

Lyon Office<sup>1</sup>:—'John Areskine of Balgownie, descended of a Second Son of the Familie of Marr, Bears two coats quarterlie, first azur a bend betwixt two cross crosslets fitched or, second arg. a pale within a bordure sable, third as the second, the fourth as the first. Above the shield ane Helmet befitting his degree mantle gules doubled argent next is placed on ane Torc for his Crest —,'—'c. 1672.'

On Dec. 30th, 1771.—The following arms were registered:—

'The Revd. Mr. Robert Cunningham of Balgownie, great-grandson of John Cunningham of Balindaloch, who succeeded to the estate and representation of the family of Erskine of Balgownie, on the death of John Erskine of Balgownie, his mother's brother. Bears Quarterly 1 and 4 arg. a shake fork sa., and in chief a mullet gu., all within a bordure engrailed of the last. 2 and 3 grand quarters as Erskine of Balgownie.

'Crest. An oak-tree proper.

'Motto. "Tandem."

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319. THE HUGUENOTS IN NORTH BRITAIN.—The following interesting paper was read at the Annual Meeting of the Huguenot Society, held in London 13th March 1889. Miss Layard has most kindly consented to its appearance in the *Scottish Antiquary*, and the Council of the Society have also allowed it to be printed from their Annual Report:—

In 1685 Louis Quatorze crowned the many despotic acts of his reign by an action as cruel and tyrannical as it was shortsighted in its policy.

Prompted by his minister Louvois, who hated those of the 'Reformed Church' who had remained in France, and who added so much to her glory by their talents and commercial successes, Louis issued a Royal Proclamation revoking the Edict of Nantes, and all the privileges which had been hitherto granted to his Protestant subjects and maintained by his predecessors.

The exercise of the Reformed Religion was forbidden throughout France on penalty of death or forfeiture of all the worldly goods of those who professed it. But this tyranny and cruelty were not of a day's growth, or the fruits of a momentary outbreak of despotic prejudice; fifteen years previously, in 1670, the terrible persecutions of the *Dragonnades* had spread murder, rapine, and horror throughout the length and breadth of

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Scott thinks that a similarity exists between the arms of Shielfield and Balgownie, which supports his theory of the connection between the two families. The similarity is very trifling; a much closer one exists between the arms of Erskine, of Dun, of Torry, and of Shielfield. He states that he has received, through a friend, some information from the Lyon Office, which, however, must have suffered in transmission, and was evidently incomplete, for he relies on Burke's *Armoury* for the blazonry of the Balgownie arms, which is incorrect. These arms were registered 'c. 1672,' not, as he states, 'c. 1680.' The Shielfield arms were registered 'c. 1719 or later,' not 'c. 1700.' It is evident, indeed, that they were not registered till after 1722, from the fact that Nisbet, in his edition of that year, attributes to Shielfield the same arms as Balgownie. As he made use of the register in the Lyon Office, they clearly were not in it when he wrote. I do not find that he describes the Shielfield family as sprung from that of Balgownie. Mr. Scott seems to have been informed that the arms of Shielfield were registered at the Lyon Office 'as a branch of Balgony about 1700' (p. 7). *Balgownie is not mentioned*; all that is said about them is contained in the following official extract:—

'John Erskine of Sheefield bears argent on a pale sable a cross crosslet fitched or within a bordure azur. Crest a dexter arm from the elbow proper holding a cross crosslet as the former. Motto, Think well'—'c. 1719 or later.'

the fair land of France; even those who professed the Catholic faith were fain to pray that death would stay the arm of the cruel and execrated minister by whose order these sanguinary deeds had been perpetrated against innocent and God-fearing and law-abiding subjects.

The rumour of these horrors spread far and wide. Even Catholic Italy opened her arms to receive as citizens those who fled from their tortured and unhappy land, although it must be confessed that individual instances of treachery in 'high places' sully the pages which record the sympathy and protection shown to the victims of this most dreadful persecution.

Germany, too, and Holland were even more prompt in their aid and sympathetic interest. But it is to England and Scotland, and their 'sister isle' of Ireland, that the palm must be accorded for the ready protection and open-handed welcome they afforded to those who sought the refuge of the shores of Great Britain.

The History of the French Huguenots, as regards their settlement in England and Ireland, is well known, and has been exhaustively treated by Agnew, Smiles, and other well-known writers; and much further light has been thrown on this subject by the researches carried on with so much interest by various members of the Huguenot Society since its first commencement. But it is not with the Huguenots of England, or of Ireland, that we have to do in this paper, but with their less well-known brethren and co-refugees in Scotland. This department of research never having been thoroughly worked out (although manuscripts and curious documents were known to exist in some one or other of the libraries in Edinburgh), it struck me, whilst on a visit to that city during the past summer, that a *systematic* research might possibly be repaid by many discoveries of great literary and historical interest. I therefore determined to devote as much time as I could spare to the work in question, and have had great gratification in presenting recently to the Huguenot Society the result of seven weeks' research in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, where, thanks to the kind assistance afforded me by the principal librarian, Mr. Clark, and his assistants, I was enabled to discover and transcribe a number of most curious and valuable papers, far exceeding my expectations in quantity and interest. I here take this opportunity of making this public acknowledgment of the services rendered me by the above gentlemen, in my own name as well as that of the Huguenot Society, feeling sure that all my readers will concur in this expression of thanks.

With one or two exceptions of a trifling nature, all these manuscripts are embodied in the collection known as the 'Woodrow Collection of MSS.' I have made all possible search in contemporary and later records, and have failed to discover any *printed* exemplars of these Huguenot papers, and it may therefore be safely concluded that our Society will be the first to make them public matter of interest. In a few more years, perhaps, time will have completed the work of obliteration already begun by damp, and fading ink, and crumbling paper, and these quaint records, which cost many hours of slow and careful deciphering, will have utterly faded away from human ken and eyesight, carefully as the manuscripts are preserved and guarded.

The earliest record almost that we have of a Huguenot emigration to Edinburgh is towards the latter part of the sixteenth century, when a small colony of silk and wool weavers crossed from France to Leith, the

seaport of Edinburgh, and, by permission of the city authorities, purchased a piece of land in the suburb called Broughton, now forming part of Edinburgh itself, and still bearing the name of 'Picardy Place,' called after the province from whence the refugees fled.

This emigration seems to have taken place during the years 1588-90; the new-comers were enrolled as citizens, and contributed greatly to the augmentation of the commercial prosperity of the city in the woollen, silk, and napery trades. Of their habitation nothing now exists but the name of 'Picardy Place.' Careful search has proved that none of the original old houses are now standing; where they *once* stood can now be only ascertained by reference to the old maps and to the old wills preserved in the Register House, in which the testators' names and addresses are given, and their special branch of trade, as *tisserands*, or weavers.

The earlier massacres of Huguenots in France caused an intense feeling of horror and reprobation in Scotland, for France and Scotland were ever closely connected, both royally and politically, although the religions of the two countries were in every respect so dissimilar.

In Mr. James Melvill's diary, preserved in the Advocates' Library (Edinburgh), he says that Mr. James Wilkie, *Primarius* of the University, 'causit sing comonnie the 44 and 79 Psalmes, quhilk I lernit *par ceur*, for that was the yeir of the bludie massacres in France (1574).' And again he says, under the date of the year 1588, 'That 88 yeir was also maist notable for the death of Quein Mother of France, Catherin de Medecis, bludie Jezabell to the Sanctes of God, wha then was callit to hir recompence. As also the maist remarkable wark of God's iustice in repaying the twa cheiff executors of that horrible carnage and massacre of Paris, making first King Hendrie to cause his Gard stik<sup>1</sup> the Duc of Guise vnder trest<sup>2</sup> with the Cardinall of Lorean. . . . The Lord working be maist wicked instruments maist wyslie and iustlie. . . . In the 85 and 86 yeirs, all the protestants were chargit<sup>3</sup> af France within sic a day, vnder pean of lyff, lands, guids, and gear;<sup>4</sup> sa that the number of banished in Eingland war sa grait, and the pure<sup>5</sup> of tham sa manie, that they war compelled to seik releiff of ws for the saming.'

It is not surprising, with such a sympathetic connection between the two countries, that the kindly feeling extended beyond a mere show of words and expressions of horror at the evils that had come upon the faithful brethren in France. Pecuniary aid was also forthcoming, and various contemporary records relate how the Bishop of St. Andrews held a grand diocesan synod at Edinburgh on November 12, 1622, when it was ordained that a collection should be made for the Huguenot congregations in France, and a public thanksgiving offered up in all the kirks of the diocese for the peace which was concluded between the King of France and his Protestant subjects. Reverting again to Melvill's diary, we read (1588) . . . 'To the glory of God, I remember it, in the pure bounds I haid vnder charge, at the first beginning of my ministerie, we gatherit about fyve hounder marks for that effect' (*i.e.* the collection for the Huguenot churches). 'The soum of the hail collection quhilk Frenche kirks gat, extendit bot till about ten thowsand marks, as thair acquaittances and letters of thanksgiffing beares, quhilk I haiff in custodie, delyverit to

<sup>1</sup> Assassinate.

<sup>3</sup> Chargit—ordered to leave.

<sup>5</sup> Pure—old mathematical term signifying number or magnitude.

<sup>2</sup> Treaty.

<sup>4</sup> Gear—chattels.

me by the Generall Assemblie to translat in Scottés, and sett furthe to close the mouthes of invyfull sklanderars, wha gaiff ovt that that collection was maid for anvther purpose. As also the collection maid for the Town of Geneua, wharfore we gat mair thankes by a Letter of Théodor du Bez<sup>1</sup> in the name of the Senat and Kirk thereof.'

As time went on, and the connection increased, the kirks and congregations of Scotland occasionally sent their own ministers over to France, and, in fact, effected what we call nowadays an exchange of chaplaincies; the period of ministry being regulated by the will of the congregation or the purse and inclination of the minister, and even sometimes by homesickness (!), as this plea is occasionally set forth in the application for return of either party to their respective native lands.

Calderwood tells us, in his *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, 1621, how a certain Mr. John Welshe, pasteur of St. Jean in France, fled from that town, when it was besieged by the Catholic troops, and took refuge in Zealand; here his health failed him, and he applied for leave to return to Scotland, so that he might have an interview anent his case with the King himself and the Dean of Winchester, Dr. Young. The former endeavoured to turn him from the Protestant faith, and pressed him to enter the pale of the Catholic Church, but the worthy minister was not to be moved by any fair promises, and the result was that the King condemned him to remain in perpetual exile in London; 'so there,' says Calderwood, 'he endit his dayes with the deserved name of an holie man . . . a constant sufferer for the truth.'

Many of the leading noblemen and gentlemen in Scotland left the Catholic Church, with its more ceremonious ritual, and, influenced by their friends amongst the Huguenots, both in France and in their own land, joined themselves to the Reformed United Kirk of Scotland, thereby showing a praiseworthy example to all, and especially to those recalcitrant clergy who were false to the standard of the church militant, and who, for increase of promotion and pecuniary benefit, went over to the Church of Rome.

In 1574 the chairs of the schools and universities of Scotland were thrown open to the Huguenots, who distinguished themselves greatly in every branch of learning, and were not a little thankful, being destitute of nearly all their worldly goods, to take any appointments offered them, and thereby earn their living honourably. To quote again from Melvill, he tells us that his brother Andro was a 'seiklie tender boy, and tuk pleasur in nathing sa mikle as his buik. Sa with the portion that was left him, he spendit a yeir or twa in Montrose . . . heiring a France man called Petrus de Marsailiers teache the Greik grammar, and sumthing of that language.' This 'seiklie boy' afterwards went to the college at Poitiers, and whilst there was nearly murdered in his lodgings by a Papist corporal,

<sup>1</sup> Théodore de Béza, minister in Geneva, was born in 1519 at Vézelay, in Burgundy. Educated at Paris, Orléans, and Bourges, he took his degree of doctor at the age of twenty. Having quitted his abbacy of Longjumeau, he became a follower of Calvin, who ordained him a minister about 1548. In 1561 he entered the suite of the Prince of Condé, and followed him through his campaign, whence he returned in 1563 to Geneva. He attended the Huguenot conferences at La Rochelle in 1571, in Nîmes in 1572, and was looked upon as the father of the Reformed Churches of France, Flanders, and Switzerland. In his old age his memory failed for all recent events, but he repeated with perfect ease the whole of the Psalms in Hebrew, and many chapters of the New Testament in Greek. He died on October 13, 1605, aged eighty-six.

who accused him of being a Huguenot, and only come to Poitiers to betray the city to troops of his own persuasion. From thence Mr. Andrew Melvill went to Orleans, which was in a state of siege; here he found the gates of the city shut; the soldiers on guard arrested Andrew and his companion, Mr. Andrew Polwart, and only allowed them to enter after a lengthy explanation, in which a punning answer given by Andrew Melvill saved the lives of the two young men. On the sentry asking him who they were, he replied, 'Scotchmen.' 'Oh, ye Scotchmen are all Huguenots,' answered the soldier. 'Huguenots?' quoth Andrew; 'what's that? we ken nocht sic.' 'Oh!' said the guard, 'ye have no mess' (mass). 'Forsooth!' replied Andrew Melvill merrily, 'our brens in Scotland gaes daylie to mess' (porridge). Upon this the soldiers answered, 'Good companions, go thy way!'

It was with the sister churches of Geneva and of La Rochelle that the Scotch had the closest unity; one of their favourite ministers, Gilbert Primrose,<sup>1</sup> was for many years officiating at the latter place; and through Gilbert Primrose's hands passed most of the official arrangements for the interchange of ministers between the Scotch kirks and the Huguenot congregations. He had been a great favourite with high and low in Edinburgh, as may be judged by the perusal of the letter (hereafter to be printed) concerning him and imploring his recall. He was of an ancient and honourable family, connected with many influential names. His descendants still exist, and his name figures as that of the family name of the Earls of Rosebery.

Primrose's colleague at La Rochelle was the pasteur Anthoine Regnaud, or Regnaut, to whom were intrusted the periodical tours of inspection to the Huguenot colleges and congregations in Germany. He speaks of Gilbert as his '*compagnon dévoué*,' who with his fellow-pasteur, Monsieur Chamier,<sup>2</sup> of the church at Montélimar,<sup>3</sup> seems to have been his principal support in certain actions and reports undertaken in reference to the misconduct of a Sieur Piscator,<sup>4</sup> who had written obnoxious articles regarding the doctrine of the Antichrist. It appears from the records of the Kirk transactions preserved in the library of the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh, that domestic offences committed by the minister were tried at the Kirk sessions, as well as offences against ceremonial regulations, for there appear here and there entries against pasteurs and ministers who have offended in various particulars. Some of these offences are cited, such as for pecuniary benefit letting lodgings to Papists, permitting pilgrimages, on superstitious motives of cure, to old chapels, wells, and trees, or allowing their wives and daughters to wear silver lambs or crosses as pendant ornaments; or having statues of saints and apostles in their houses, uttering unseemly jesting and puns (*calembours*) on religious subjects, allowing the congregation to bring their midday meal into the kirk to save a walk home between the services; and, alas! worst sin of all in the eyes of the reverend Synod, it was declared that several pasteurs and ministers, notably of some of the churches in the Lower Town, had

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Gilbert Primrose, D.D., died in 1642. His son, James Primrose, M.D., was a celebrated medical author and a vigorous opponent of Harvey. He died in 1660.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Chamier, pasteur; born 1570, died October 21, 1621.

<sup>3</sup> Montélimar, a fortified town of Dauphiné.

<sup>4</sup> The Rev. John Fischer (Piscator), German Calvinist divine, born 1546, died 1626, at Herborn, in Nassau.

been seen 'kissing the maids' whilst the latter were in waiting behind the church to escort their mistresses home ! For this heinous crime the offending ministers were charged forty marks per kiss. It is to be hoped that the reverend gentlemen were deterred, by the expense of this luxury (if by no other motive), from giving way a *second* time to this human but decidedly unclerical weakness. Magistrates *nowadays* are more lenient, to judge by a recent instance in one of the daily papers, when a country vicar, who shall be nameless, was made to pay 15s. 6d. only for a similar offence towards his housekeeper, he having set forth the plea that 'she was no longer in her first fresh youth.' The Huguenot pasteurs were evidently more discriminating ; it is to be hoped that they repented them of their sin.

A great friendliness existed between the French and Scotch pasteurs ; numbers of letters between them and ministers of the national Kirk testify to the strong feelings of regard they entertained towards their Huguenot brethren.

The congregations of the principal kirks in the city of Edinburgh were continually affording relief to their poorer Huguenot brethren, as reference to various kirk account-books will show to the searcher in such matters. It appears that the interchange of ministeries between the Scotch Kirk and French Huguenot pasteurs was not always an unmixed good ; for whereas the latter grafted on to their more lively French temperament some of the Scottish stability and 'canniness,' and were the better for their temporary residence in Edinburgh and elsewhere, the Scottish ministers, on the contrary, adopted in many cases the frivolities and sometimes the vices of the gay and worldly land of France, and thereby incurred the severe reprimand of the General Assembly. So much so, that a clause was inserted in the 'Kirk Conclusions' (as they were called) that such offenders were to be publicly reproved by the elders, to wit, those who were guilty of 'sklanderous lyff, and efter admonition, amend nocht ; of blasphemie manifest ; of falshood, fechtung, dansing, and sic dissoluteness !' Whereby we may conclude that the clergy in France were not restricted from appearing at balls or other gay entertainments that would in Scotland have made their more rigid brethren shudder with holy horror. In fact, it was rather astonishing that the Scottish people received the Huguenots with such liberality and kindness, for the term 'French' had for a long time been synonymous with all that was mean and corrupt and contemptible, ever since the influx of French who had come over to Edinburgh in the train of Mary Queen of Scots, after her departure from France and her accession to the throne of her father. A drunken, quarrelsome, law-breaking laird was apostrophised in full kirk by a wrathful minister as follows : 'Thow Frencheist, Italianist, jolie gentleman, God shall bastone<sup>1</sup> thee in his righteous judgments !'

As far as I have been able to discover, the Huguenot congregation in their earliest days of settlement in Edinburgh met for worship in a large room in one of their dwelling-houses in Picardy Place ; but this being found extremely inconvenient, a worthy and wealthy dame, named Lady Yester, presented them with a chapel situated not far from the University. From her continued liberality they enjoyed many benefits and numerous instances of pecuniary generosity, which enabled them to hold a more assured position amongst their fellow-citizens in their adopted country, and also gave them

<sup>1</sup> *Bastone*—punish, or chastise, or beat. *Bastons* (Old English)—staves.

a standing amongst the other congregations of the Scotch capital. This chapel still exists under the name of 'Lady Yester's Chapel,' but the present French Protestant congregation hold their 'culte' in a chapel in George Street. Amongst the Kirk papers in the Advocates' Library is a manuscript entitled, 'Roole des Deposez,' or a list of pasteurs who had been suspended by order of the Kirk, and had since decamped, after recanting from the Huguenot faith. As some of these names appear in transactions of the united Scotch and Huguenot kirks, we may suppose that this 'Roole' was issued as a sort of warning or description, for the benefit of such persons as might inadvertently have been harbouring them, or had knowingly done so. Some of the paragraphs are almost 'photographic' in their personal details. We read that George Sovisse, alias Soulas, late minister of Fontainebleau, has been suspended for misdemeanour; that he is a short man, with black hair, and aged about forty; and again, Jean de Vassan, minister in Anjou, a short man, with an aquiline nose, a wide mouth and scanty beard, suspended for infamous depravities; and still a third of equally unprepossessing characteristics, namely, Jérémie Février, a minister from Bas Languedoc, very tall, with black and frizzly hair, swarthy complexion, wide nostrils, and coarse, thick lips; the list of these 'disgraces' to their cloth closing with Pasteur Josias Montague, aged about forty, from Dauphiné, with grizzled hair and goggle eyes with wandering glances.

A minister, Mr. Coxe, writing from his pastorate at Angers to the Rev. Mr. Wylie in Scotland, says he has heard a strange report, hitherto secret, 'that Monsr. Alix,<sup>1</sup> Monsr. Gily of Beaugé, and Monsr. Myte of Orleans, are on the point of changing their religion.' This letter is dated April 14, 1683; but this report was certainly a false one, for we find Pasteur Allix writing from Paris (on the 20th of April, 1684, almost exactly a year after) to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury,<sup>2</sup> thanking him for the protection afforded to the poor refugees 'cast upon the shores of Great Britain by the storm of persecution,' and imploring him to continue to extend the shelter of his authority, in order to establish peace, and make it safe for the refugees to settle down in the new land of their choice. Pasteur Allix goes on to express his deep regret at their troubles, and how 'he groans from the depths of his heart for the schisms and differences which have crept even into the new refugee' congregations.' This remark doubtless refers to the unseemly scenes which had this year (1683) taken place at the Grand Assembly or Synod in Edinburgh anent the settlements of pastorate salaries and 'the plantation' or division of the united Scotch and Huguenot congregations and their allowance from state and ecclesiastical commission courts. This was not by any means the first time that the united nonconformist kirks had fallen out amongst themselves, for in 1600 and 1601 the Scotch Kirk picked a quarrel with the French one, declaring that the latter kept up too many ceremonies, and that thereby 'corruption enterit in to the midst of the congregation, and inclined their souls to papistry.'

They were offended so far as to express a wish that elders should be abolished, and an ecclesiastical local commission attached to each district, with a bishop to preside over the diocese under which these district com-

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Peter Allix, D.D.; born 1641, died February 21, 1717.

<sup>2</sup> The Right Rev. Dr. William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1677 to 1689; born 1616, died Nov. 4, 1693.

mittees were to be collected. The idea of a bishop is quite inimical to all Scottish congregations ; the suggestion was always thrown out whenever mooted, and to this day the kirks of Scotland are ruled by their elders and ministers, presided over by the General Assembly, and bishops are only recognised in the Episcopal Church.

John Knox,<sup>1</sup> who was ever ready to take the liberal side of a question, and even to give way to a superior opinion, obstinate as he was on certain dogmatic points, wrote to Théodore de Bézà at Geneva to ask *his* opinion on the matter. The latter responded to him in a letter strongly opposing the motion of the congregations in favour of bishoprics ; the letter is written in Latin, and is No. 79 in the Knox and De Bézà correspondence. I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Garnett, of the British Museum, for this translation, which I give, of the principal extract referring to the subject ; the Latin being of a stilted and rather obsolete rendering, as was the custom of epistolary correspondence in old times betwixt brother-clericals. De Bézà writes thus : ‘ But, my Knox, I should wish you and the rest of the brethren to bear in mind, what is as clear as daylight, that as bishops brought forth the Papacy, so spurious bishops will bring in the close of the Papacy, and infidelity rule the world. Let those who desire the safety of the Church beware of this pestilence, and when you shall have expelled them from Scotland (*in tempore*), I beseech you never admit it again, although it may flatter you by the specious pretext of retaining unity, which has beguiled very many of the best amongst the ancients.’

As regards the commercial benefits accruing to Scotland from her hospitable reception of the unhappy fugitives, it is an undoubted fact that her prosperity was doubled, even trebled, by their settlement in the capital. Arts and manufactures hitherto unknown were introduced by the intelligent and hard-working Huguenot families, and those *already* known and in use were perfected to an extent never dreamed of previously. In this way the refugees repaid at full interest the kindness and hospitality and generosity which had been so freely lavished on them in the days of their tribulation and unhappy flight from all that was most precious to them.

In 1693 we find one James Foulis, in company with a John Holland, setting up in Edinburgh a manufactory for the weaving of what was called Colchester baize<sup>2</sup> and linen, in a part of the city called Paul’s Work. It is well known that there was a large colony of Dutch, Flemish, and French Huguenot weavers in Colchester, and I live in hopes of some day making researches in that venerable and curious town for materials for another Paper on the colony of Huguenots in that place, and their history, and shall hope also to make transcriptions of such manuscripts as may be still in existence in the town museum, churches, and library.

To return to the Scotch Huguenots :—These baize weavers were also permitted to establish a second factory in the Citadel of Leith, and almost monopolised this particular branch of commerce, until May 28, 1694, when one Nicholas Dupin founded a linen company, established by

<sup>1</sup> John Knox ; born 1505, died Nov. 24, 1572.

<sup>2</sup> The word Baize or Bayse was derived, it is said by some, from the ancient Teutonic word Bay, or the Old English Base, both signifying coarse cloth. Others derive it from Baia, near Naples, where it was first invented. The earliest manufactory of it in England was established by Huguenot refugees (French and Dutch) in the town of Colchester in 1571.



six thousand shares of 5*l.* each, of which half were taken by English and half by Scottish shareholders. The bleaching was carried on at Corstorphine, the manufactory being situated most probably in one of the houses of Picardy Place. This Nicholas Dupin seems to have been a man of versatile genius, for we find him after this establishing a paper factory, which, two years later, also became a joint-stock concern. In the Privy Council Records is a petition from him, in which he sets forth that 'he had arrived at the art of making all sorts of fine paper moulds, as good or better as made beyond the seas, and at a far cheaper rate, insomuch that one man can make and furnish more moulds in one week than any other workmen in other nations can finish in two months' time.'

The inventive faculty of Nicholas Dupin was not content, it seems, to stop at improvements in linen and paper, for his next venture was a most ingenious mechanical lift or machine for drawing up water from flooded mines. The Government utilised his invention at once, as a long-needed want, and granted him a patent for it for eleven years.

The success of the Huguenot refugees in establishing these factories roused the enterprise of their Scottish brother-merchants; and even private individuals were induced to follow suit in similar ventures, as an instance of which a Mr. William Black, advocate (in 1703), opened a factory called Gordon's Mills, near Glasgow, for the manufacture of French broadcloth, *droguets*<sup>1</sup> (or druggets), serge, *toiles damassées*<sup>2</sup> (or damask linens for table-cloths), and *pluche* (or plush), a species of velvet of which the foundation was satin and the nap carded up into a soft fluffy surface. The latter article was comparatively a new invention, and was said to have been introduced into France by the Genoese traders, who had been encouraged to settle there by Catherine de' Medici, Genoa plush and Genoa velvet being much sought after by the wealthy nobles for their personal adornment and for the furniture of their houses, as well as for the trappings of their horses and mules. It was doubtless from these Italian manufactures that the Huguenots learnt the art of making plush and velvet, and thereby became the rivals of the inventors themselves when, later on, the refugees to the Netherlands established their manufactures of velvet in that country, and Utrecht velvet, with its raised pile of magnificent designs and varied colouring, became equally renowned and as much sought after as the longer-established Genoa velvet.

As has ever been the case when new undertakings have been started, as much opposition as favour was shown to the aliens, as the refugees were called, long after their settlement in Edinburgh; contemporary 'skits' and popular ballads had their fling at them, and at those who adopted the fashions of dress introduced by the more elegant and polished Huguenots, in place of the homespun plainness of the usual Scottish attire. They are too numerous to give here at any length, but we may quote from one 'skit,' which is supposed to be the lamentation of a Fifeshire laird, who, having departed this life in the days of the aforesaid 'homespun plainness,' revisits his native land and finds his fellow-countrymen and countrywomen

<sup>1</sup> Drugget, derived from the French 'droguet' and Italian 'droghetta'; in the year 1703 it was first used as material for coats and cloaks, and skirts, and was afterwards made of heavier wool, to serve as a cheap form of carpet. The *dress* quality was sold at about thirteence per yard.

<sup>2</sup> Damask linen, used for house and ecclesiastical napery, was first made at Damascus, from whence comes its name.

bedecked in all the new-fledged fineries of the gay and brilliantly attired 'aliens.' His lament runs as follows, and it must be left to the ingenuity of my readers to discover the meaning of various names of wearing apparel mentioned therein :—

We had no garments in our land,  
But what were spun by the gude wife's hand,  
No drap de Berry,<sup>1</sup> cloths of seal,  
No stuffs ingrained in cochineal,  
No plush, no tissue,<sup>2</sup> cramoisie,  
No China, Turkey, taffety.<sup>3</sup>

No figurata, water shamlet,<sup>4</sup>  
No Bishop satin, or silk camblet,  
No cloth of Gold, or beaver hats,  
No windy-flourished flying feathers,  
No sweet, permusted, shambo leather.

The laird's ghost goes on to say (after a further diatribe against the Huguenot manufacturers and tailors) that fashions were plain and useful before they came to Edinburgh, to turn the minds of plain citizens to the frivolities of dress ; in the good old days, when he, the laird, still walked the earth, there were no such things seen

As scarfs, shefroas, tuffs<sup>5</sup> and rings,  
Fairdings,<sup>6</sup> facinings,<sup>7</sup> and powderings,  
Rebats (?), ribands, bands and ruffs,  
Lapbends,<sup>8</sup> shagbends, cuffs and muffs,<sup>9</sup>  
Folding o'erlays,<sup>10</sup> pearling sprigs,<sup>11</sup>  
Atries (?), fardingales, periwigs,

<sup>1</sup> Drap de Berry : a sort of frieze or thick cloth, which was first manufactured in Berry, France.

<sup>2</sup> Tissue : a rich stuff in which gold and silver thread was intermingled with the silk or satin foundation.

<sup>3</sup> Taffeta or Taffety : a sort of very thick corded silk, something like Irish poplin.

<sup>4</sup> Water shamlet and camblet or camlet : a material made of silk and wool mixed, the first, water shamlet, being sometimes ornamented with watered lines like *moiré*.

<sup>5</sup> Tuffs : tufts or bunches of ribbons ; rosettes, or even clusters of precious stones, as may be seen by these words on the dress of a courtier, *temp.* Henry III. of France—

'In emerald tuffs, flow'rs purpled, blue and white,  
Like sapphire, pearl, in rich embroidery.'

<sup>6</sup> Fairdings, or fardingales ; in French *vertugardins*. This was a species of enormous crinoline, made of wire or whalebone, larger on the hips than at the back and front, and worn by ladies to spread out their skirts—

'A huge farthingale to swell her fustian stuff.'—*Swift*.

<sup>7</sup> Facings ; the coloured silk linings of turned-back collars and coats, termed by the French *revers*.

<sup>8</sup> Lapbends : lappets or bands of plain linen, or cravats of lace ; the former were worn by doctors, clergymen, and lawyers, and the latter by courtiers, military men, and ladies.

<sup>9</sup> Muffs were first invented and worn in France in the reign of Louis XIV., but not introduced into England till the reign of Charles II. In 1683 they formed part of the winter dress of a well-dressed gentleman as well as that of a lady. In George III.'s reign they were made of feathers arranged on a silk or satin lining.

<sup>10</sup> Folding o'erlays, or *ourlet*, the French term for hem. A French hem is still used in millinery, and signifies that the material is turned up or hemmed on the *front* of the dress, instead of on the *under*, or wrong side of the material. Stuffs were often manufactured of a different colour on the reverse side, in order that the o'erlay, or *ourlet*, should form a sort of trimming.

<sup>11</sup> Pearling sprig : embroideries or banded trimmings made of small beads of varied colours, or of seed-pearls, from the French *perle*, bead, or pearl.

Hats, hoods, wires,<sup>1</sup> and also Kells (?),  
 Washing-balls,<sup>2</sup> and perfuming smells,  
 French gowns cut, and double-banded,  
 Jet rings<sup>3</sup> to make her pleasant-handed ;  
 A fan, a feather, bracelets, gloves,  
 All new-come busks<sup>4</sup> she dearly loves.

These 'fripperies' and fashions at last rose to such a pitch that a stringent municipal law was passed, first in September 1696, and again doubly enforced in August 1698, that the lower classes of citizens were not to wear any clothes; stuffs, ribbons, fringes, tracings,<sup>5</sup> loops, agreements,<sup>6</sup> or buttons made of silver, gold thread, wire, or 'philagram.'<sup>7</sup>

This Act met with tremendous opposition and with flagrant disobedience, especially, as may be supposed, on the part of the good citizens' ladies; but they had at last to give way to the magisterial authority, enforced, as it was, by thundering anathemas against 'carnal adornment' from the pulpit of every kirk in the land. The wording of the enactment reminds one forcibly of the old Venetian 'sumptuary law,' with its tirades against the outrageous extravagance of dress and living shown by the citizens of that luxury-loving city in the olden times. To those who wish for further light on the lives and individual histories of the worthy merchants of Picardy Place, I can recommend nothing better, or more curious and worthy their perusal, than the quaint old wills preserved in the Register House of Edinburgh, where I hope at a future date to continue the search I have already commenced.

I made a careful inspection of all the old churchyards in Edinburgh, but failed entirely to find any graves bearing Huguenot names. For such information as I have been able to gather together, beyond my own personal inquiries and researches, I am greatly indebted to Melvill's diary, Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, Calderwood's *History*, and various contemporary State records and papers.

The Collection of Copies of Huguenot mss., which I have great pleasure in presenting to our Society as the result of seven weeks' search in the Advocates' Library, will explain in detail many points on which time and space forbid me to touch. I need only add, for the benefit of

<sup>1</sup> Wires, oftenest styled *commodes*, which was a frame of wire sometimes two or three stories high. This was covered with gay-coloured silks, and fixed firmly by an invisible skull-cap to the wearer's head. They were generally in the form of a pyramid, or tower, or steeple.

<sup>2</sup> Washing-balls: soap. Hard and soft soaps are said to have been invented by the Italians, but Pliny (b. 23 A.D.; d. 79 A.D.) says soap was known to the Gauls in his own time, and was invented by them.

<sup>3</sup> Jet rings were formerly worn by fashionables to enhance by their contrast the whiteness of their hands, and also from a medicinal point of view, from the idea that jet rings preserved the wearer from agues and fevers!

<sup>4</sup> Busks, or buskins, at this period signified a sort of boot, or coloured leather stocking with stiff sole, laced up the front and tied below the knee with ornamental cord and tassels. The modern term of busk, a staybone of whalebone, iron, or wood, is not intended here.

<sup>5</sup> Tracings: embroidered patterns, or trimmings in braid, filigree, or beadwork on cloth, or silk, or linen.

<sup>6</sup> Agreements; French, *agrèments*: little bunches of ribbons, or knots of silk cord and pearls, fixed on the shoulders, cuffs, pockets, or knees of the wearer's dress.

<sup>7</sup> Philagram, otherwise filigree, filligrane, filligram, or filligreen, from the Latin *filum* and *granum*, signifying a sort of braiding or trimming made of gold, silver, or bronze wire thread, intermixed with grains of tinsel and silk and wool filaments.

those who may be contemplating a similar research in that ancient abode of 'Law and Learning,' that they need not give themselves that labour, as I have copied out *every* paper relating to Huguenot matters which the Manuscript Collection of that splendid library contains.

Should I revisit Edinburgh at any future time, I hope to make an exhaustive search, of a like nature, in the sessions papers of the Signet Library, and of the Ecclesiastical Court and Register House ; in respect to which latter place I wish also to record, in conclusion, my grateful thanks to Dr. Dickson for his kindness and courtesy in the assistance he offered me, and also to the Rev. Dr. Christie, of Gilmerton (near Edinburgh), Keeper of the Library of the General Assembly, in the Tolbooth Church on Castle Hill.

FLORENCE LAYARD.

### 320. EXTRACTS FROM CULROSS KIRK-SESSION RECORDS.—

1631, 30 Jan.—The said day it was havelie regrated by the minister that the west kirk yaird dykes were not yett repaired as had often tyme been resolvit and enjoyned befor and that the kirke treasrie was burdened ther w<sup>t</sup> to much unless remedie was used in tyme and a way sett dewly q<sup>b</sup>y all such as had through stounes might furnish monie for suplie and perfecting of that work and some dynt up poynted for y<sup>t</sup> one ylk was thōt expedient.

1631, 18 Sept.—The sessione caused delyvar to Andro Pullo distressed and spoyled Shipper of Pettin Wayme of charitable support, 13. 13. 4.

1632, 1 Jan.—Ordnained a price of satisfaction to be taken for the use of the new velvett mort cloth when ever it should be sought, viz. :—If any outland or not paroichinar should procure the samen the pryce 6lbs. 13sh. 4d. But if a tounis man 3lb.

1632, 22 April.—It was ordained that if any man his horse, kow or beast shul be found either by night or by day eating grace in either of kirk yairds both west kirk yaird and abay kirk yaird, the maister was to pay ad prod. usum 8sh., and for this cause this Dykes be repaired w<sup>th</sup> diligence.

1633, 29 April.—Proclamation to be published at the cross, that all flechars or cadgers of or Sellares of fishe upon a Sondaye should be punished in the purse or bodie and the fishe taken and givin to the poor.

1633, 17 April.—Playars at the goffe were givin to the Sessione playing in tyme of sermone viz Ro<sup>t</sup> Gray Ro<sup>t</sup> Primrose W<sup>m</sup> Jusse and John Sandes in Sandes.

1633, 30 August.—(Persons at odds being aggried) were ordained for the collection of Almes at the Comunon Patrick Keir and Andrew Gibson. Next for the toakenes Mr. Edward Blair and Castle Hill. Third for the bread Gilbert Gowrley, James Aykin ; fourthe for distributing the wyne Rob foret John Turcan &<sup>c</sup>.

1635, 19 March.—[An event took place] 15 days after Bartle his daye.

1635, 28 June.—An act was first ordained to be published be the magistrates at the marcet cross upon a Saturday following before noone w<sup>t</sup> touch of drum.

1636, 17 Jan.—Peter du Peel for breaking of the Sabbath day.

1637, 6 Aug.—Ther is appointed this day to be given to Alex<sup>r</sup> Sutherland Sc. (Schoolmaster?) he having care of y<sup>e</sup> psalme the zeir by gane zolib