolic injunction—'not slothful in business, serving the Lord.'

It is pleasant to note in the 'Diary' evidence of the beginnings of a great social change. Sir Thomas was among the 'gentlemen of the long robe' who invested the proceeds of the 'dreepin' roasts' that came to them professionally, in broad lands, thus leading the way to the mansions and pleasaunces that in time transformed the old, forbidding feudal aspect of the country. The lands of Craighall must have been among the earliest of the Advocate's purchases, for in 1631 we learn he had mortgaged 100 merks yearly for the support of a school in Ceres. On the east end of the church may still be seen the burial-place of the old Crawford Lindsays, long lords of the soil. There reposes the stern Crawford who compelled Queen Mary to sign her abdication. For a century and more the old house has been in ruins, but the Hopes lived there till about the Union of 1707. It stood about half a mile from Ceres, 'upon the north bank of a den, planted with trees, a situation beautifully romantic.' Thus writes the minister in the *Old Statistical Account*, adding that a little rocky hill shelters on the north from which the place got its name. This clears up an obscure note in the 'Diary.' Now and again Sir Thomas enters one of his dreams in Latin. Thus in 1641 he dreams of being caught in a thick mist *in hortis petrocellanis*, as if it were 'in the gardens of parsley.' But he is not thinking of *petro-selinum*, the Latin from which we have 'parsley.' He is really translating Craig Hall as the Cell on

the Rock or little rocky hill of the *Statistical Account*. On a later occasion he enters a solemn vow, when on the point of setting out *ad Petrocellam*, his own pet name for his favourite retreat. In his youth he had published Latin verses, his *Carmen Seculare*, but his active life allowed only of a playful word-coinage or a dream record in the classic tongue. His tastes seem not to have lain in gardening or improving, but he takes an interest in the working of the neighbouring coal-pits.

Two of his frequent journeys from Edinburgh were eventful. When ordered to withdraw to Craighall early in 1640, he left Leith within ten days of receipt of the King's letter, and 'in Bruntiland a' (one) 'nicht, cam next day to Craighall about 12.' Considering the road and the season of the year the progress was good. The Lowther party (1629) had an unpleasant experience on this road, to this effect:—'The river of Ore, narrow but deep and fierce; we rid it the height of the horse's mane and the fierceness of it turned the horse off its feet.'

A few years later his son, Sir John,² gets 'seisin' of Craighall as his own, but Sir Thomas continues his visits almost to the end. The summer of 1644 was mainly spent there. The leisure now earned seems to have offered the chance of reading, as this hints:—'Sent my bookis to Craighall, being of purpose to go thither myself?' (Ap. 1644). Within a month he is suddenly summoned by Sir Charles Erskine, just come home from France to find that his mother, the Dowager Countess of Mar, 'had takin a deidlie brasche' in the house in the Cowgate. On this summons Sir Thomas made the journey from Craighall through Fife with a speed that was worthy of the railway pace of pre-Forth Bridge days. 'Immediatlie I went furth of Craighall, about 8 in the morning, and came to Bruntiland about xij hours, and was at Leyth ane quarter efter one.' The lady died in Sir Thomas's house in the Cowgate, and was buried at Alloa. The funeral was, of course, a great event. Says Sir Thomas, 'I went to Alloway to the funeralls off the Countes of Mar, being 20 hors in trayne, quhair my charges wer £96; and returnit to Craighall on Setterday.' In those ceremonious days the 'suits of woe' were not soon parted with. 'This day,' says the 'Diary,' 'my sone Craighall went to sermoun, and we changit our mourning weidis for my deir daughter, Margaret, and no sooner, and so we wore them for a zeir and 13 dayis.'

Sir Thomas Hope is a favourable specimen of a public man in

² Sir John was raised to the Bench as Lord Craighall.

his day and generation. In regard to the questions that moved men in religion and politics, he must have formed his own opinions, but in his pages one need not look for any critical estimate of the bearings of policy or of practice. The notable men he meets—King Charles, Buckingham, Prince Rupert, Laud, Montrose, Warristoun, Henderson—these are all names and little more. Nor does self-inquiry go further than an almost pagan study of portents and providences, and a prayer for better control of faults of temper, presumably regarded as a hindrance to advancement. The most favourable aspects he presents are on the side of the domestic affections, notably a frank simplicity of character, and integrity in the discharge of duty. In common with the most intelligent of his countrymen, Drummond excepted, he is untouched by the glories of Elizabethan literature. Of his own education or of that of his sons we are told nothing. He was a student of the newly-founded College of Edinburgh, for he notes the death (1643) of 'Good Mr. Adam Colt, my regent' or College tutor. That he himself went abroad for study to fit him for public life is unlikely, though Lowther's observation (1629) on the advocates is to this effect:—'Most of them have been travellers, and studied in France.' He appreciates this training by sending his sons to study abroad, and even advises Sir Charles Erskine, when on a visit to France, to stay till he 'get a grup of the language.' That he was not entirely immersed in affairs is witnessed by references to his books, by the free use of Latin on occasion, and by the presence now and again of a Greek or a Hebrew phrase; but he never goes out of his way to speak, otherwise than as mere matter-of-fact, of schoolmaster or of clergyman.

The intellectual status of Sir Thomas is to be estimated entirely on indirect evidence, such as has been already presented. There remains the consideration of his reading and of his writings as a specimen of the spoken Scots of his age. The fact that these are quite artless and undesigned makes them specially interesting.

Bible-reading was regularly carried on as a religious exercise, but the numerous vows and soul-questionings are not, as was usual with the serious-minded, accompanied by Biblical quotation. Hebrew he read:—'This day beguid at the 4 of Nombres in the Hebrew lection: Lent to my sone Craighall 4 tomes of Hebrew Bibill of Rotus Stephanus characteris.' A few words in Hebrew character are also inserted. Sometimes an entry is made in Latin. Thomas à Kempis was one of his favourites. The only other

allusion to books is this:—‘ Sent a letter to Erl Ancrum, to caus prent Franciscanis Vllisemus (Volusenus), or to send him heir to me to be prentit, because Mr. Robert Balcanquell wes importuning me to haif him restorit, as ane auld monument of Scottis antiquity.’ The Earl was himself of some repute at the English Court as a poetaster. This Volusenus, an honest Scottish Wilson Latinised, was born at the beginning of the 16th century on the banks of the Lossie, and from the school at Elgin proceeded to Aberdeen University, later on to be known as tutor in Wolsey’s household, and thereafter as professor and humanist Scot Abroad. It is hard to guess the point of interest Sir Thomas found in his writings, but he was well known to George Buchanan, and has three of his poems in the *Delitiae Poetarum*, that anthology of Scottish scholarship in Latin verse, in which Sir Thomas himself was represented. One would have preferred to see him show a little interest in what Andro Hart was issuing, say, in 1629, under his very eye, from his shop on the High Street, almost opposite the Cross. He may have rubbed shoulders with Drummond of Hawthornden when he chanced to come into town to see Hart about what he was doing for him that year, or with Montgomery, busy sending forth through Hart his *Cherry and Slae*. But the time had not yet come, least of all to even an intelligent Scot, for that wider outlook and keener observation of men and things, of Nature and art. The open book which he had ever to watch was the crooked path of his own fortunes. Outside of that the one literary influence most powerfully present would be his Bible, and there he found the highest authority for his study of dreams, portents, and mystic communings.

In these writings of Sir Thomas we have, to the life, the language and style of an educated gentleman of the seventeenth century. There is no forced pathos, and still less is there an approach to humour, but occasionally we have, in a proverbial form, specimens of that peculiarly antique combination of worldly wisdom and graphic phrasing. To put a bone in the foot of an adversary is his equivalent to our putting a spoke in his wheel. His professional experience of the part played by property in estranging parties comes out in this:—‘ Meum and tuum, quhilk spillis the sport in all playis.’ In the case of a laird with whom the Earl of Annandale, his client, has the usual ‘pley’ over ‘widsettis’ (mortgages), he advises ‘to latt him byt on the brydell, and I sall terrifie him with putting the minut in

registers and charging him to extend and fulfill the samyn vnder the payne thairin conteynit, quhilk is £10,000 stirling.' Though he lived in an age at once of plain-speaking and coarseness alongside of lip-piety there is no trace with him of any of these. When face to face with his enemies—and he had them—he is clear, firm, and dignified. With two agents of the King's unpopular policy, Traquair and Hamilton, he has warm moments. His replies compare favourably with Traquair's rough rejoinder: 'The Commissioner, without any occasioun offerit be me, brak out violentlie in thir speiches, eftir I had ressonit the point exactlie for his Majestie: "Be God, this man cares not quhat he speaks."'

Devotional writing, which formed the bulk of the literature of the century, is so much under the influence of English as to very imperfectly preserve the speech of the day; for the Scot, in virtue of nearness to England and his own pronounced individuality, was always bi-lingual. But the diction and pronunciation of Sir Thomas are genuinely national. This is illustrated by the following phrases, culled at random:—'Maryit on (for to): the debtis auchtand (owing, the Northern pres. part.): quhilk ar thir (which are these): 6 scheit of paper: your tutor his letter: deirer to hir nor (than) himself: I think or (ere) now you haif them: is better acquaint (old part. in -ed dropped after a dental): I wreit (past tense) my ansuer to the haild douttis contenit (past part. Northern): the saids landis (plural adj. and plur. in -is): vpon the other morne (morning): but this man be provin (unless this must be proved): betuix and the tent of this moneth (between now and the tenth): we haif mett att divers tymes with the Erll and findis him verie willing' (good example of the Northern verb plural in -s throughout). His diction shows something of the foreign influences that affected Scottish speech. To his academic and professional training we owe these: keip peax (Lat. pax, peace), quaeres (queries), he may distresse his mother (distrain), a peice of festinatioun (Lat. festinare, àpropos of asking a judgeship for his son at twenty-one), I intend to superceid (Lat. supersedere, put off) the ending (issue), thocht he be accomptit ane young man.' Though his grandfather was a born Frenchman, his diction does not show any exceptional familiarity with the language. The following recall their foreign origin:—'Abillzeamentsis (habiliments), the valour (Fr. valeur) of the tithes, it sall haif ane essay (essai), I sall travell to draw them to thair tryall, oblissis and oblissement, it is bruttit that

Capitane Cokburne is deid' (bruit). Very few words occur that require glossing through lapse of time. Examples are:— 'Trubill or fasherie; warit (expended); bruikit (enjoyed); hold zow be your maik (match or equal); thir fyve or sax oulkis (weeks—now only in Aberdeenshire); if my Lord sall scar (feel afraid) at this; letter to Mr. Alexander to chaip (buy) ane jowell and to send me word of the number and bignes of the diamondis.' Through the close connection of Scotland with Holland come two words of much interest. Sir Thomas refers to a document 'quhilk I patt in my blak cabinet in the midmost of the two blak schotells' (Ger. Schüssel, drawer, flat dish) 'quhilk ar in the middes thair of.' In the 'Wedderburn Book' (Scott. His. Soc.), of the same age, we find:—'Ane aiken freiz pres with schottles of aik thairin.' The Boer War made us familiar with the word, schil-pat, the name in South Africa for the land tortoise. The 'Diary' shows that Sir Thomas knew it. (1638) 'Ressavit from my sone my rod with the King's portrait on the hed of it, of porcupine penne' (quill) 'or of the schell poddokis' (puddock). Sir Thomas's observation is not clear here. His remark must apply, not to the walking-stick so much as to the nature of the setting of the portrait. Among the ominous accidents he loves to record there is a clear reference to such a 'rod':—'The rod I walk with wes brokin in peices and nothing left of it but the siluer head.' His speech shows the same confusion between 'rod' and 'road' as in modern dialect:—'21 Maij, 1639, This day General Leslie, Erl Rothess, and Lord Lyndsay tuik journey to the bound rod.' The expression 'the bound rod,' here is one of the many obscurities of the 'Diary.' I found a solution in the *Muses' Welcome* to James I. on his visit to Scotland in 1617.³ One of the pieces there extols the King as uniting, under one crown, the two sides of the 'bound rod,' evidently an expression for the boundary between Scotland and the 'auld enemy.'

In the absence of an established norm for spelling, whether regulated by printing or by teaching in grammar school and

³In the great hall of the Place or Abbey of Paisley, Sir James Sempill of Beltrees greeted the King in the Oration recited by his son, 'a prettie boy of nine,' thus:—as the result of the Union 'one beame shall launce alike on both sides of our bound rod and our Phoebus (James I.) no more need to stretch out his armes on both sides of it, devyding as it were his Royall body for embracing at once two devided Ladyes'—*i.e.* Clytia (Scotland) and Leucothoe (England). The expression is slightly different in Spalding's *Troubles*:—'Felt Marischall Leslie is makeing great preparation to the Boullrode' (March, 1640).

college, at that time entirely conducted through Latin, it is fair to regard the form the words assume as indicative of pronunciation. Spelling under such conditions can only be phonetic. In this regard the spelling of Sir Thomas much more truly reproduces the tones of his voice than any modern writing could. His spelling is perfectly consistent, and supplies most instructive information in regard to the development of the mother tongue. In his speech the 'quhilk and quho,' 'the ane,' and the 'ze' (ye) still hold their own, but the last only in a very homely letter. The first did not survive his own age. Its initial *qu* was originally a useful mark to emphasize the strong Gothic guttural, *hw*, still surviving in Scotch pronunciation, the elimination of which is a loss to modern English, so that 'which' and 'witch' sound alike. The omission of 'l,' so persistent now, and in effect analogous to the English vocalising of 'r,' did not prevail at this time, witness 'sould, wuld, coll (dock, cut short, now cove), call' (drive, now cawe) as in the judicial torture known as 'calling the boots.' Abbreviated words are frequent:—Secretar, necessar, ordinar, lenth, strenthening, chamerlane (chawmer, chalmer, chamber). Some of them seem due to slovenly pronunciation, as solice (solicit), propertis (purports), escapes (escapades), entres (interest). The German nasal, still common in dialect, is shown in sing-ell (single), angell (angel, a coin). A strong guttural is heard in aneugh (enough), 'the laichest' (lowest) 'pryce.' A hardened sound appears, again, in sik (such), besek (beseech); off for 'of,' behove (behoof); and *s* hard in becaus, hous and houssis, pleass, coussing. The vowel sounds are more uncertain. The following may be grouped under the vowels in their usual order:—spak, brak, latt (let)—*a*; hes, wes, eftir, glaid (gled), haif (have), sait (set, noun), bay (be or by), the last post—shut *e*; breist, freind, freir (friar), signifeit (signified)—open *e*; thift, widsettis, liklie, wreit (writ and wrote), greit (great)—shut *i*; nott (note)—shut *o*; sone (Ger. Sohn, son), one (one)—open *o*; bund (bound)—shut *u*; soume (sum), jowell (jewel)—open *u*; saull (soul), yow (you, still in Border dialect), awin, awne (own)—diphthongs. Proper names must have been written purely phonetically, and are interesting in preserving local colour. Sir Thomas uses these:—Airthour (Arthur), Areskin, Erskine (place-name, Aitrik-stane), Fotherance (Fotheringham), Vauss (de Vaux, now Vans in Wigton), Bruntiland, Ripont (Ripon), Carrail (Crail as in old spelling), Mononday, Setterday, Mertimes, quhill (untill) the 28 Merche.

These observations, of a more or less philological character, ought to commend themselves as a side-light on historical study. Much learning has been expended on the verse remains of the Scottish vernacular, but little attention has been given to its prose, as preserved to us in diaries and familiar letters. The abundant religious literature, if it can be called so, of the seventeenth century is substantially English in diction, and therefore of little use on its language side. But we may be sure that men like Sir Thomas Hope put down in their diaries exactly the language used by them in daily intercourse with those of their own class. The record, being still unaffected by conventional printing, preserves the very tones of voice and the characteristic diction of the time. It so happens that, whereas the old vernacular verse diction has not lived in colloquial intercourse, such speech as we have in the 'Diary' was till quite recently that of old-fashioned, homely Lowland folk.

JAMES COLVILLE.