

CHAPTER ONE

THE LINDSAY LIBRARY: HISTORY AND CONTEXT

FROM REFORMATION TO RESTORATION

Lindsays are to be found as servants of Church or Crown from the thirteenth century. Several Lindsay churchmen of the middle ages are known to have owned books,¹⁸ and a Lindsay daughter, Christian (?1266–1335), who married Enguerrand de Guines, later Sieur de Coucy, and thus became one of the great ladies of France, commissioned an illustrated manuscript of the *Roman de la Rose*.¹⁹ A James Lindsay who was archdeacon of Aberdeen and died in 1495 accumulated a very large library by the standards of the late fifteenth century: seventy books, ‘well bound in boards’, which he left to the Edinburgh house of Observant Franciscans.²⁰ Interesting though these individuals are, their collections are not part of a history of the family library; their books were variously accumulated and dispersed without their becoming part of a family library in a particular location. Archdeacon James Lindsay was typical of his generation in leaving his books to an institution, the Franciscans, rather than to relatives. As John Durkan observes, ‘In 1500 the important owners of books in Scotland were ecclesiastical institutions. There were few, if any, university libraries of importance and still fewer important individual collections’.²¹

¹⁸ Books owned by Robert Lindsay, Abbot of Peterborough were listed on his death, and a couple survive; another cleric, Ingelram Lindsay, Bishop of Aberdeen, was himself an author as well as a book-owner, according to Hector Boece, *Hectoris Boetii Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae*, ed. James Moir (Aberdeen: for the Spalding Club, 1894), p. 36.

¹⁹ The scribe may well have been Scottish or northern English, reflecting the large estates in Clydesdale and the Honour of Kendal in Westmorland which Christian inherited and passed to de Coucy. Priscilla Bawcutt, ‘“My Bright Buke”: Women and their Books in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland’, in Jocelyn Wogan-Browne *et al.* (eds), *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp.17–34, p. 27.

²⁰ William Moir Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, 2 vols (Edinburgh & London: Sands & Co., 1909), II, p. 334.

²¹ John Durkan, ‘The libraries of sixteenth-century Scotland’, in *Scottish Libraries*, ed. John Higgitt (London: British Library, 2006), pp. xlv–lxxvi, p. xlv.

The question of what 'the Lindsay library' actually is has been somewhat obscured by the very large-scale Lindsay book-collecting which gave rise to the 'Bibliotheca Lindesiana' of the nineteenth century. The nineteenth-century Lindsays formed collections of various kinds at different times, but, as a minor but regular thread in their acquisitions policy, they were interested in books with a Lindsay association. But whether 'Lindsay books' meant books previously owned by one of the Lindsays of Balcarres, or books previously owned or written by a Lindsay of whichever branch of the family is a question which does not seem to have been decisively settled. The *Roman de la Rose* manuscript, for example, was bought for the Lindesiana in 1868. Five years previously, Lord Lindsay had acquired the 1542 Armorial Register thought to be compiled by the second Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (nephew of the poet, and his successor as Lord Lyon).²²

Dealers are quick to observe such preferences in a client with deep pockets, though Lord Lindsay, rigorous in seeking out perfect copies, was discriminating even when family *pietas* was involved. When the bookseller Thomas G. Stevenson offered Lord Lindsay the 1st Lord Balcarres's copies of Budé's *Epistolae* (277) and Demosthenes (462) in 1869, he clearly felt that family association alone was not enough to justify them: 'They are Rare and Curious and considered that[,] they will be found worthy of a Place in his Lordship's Library', he cajoled.²³ Lord Lindsay's interest in this aspect of the collection seems to have fluctuated, however: at another time, he was delighted when Bernard Quaritch retrieved another of Balcarres's books, the medical *Opera* of Jean de Gorris (740).²⁴ As Nicholas Barker has noted, the correspondence and papers of the modern Lindsay family, now in the National Library, tell the story of their attempts to regain volumes from their ancestors' collection in considerable detail. This practice has continued into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and newly recovered books are inscribed with the date of their return and the phrase "feliciter redemptus", "happily redeemed".

This interest in buying-in books associated with the family (including books associated with other branches such as the

²² Nicholas Barker, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana: the lives and collections of Alexander William, 25th Earl of Crawford and 8th Earl of Balcarres, and James Ludovic, 26th Earl of Crawford and 9th Earl of Balcarres* (London: Quaritch, 1977), p. 13. A facsimile of the Armorial has been published as *Lord Crawford's Armorial*, ed. Alex Maxwell Findlater (Bristol: for the Heraldry Society of Scotland, 2008).

²³ Barker, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, p. 248.

²⁴ Barker, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, p. 270.

Lindsays of the Mount) means that the fact that a book is now at Balcarres and belonged to a member of the Lindsay family does not prove that it has been there down the centuries, especially if the Lindsay it belonged to was domiciled in some other part of the country, or even another country entirely (such as Christian, Dame de Coucy, who spent her adult life in France).

Another, much later book which prompts questions about what is and is not an item from the first Lindsay library is a book now at Balcarres with a clear Lindsay association; Philippe de Mornay's *De La Verité de la Religion Chrestienne* (1193).

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This has an autograph presentation inscription by Anne, Dowager Countess of Balcarres (Lady Anne Mackenzie), c 1670, to her daughter-in-law Mauritia de Nassau, Countess of Balcarres. It was given to Mauritia because it 'was a grit favourite of my dear Lords...', and thus sheds some light on the first Earl of Balcarres's personal taste. This book was donated to the Bibliotheca Lindesiana by Mr Samuel Wells of Richmond, Yorkshire, in 1901.²⁵ While it has an impeccable connection with the family, the unfortunate Mauritia was only married to Colin, third Earl of Balcarres, for a year before her death in childbirth, and that year was spent in London. There is no guarantee that her husband kept her minor personal possessions. Associated the book certainly is, but the extent to which it constitutes a portion of the library, narrowly conceived, is less clear.

Whatever its ramifications in later generations, it is clear where the roots of the first major Lindsay library are to be found, in the late sixteenth century, with the sons of the ninth Earl of Crawford, principally Sir David Lindsay, Lord Edzell (1551?-1610) and John Lindsay, Lord Menmuir (1552-1598). Their younger brothers also contributed some items (for example, a copy of Erasmus's *Apopthegmata* went from James to John, thus ending up at Balcarres). These Lindsays were therefore among the earliest Scots families to lay the foundations of a library.

Though he was eldest son of the Earl of Crawford, Lord Edzell was not heir to the earldom. The Crawford line had been interrupted earlier in the sixteenth century, when Alexander (known as 'the Wicked Master'), son of the eighth Earl, was dispossessed for parricide, and the earldom passed to a junior

²⁵ Barker, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, p. 353.

branch, the Lindsays of Edzell.²⁶ Sir David Lindsay of Edzell, who thus became ninth Earl, was, at the time, the husband of an elderly and childless wife. He adopted the son of the dispossessed Alexander as his successor in 1546, and thus re-established the senior line. He subsequently took Catherine Campbell as a second wife (in 1549). She proved almost excessively fertile and produced annual children until her husband's death in 1558.

Sir David Lindsay of Edzell thus ended his days as the father of five sons and two daughters. Apart from the David and John already mentioned, the other boys were James, who became Protestant minister of Fettercairn and died in Geneva, Walter, and Robert, who both became Catholics and landowners who took no active part in public life, while the daughters were Elizabeth, who married Patrick, 3rd Lord Drummond, and Margaret, who married John Stewart, 1st Earl of Atholl.²⁷

The boys were in the anomalous position of having started their lives as the sons of an Earl, but with relatively modest prospects, which perhaps encouraged them to think in terms of bettering their fortunes through education. There is no indication that their contemporary, the tenth Earl of Crawford, showed any particular interest in learning or literature. The creation of a library is down to the Lindsays of Edzell and Balcarres. We might perhaps contextualise this with some sage advice offered to the young Earl of Sutherland: 'learning is the best portion you can give your children, for how many meane gentlemen do we perceave daylie to aryse by learning'.²⁸ The Lindsays of Edzell seem to have understood this well: 'meane' (low-born) they were not, but though they had begun their lives in circumstances of considerable wealth and influence, this would only come to them as adults as the result of personal effort.

The oldest of the ninth Earl's sons, named David after his father, was only seven when his father died. His tastes and education were therefore formed by his mother, Catherine Campbell, Countess of Crawford, who, though she was still considered a matrimonial prize, refused a third marriage, and devoted her life to her children.²⁹ She was a remarkable woman,

²⁶ They were descended from the second son of the third Earl.

²⁷ James Balfour Paul, ed., *The Scots Peerage*, 9 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1904-1914), i. 511-513.

²⁸ Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture from the Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 200.

²⁹ Mary Black Verschuur, 'Campbell, Katherine, countess of Crawford (d. 1578)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press,

the product of what must have been one of Scotland's last instances of marriage by capture. Her father was Sir John Campbell of Lorn, third son of Archibald, second earl of Argyll. Her mother, Muriel, was the heiress of Sir John Calder of Calder and was kidnapped as a baby by the Campbells in order to secure her desirable estates for the family. The top joint of one of her little fingers was missing, because her nurse had bitten it off immediately before they were parted, so that she could be recognised as an adult.³⁰ Muriel became the mother of five sons and an unknown number of daughters, and evidently brought Catherine up as a woman of principle.

Catherine married James Ogilvy, Master of Ogilvy, son of the fourth Lord Ogilvy of Airlie, probably in 1538, and became the mother of three sons and two daughters before his death at the Battle of Pinkie in 1547. She was appointed tutrix to her children, a testimony to her personal qualities, since this was far from inevitable for a young widow. The curator of her eldest son, James Ogilvy of Airlie, was a Campbell relative, Donald Campbell, Cistercian abbot of Coupar, with whom she maintained close connections. When his house was purged of 'Idolis and Imagis and tubernaculis' in 1559, the contents of Coupar Abbey were entrusted to her care.³¹ Between her first and second marriage, she appears to have been at the court of Mary of Guise, since in her will, she bequeaths a silver basin engraved with her arms and a silver-gilt cup, further identified as bought for her in France 'when I was in court with the Queen Regent' It is not obvious who among her family and connections can have brought this young Highland widow to the Scottish court.³²

The only book in the library associable with her is a 1538 Book of Hours (**1374**).³³

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2004) (online). Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador, noted in a letter of 1565 that she was still considered highly eligible.

³⁰ Henry Lee, *History of the Campbell Family* (New York: R.L. Polk and Co., 1920), p. 42.

³¹ F. D. Bardgett, *Scotland reformed: the Reformation in Angus and the Mearns* (1989), p. 73

³² Alexander William Crawford Lindsay, 25th Earl of Crawford, *Lives of the Lindsays, or, a Memoir of the Houses of Crawford and Balcarres* [new edn], 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1858), I, pp. 337-338 (hereafter *Lives of the Lindsays*).

³³ Bought back by Lord Lindsay for £12 14s 6d, then a very substantial sum, in 1856. Barker, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, p. 152.

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Though her 'buke' might seem to imply that she clung to the old faith, she was evidently in sympathy with Protestantism, since the tutor she chose for David and John was one of the early leaders of the Reformation, James Lawson, a scholarly graduate of St Andrews, where he had been classmates with Andrew Melville, the educator and reformer. She had been Countess of Crawford for a decade by the time of the Reformation, and her Book of Hours may well have had personal associations for her. It could, for example, have been a gift from her friend Donald Campbell (who himself embraced the reform), or indeed, from Mary of Guise - she could even have acquired it on the occasion of her first marriage in 1538, and had it re-bound after her second.

This is the first example of many, where the Lindsay libraries, even in the fragmented form in which they are known to us, indicate degrees of nuance, reserve and ambiguity in matters of religion. While these degrees, and even apparent contradictions in the mind of one individual, are overwhelmingly probably the result of an irenic and scholarly response to an era of intense, violent, and unpredictable religious change, they do not accord entirely with the binary simplifications of conventional Scottish historiography. This record, albeit shadowy, of reserve and even perhaps indecision in matters religious amongst the members of a magnate family at the centre of contemporary Scottish politics, is one of the most valuable refinements which the Lindsay library collections offer to our consideration of Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Nothing is known of the earliest stages of the young Lindsays' education, but the two oldest boys were sent to university, apparently at an early age typical of the time. The chronology can only be established by reference to external events, but the 25th Earl of Crawford in *Lives of the Lindsays* observes that 'Lawson's appointment, in December, 1568, to the office of 'pedagogue in University Street' [Edinburgh] determines the period of his visit to Paris with Lady Crawford's sons as anterior to that date'.³⁴ In 1567, the boys were sixteen and fifteen.

³⁴ *Lives of the Lindsays*, I, p. 331. It may be relevant that it was in February of that year that Mary Queen of Scots' reign came to an effective end with the murder of Darnley.

Lawson was apparently given three hundred crowns and told to get the boys the best education he could with it.³⁵ Conscientiously, he sent detailed reports to the Countess of where her money was going (unfortunately, dated by month and day only). On 29 March, the trio set sail for a France which was then in the throes of the Wars of Religion. They landed at the relatively safe haven of Dieppe, where the Governor, Charles de Ponsard, Sieur de Fors, was an appointee of the Protestant leader Gaspard de Coligny. Dieppe was home to one of the largest Calvinist congregations in France and to many Scots. John Knox had visited in February/March 1559 and baptised a number of local notables.³⁶ There they were hospitably received at the Château d'Arques by 'My Lord Duke' (presumably Henri-Robert de La Marck, Duc de Bouillon),³⁷ and a Scottish merchant, William Aikman, gave them a young connexion of his as a guide on the road to Paris.

The Lindsay party arrived in Paris on April 13 and established themselves in the Rue des Carmes, in the university quarter, near the Sorbonne. They were quite comfortably housed, with two bedrooms and four studies between them. Mr Lawson was evidently dismayed, or expected the Countess to be dismayed, by the shocking price of food and travel in France, but in the event, their studies were interrupted by something more alarming than running low on funds. They were forced to leave the Rue de Carmes at a moment's notice, with nothing but the clothes they were wearing, to escape some kind of anti-Protestant riot. The 25th Earl was tempted to associate this with the St Bartholomew's Day massacre of 1572, but it must have been an earlier outbreak of violence (there were many), since both Lawson and Sir David were certainly back in England by 1572.³⁸

One quiet witness to the Lindsays' time in Paris may be a book in the library, Guillaume Budé's *Epistolai ellenikai* (277), published in Paris the year they seem to have been there (1567). Sir David's signature is in this book, and so are minute interlinear notes. But only on the first few pages; the later epistles are pristine.

³⁵ *Lives of the Lindsays*, I, pp. 329-331.

³⁶ Stuart Carroll, *Noble power During the wars of religion: Guise affinity and the Catholic cause in Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 97.

³⁷ Lawson speaks only of 'My Lord Duke's Grace', but the captain of the castle, Guy de Ricarville, was a client of the Duc de Bouillon. Jean Achille Deville, *Histoire du Château d'Arques* (Rouen, 1839), p. 220. See below, p. XXX.

³⁸ *Lives of the Lindsays* I, p. 333.

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This may perhaps be connected with the fact that René Guillon gave a public course of lectures on Budé's *Epistolai* (Budé was famous for his very pure Greek style), and it seems possible that Sir David attended them conscientiously until circumstances prevented him.³⁹

After further alarming adventures in Dieppe, the party got themselves back to England via Rye and went to London. From there, Lawson wrote to the Countess in November with the suggestion that since Paris was evidently dangerous, he should take the boys to Cambridge. 'Letters may be learnt here [i.e., Cambridge] near as well as in Paris, he argued.⁴⁰ The reason he thought of Cambridge rather than Oxford may have been its associations with a previous generation of Scottish reformers: Alexander Allen (Alesius) lectured at Cambridge from 1535–40, and George Wishart, long and reverently remembered in Lawson's own university of St Andrews, was at Corpus Christi, Cambridge from 1538–44.

The next letter is therefore from Cambridge, where, Lawson says, 'we have seen the fashions of the country, the order of the University, and manner of the schools, we have also not put off time in vain towards our study in good letters'.⁴¹ Lawson was frank about his pupils: Sir David he found not wholly tractable, and perhaps not strongly academic, John much more promising, a boy who would benefit from prolonging his studies. Neither brother appears in Cambridge alumnus records, so they did not become full-fledged members of the University.

They seem, in the event, to have stayed in Cambridge not much longer than three months. Lawson reported in February that David was 'very willing to be at home so far as I perceive'.⁴² Lawson took both brothers back to Scotland in spring or summer of 1568, since by December of that year, he was in Edinburgh. In any case, he was appointed second master of St Mary's College in St Andrews, where he taught Hebrew, in February 1569, and in July

³⁹ John Durkan, 'The French connection in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries', *Scotland and Europe, 1200–1850*, ed. T.C. Smout (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986), pp. 19–44, p. 23.

⁴⁰ *Lives of the Lindsays* I, p. 333.

⁴¹ *Lives of the Lindsays* I, p. 333.

⁴² David Alexander Robert Lindsay, 28th Earl of Crawford, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* [2 vols, typescript, kept at Balcarres] I, p. 20 (hereafter Crawford)

that year, became sub-principal of King's College, Aberdeen.⁴³ The Countess's papers include discharges for payment of board at St Andrews University for David, John and Walter in 1569-70, so the two, with their next youngest brother, must have spent a year at St Andrews, where Lawson will probably have continued to tutor them at first.⁴⁴ Further evidence that David returned to Scotland well before 1572 is a contract of marriage dated 1 and 2 March 1570, which was drawn up between David and his cousin, Lady Helen Lindsay, daughter of David Lindsay, tenth earl of Crawford, whom he took, unusually, with no dowry.⁴⁵ The brothers' educational tour therefore took about a year, from March 1567 to March 1568, perhaps five months of which were spent in Paris, and three in Cambridge, followed by a year in St Andrews. This constitutes the whole of Sir David's higher education.

John's studies were much more extensive. By 1572, his mother notes that she had spent £2,000 Scots on him, and that he had pursued his studies in Scotland, England, and 'divers times' in France.⁴⁶ John must therefore have continued his education, including at least one more visit to Paris, without Lawson's assistance, having demonstrated to his mother's satisfaction that he had the scholarly temperament and self-discipline to use family money responsibly. He owned three French books of advanced Greek grammar (now fragmentary), with his name and the date 1571, so was most probably in Paris again that year.⁴⁷

What this means, from the point of view of understanding the Lindsays and their intellectual life, is that Sir David Lindsay of Edzell benefited from a highly conscientious and unusually learned tutor, but can have spent relatively little time in university classrooms. His younger brother John, on the other hand, spent up to five years in higher education, apparently focusing on law, the field in which he was to make his career. This may help to explain their marked difference in temperament as adults: Lawson makes it clear that they were dissimilar as adolescents, but this was further enhanced by different life-experiences. Sir David was given to enthusiasms, and inclined to be hot-headed and impulsive, while

⁴³ James Kirk, 'Lawson, James (1538-1584)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) (online).

⁴⁴ Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS) Acc 9769 3/1/1-22.

⁴⁵ *Lives of the Lindsays* I, pp. 204, 334; *Scots Peerage* I, p. 513.

⁴⁶ *Lives of the Lindsays* I, p. 333.

⁴⁷ These were Morel, *De verbis anomalis* (1190), Susembrotus, *Epitome troporum ac schematum* (1595), and Varennius, *De dielactis Graecis* (1670).

the future Lord Menmuir showed the benefits of arduous professional training and the self-discipline which went with it. Letters show the younger brother advising his senior: tactfully and affectionately, but as if he were the more mature of the two. Nonetheless, Lady Crawford and James Lawson between them clearly instilled some love of learning in the heir of Edzell.

Sir David Lindsay, Lord Edzell (1551?-1610)

In an era where religion inevitably dominated both the public and private life of any individual, it is worth surveying briefly those religious books which survive from Lord Edzell's library. Two caveats must be borne in mind: the books which survive from any of the libraries of these early Lindsays may not be representative of their holdings as a whole (see chapter 2), and also, ownership of apparently heterodox works does not imply concurrence with their contents. Even in the fury of sectarian strife which was so much a feature of early modern Scotland, there were always some thoughtful readers looking at both sides of controversies, or, more simply, reading works of which they disapproved in order to refute them.

In fact, the comparatively few religious books which survive with Lord Edzell's marks of ownership may illustrate the importance of such a cautious approach, because, despite the presence of, for example, the 1553 Geneva edition of the *De Vero Verbi Dei* by the reformer Petrus Viretus (1700), the most notable religious element is a pair of Catholic books, at least one of which appeared to have passed to and fro as a gift between Edzell and local recusant Catholic families. This very fact is of interest: it argues for the possibility of amicable relations between those of different religious confessions in Reformation Scotland, at least amongst aristocrats. Change was neither so quick nor as absolute as the most zealous of the reformers might have wished: Edzell had two Roman Catholic brothers, Walter and Robert, and the Lindsays were closely allied, by friendship, and later marriage, with the discreetly-Catholic magnate Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline.⁴⁸ Indeed this amicable book-exchange suggests that, however violent the rhetoric of the pulpits of Edinburgh and St

⁴⁸ For Dunfermline and his library see *ODNB*, *s.n.*, but particularly Peter Davidson, "Alexander Seton, First Earl of Dunfermline: His Library, His House, His World", *British Catholic History* 32 (2015): 315-342 and Ian Campbell, "An 'Inventair of som of the Earill of Dunfermline his buiks in Pinkie June 1625': A Fragment of the Library of Alexander Seton (1555-1622)", *Innes Review* 67 (2016): 31-54.

Andrews, amiable dialogue between members of different confessions was wholly possible in late sixteenth-century Angus.

Edzell owned the *Pontificale Romanum* in a Venice edition of 1572 (**1344**), and the 1561 Paris edition of the *Decretales* of Pope Gregory IX (**760**), both of which distinctly Catholic volumes were associated with families from across the religious spectrum. The binding of the *Decretales* is stamped 'M. Robertus Lumisdane' and the inscriptions in the *Pontificale* suggest that the volume had twice passed as a gift. Its two inscriptions read:

Liber d[omin]i Davidis Lindesii Edzellii, dono ei datus a nobili & generoso D[omi]no, D[omin]o Patricio Gratio de Fowlis, in perpetuae amicitiae memoriam.

[A book of Lord David Lindsay of Edzell's, a gift given to him by the noble and worthy lord, Lord Patrick Gray of Fowlis, in memory of a permanent friendship]

Liber Caroli Lumisden, dono ei datus a nobili generoso et felicis memoriae Domino, Domino Lindesio Edzelli, in perpetuae amicitiae et dilectionis in Christo *anamnesin* [the last word is Greek and in Greek characters].

[A book of Charles Lumsden's, a gift given to him by the noble and worthy lord, Lord David Lindsay of Edzell, of blessed memory, a reminder in Christ of permanent friendship and love]

The *Decretales* likewise bears the same inscription by Charles Lumsden recording that it was given to him by Lord Edzell.

Patrick Gray, 4th Lord Gray (1515x20-1584) was, at least publicly and equivocally, a supporter of the reformed cause, but his family maintained a tradition of determined Catholicism well into the seventeenth century.⁴⁹ Charles Lumsden (c.1561-1630), however, was the Protestant son of an Edinburgh burgess and served for over forty years as minister of Duddingston,

⁴⁹ ODNB, s.n.; *Scots Peerage* IV, pp. 280-281. The church of St Marnock at Fowlis Easter in Angus, on the lands held by the Lords Gray until the 1660s, is remarkable in Scotland for the amount of pre-reformation religious painting which is preserved there, including a Crucifixion and Last Judgement, indicating considerable resistance in the Reformation generation to the iconoclastic policies of the Reformers. Some account of the painting and its survival is given in Michael Bath, *Renaissance Decorative Painting in Scotland* (Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, 2003), p. 5.

Midlothian.⁵⁰ His interest, at least, was more likely to have been explicitly antiquarian as Lumsden is known to have owned several other significant pre-Reformation books and manuscripts including two important thirteenth-century manuscripts of the Vulgate Bible.⁵¹

Religion aside, Lord Edzell and Lord Menmuir's interest in books was, at least in part, practical. Both brothers were interested in exploiting iron and other minerals on the estate.

Coal was a particularly desirable resource to find, especially for a landowner in Fife or in Angus not too far from the coast, since there was a strong Dutch demand for coal, and the Scottish government was keen to supply it as a means of earning foreign currency.⁵² Coastal coal was therefore profitable. Coal could also be used on-site as a means to exploit other mineral resources. There was iron ore on the Edzell estate, but it could not be processed without fuel: there were not enough trees to make charcoal (Sir David was busy planting trees by the thousand, with an eye to the future), and though there were coal seams in the area, some of which seem to have been on Lindsay land, they could not be efficiently mined because of flooding. For a time, Lindsay iron ore was exported to England in its crude state, a cumbrous and unprofitable trade.

John Lindsay, Lord Menmuir as he became, attempted to address the root of the problem and designed a machine 'for drawing up of water from the pits', which 'shall move without water, wind, force of man or beast, but only be weights' (it is hard to see from such a description quite how it was powered, possibly by hydraulics).⁵³ In 1582 he also hired a Dutch expert, Guillaume van Naersson, and two Germans, Bernard Fechtenburg and Hans Ziegler, to construct the pump. Lord Menmuir was yet to buy Balcarres, so it seems as if he was acquiring his first experience of active mining and prospecting by helping his brother develop the family estate at Edzell.

The Germans and Dutch were among the acknowledged master-miners and metallurgists of the sixteenth century. Quite a few German and Dutch experts worked in Scotland. A German

⁵⁰ Hew Scott, et al., *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, 9 vols. (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1915-1961) I, pp. 17-18.

⁵¹ EUL MS 1 and MS 6.

⁵² Brown, *Noble Society*, p. 59.

⁵³ *Lives of the Lindsays*, I, p. 376: the patent was seen by Hugh Arnot and described in his *History of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, Thomas Turnbull, 1779), p. 67.

master finer, Sebald Northberge, was employed by James IV, and also a Dutch smelter, Gerard Essemer. In James V's time, a group of Germans was entrusted with mining the gold of Crawford Muir in 1526.⁵⁴ Archibald Napier, as General of the Mint, employed Cornelius de Vos, Abraham Peterson, and Eustathius Roghe in the 1580s,⁵⁵ and the workers at the Hilderston silver-mines in 1608 included 'David the German' and Martin Smeddel the Dutchman.⁵⁶

Mine drainage was on the minds of a number of Fife landowners at the time – the Lindsays were not the only family to concern themselves with the problem. It was the educated gentry, families like that of the Lindsays in which some siblings lived as country gentlemen while others became lawyers or politicians, who were taking the lead in exploring alternative sources of wealth in seventeenth-century Scotland. John Napier of Merchiston, well aware of the problem due to his father and brother's involvement with mining, patented a machine with a revolving screw and axle, which seems to have been a type of Archimedes screw, and would therefore have required wind- or animal-power to turn it. Sir George Bruce (c.1550–1625) was another obvious example of gentleman entrepreneur, and his coalmines at Culross in Fife were remarkable for inventive mechanical solutions to problems of drainage, ventilation, and haulage.⁵⁷ The Romans had used water-powered machinery for draining mines, described by Vitruvius, and it is notable that two copies of his *De architectura* (**1716, 1717**) are present in the Lindsay library (Lord Seton, neighbour, relative, and even as early as the 1580s probably a friend, also had a copy).⁵⁸

Apart from iron, known to be present, the Lindsays had hopes of copper and lead, if we may judge from a letter about Fechtenburg which Lord Menmuir wrote to Lord Edzell in September of 1582.⁵⁹ The letter also says, '[he] can make charcoal of peats and will desire na other fuel either to burn lime or melt copper', suggesting that fuel was still presenting a major problem. Van Naersson's role is not clear, though an engineer from lowlying Holland might well have expertise with drainage, but Fechtenberg

⁵⁴ Mark Napier, *Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood; London: Thomas Cadell, 1834), p. 229.

⁵⁵ Napier, *Memoirs of John Napier*, p. 231.

⁵⁶ Stephen Atkinson, *The Discoverie and Historie of the Gold Mynes in Scotland* (1619), ed. Gilbert Laing Messon (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1825), pp. 93–4.

⁵⁷ *ODNB*, s.n.

⁵⁸ Davidson, "Alexander Seton", 336.

⁵⁹ Crawford, I, p. 26.

became responsible for day to day operations, and Hans Ziegler designed an industrial complex, the 'Metell Hous', which comprised a 'Kool house' (for fuel – the name suggests that this was coal and not peat-charcoal after all), a 'Boot house' (perhaps implying that the heavy coal and ore were being moved about using the adjacent North Esk), 'Klee hous', perhaps for the raw ore ('clay'), a 'Melting fyning and Refyning house', and 'Stamping' and 'Rosting' houses where processing took place.⁶⁰ However, the Lindsays did not, it seems, become rich through the exploitation of metals, or of coal; the records fall silent on the topic.

An alternative source of income which seems to have been rather more successful was exploiting stone suitable for building. Quarrying at Glenesk, not far from Edzell, was undertaken in partnership 'of equal society in profit and los' with an Englishman, Henry Lock, and yielded material for a house for Barnard Fechtenberg (who remained at Edzell for a few years), and later for Lord Menmuir's improvements at Balcarres. The partnership with Lock was discussed in papers of 1591-2 and is of some interest.⁶¹ Lock sent flower seeds from England, and engaged a gardener from London, Edmond Stevens, who would bring with him plants not to be got in Scotland, witness to Lord Edzell's strong interest in gardening. Stevens was also a cook, and his wife was an accomplished needlewoman and embroiderer.⁶²

The Lindsays' Henry Lock was therefore an Englishman with good Scottish connections, who had been resident for a time in Edinburgh. One interesting possibility presents itself: there is a Henry Lock, or Lok, who may possibly be their agent. He was the third son of a London mercer, also Henry Lok, who had interests in Antwerp, by his wife Anne Vaughan, daughter of a merchant adventurer and government agent. It was a literary family: both Henry Lok senior and Anne wrote Latin verse. Anne Lok had a particular connection with Scotland, in that John Knox lodged with the Loks from time to time when he was in London in 1552-3 and she became one of his closest friends. In 1557, she took her children Henry and Anne to Geneva, at Knox's urging, leaving her husband in London. She subsequently married twice more: her third marriage took her to Exeter in 1584, where she presumably lived out the remainder of her life.⁶³ In 1591, a poet called Henry

⁶⁰ Crawford I, p. 27.

⁶¹ Crawford I, pp. 27-28.

⁶² Crawford I, p. 30.

⁶³ Patrick Collinson, 'Locke, Anne (c.1530-1590x1607)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004, online), Patrick Collinson, 'John Knox, the Church of England and the women of England',

Lok pops into visibility as author of a commendatory poem to James VI of Scotland's *Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Houres* (1591), printed at Edinburgh, suggesting some connection with Scotland. In 1592 his son by a Cornishwoman was baptised, and in 1593, his *Sundry Christian Passions* was published in London. This book acknowledges no patron, and a later volume, *Ecclesiastes*, published in 1597, acknowledges all too many: there are no less than sixty dedicatory sonnets 'addressed to a veritable who's who of late-Elizabethan literary patrons', suggesting thereby that he had established personal relations with none of them, which strengthens the possibility that he had been out of England before this time.⁶⁴

So this may be the Lindsay's Henry Lock; he shared his mother's deeply-felt Protestantism, more extreme in its rejection of forms and ceremony than the Anglican settlement under Elizabeth, and his mother's connections in Scotland might have facilitated his settling there. James Lawson, the Lindsay boys' tutor, was John Knox's friend, colleague and, from November 1572, successor as minister of St Giles's, and would certainly have had positive associations with the name of Anne Lok. Equally, family links with the grocers and mercers would have helped Henry Lock to source the Lindsay's requirements.

The improvement of his lands, both by exploiting natural resources and by improved agriculture and gardening, seem to have been the activities most important to Edzell himself.⁶⁵ Note, for example, Edzell's possession of the most celebrated modern and ancient treatises on horticulture and agriculture; those of Estienne (579) and Columella (404). His ownership of them is attested by a letter from Lord Menmuir to his brother thanking him for sending a 'letter with La Maison Rustique and Columella whilk will serve for my idleness in Balcarres'.⁶⁶ The text which Menmuir refers to as 'La Maison Rustique' was, in all likelihood, one of the French-language Paris editions from 1586 onwards of *Agriculture et Maison Rustique* by Charles Estienne (1504-1564), originally published in Latin in 1554 as *Praedum Rusticum*, and a best-seller. The other author named, Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella, active in the first century of the Christian era, was the most celebrated ancient

John Knox and the British reformations, ed. R. A. Mason (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 74-96.

⁶⁴ Michael G. Brennan, 'Lok, Henry (*d.* in or after 1608)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004, online)

⁶⁵ See Peter Davidson, "Edzell Garden and the Lindsay Libraries", *The Pleasaunce* special number 1 (2014): 9-12.

⁶⁶ Barker, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, p.15.

writer on rural economy. There was a Paris edition of his works in 1533, or it is equally possible that Lord Edzell could have owned a Lyons edition of 1548, or even the Heidelberg edition of 1595. One thing is certain: from the amount of resource and energy which Lord Edzell devoted to the levelling and laying-out of the grounds around his castle, these must have been often-read and well used copies. Another book which he may also have found useful which was probably owned by Lord Menmuir, was Cato's classic Latin work on estate management, *De Re Rustica* (341).

John Lindsay of Balcarres, Lord Menmuir (1552-1598)

We do not know about John Lindsay's academic studies in detail, but it is evident that he devoted himself to the law. It is not clear when his legal studies ended and his professional life began, but he became an advocate in Edinburgh, and on 5 July 1581, James VI recommended him to the lords of session as 'a man that fears God, of good literature, practice, judgement and understanding of the lawes, of good fame, haiffing sufficient leiving of his awin, and quha can mak gud expedition and despatche of materis tueching the leiges'.⁶⁷ He was accepted as an ordinary lord of session, and took the title of Lord Menmuir, from the parish of Menmuir in Angus, of which he was patron. With his professional career thus established, he took a wife later that year. She was Margaret Guthrie, daughter of the Edinburgh town clerk, Alexander Guthrie and Janet Henryson. She had previously been the wife of David Borthwick, Lord Advocate, who had died in January 1581.⁶⁸ Borthwick was personally known to the Countess of Crawford and to James Lawson, both of whom exchanged letters with him.⁶⁹

John and Margaret married on 29 November 1581, only ten months after her first husband's death. Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, in his jaundiced round-up of Scottish servants of the crown, suggested a financial motive: 'having married the wife of umquhil

⁶⁷ George Brunton and David Haig, *An historical account of the senators of the college of justice, from its institution in MDXXXII* (Edinburgh: Thomas Clark, 1832), p. 177. See Alan R. MacDonald, 'Lindsay, John, of Balcarres, Lord Menmuir (1552-1598)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004, online).

⁶⁸ David Borthwick was one of nine procurators selected by the Court of Session, in March, 1549, to plead 'before thame in all actions and causes.' He became joint King's Advocate in 1573, and was the first who was styled Lord Advocate. (Acts of Sederunt, 1811-48; Brunton and Haig, *Senators*, p. 154.)

⁶⁹ NLS Acc 9769, 3/2/1-12. See *Lives of the Lindsays I*, p. 331.

Mr. David Borthwick, the king's advocate, and that way got the sight of the writs, he conquest the lands of Balcarres from David's son, being a spendthrift'.⁷⁰ This seems, however, to be inaccurate as Balcarres was held, not by Borthwick, but by the crown, which confirmed the couple in their estate by a charter of 10 June 1592.⁷¹ Whether or not his marriage helped him to the acquisition of Balcarres, it evidently connected Lord Menmuir with a network of Edinburgh professionals, and it was also highly successful on a personal level. The couple became the parents of seven children: John, who died in his teens, Alexander, who died in infancy, and David (the future 1st Lord Lindsay of Balcarres), Robert, Katherine, Janet, and Margaret, all of whom survived to adulthood.⁷² By early modern standards, a reasonably fortunate experience of parenthood.

The mathematical interests visible in Menmuir's contribution to the library were also evident in his professional life. He was evidently deemed to have a head for figures, since from 1587, he was appointed to numerous parliamentary commissions concerning taxation, coinage, and ecclesiastical finance. His work on coinage must have brought him into contact with another scientific family, the Napiers of Merchiston. Sir Archibald Napier (father of the mathematician, John) became general of the mint in 1577. Sir Archibald's second son, Francis, was appointed assayer (responsible for maintaining the purity of the coinage) in 1581, so will necessarily have had some practical knowledge of metals.⁷³

Lord Menmuir's own expertise in metallurgy, witnessed in the projects on his brother's estate, was further acknowledged when he was created 'Master of the Metals' in 1592, responsible for regulating all mining of ore and manufacture of metals in Scotland, to the immense indignation of Sir Archibald Napier, who considered that Menmuir had been appointed over his head, and had less practical knowledge of mining than he did (though as we have seen, he was assisting his brother in investigating the mineral resources of Edzell).⁷⁴

Menmuir, however, took his duties seriously, and in the same year, sent the cartographer Timothy Pont to visit and report on the

⁷⁰ Charles Rogers and John Scot, 'The Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen, from 1550 to 1650. By Sir John Scot, of Scotstarvet. With a Memoir of the Author and Historical Illustrations', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1 (1872), 389-530, p. 459.

⁷¹ *Registrum Magni Sigilii*, 1580-1593, nos. 1335, 1371, 2100.

⁷² *Scots Peerage*, i. 517-518.

⁷³ *ODNB*, s.n.

⁷⁴ Napier, *Memoirs of John Napier*, pp. 229-300.

mines and minerals of Orkney and Shetland. In January 1594, he approved a tack of mines to Thomas Foulis, an Edinburgh goldsmith and son of the advocate Henry Foulis of Colinton, at Leadhills in Lanarkshire. Foulis was also mining mercury, probably from the copper mine at Crawford Muir – a substance with many practical uses, but also of particular interest to alchemists.

Lord Menmuir was also involved in the publication of statutes and put his legal knowledge to practical use in drafting a number of significant acts, most notably that of 1587 for the representation of the shires in parliament (though his draft of this was not used). In the later 1580s he was appointed to two Privy Council commissions for visitation of the University of St Andrews and was appointed its chancellor in 1587. He frequently attended Privy Council meetings through most of the 1590s.

He had bought Balcarres and other lands in eastern Fife in 1586, all of which, in June 1592, were united and erected into the barony of Balcarres in a charter under the great seal.⁷⁵ These lands would form the basis of the estates of his successors. Menmuir made his principal residence there, and in 1595, embellished the existing tower house with the addition of a substantial stair tower on the east and further accommodation to the south.⁷⁶

Like his brother at Edzell, Lord Menmuir was an improver, who clothed his estate with trees and built a substantial house at Balcarres. It is he who laid the principal foundations of the library. His books reflect both his professional and his personal life: the former is represented by a collection of books on civil and canon law. Sir John Skene's *The lawes and Actes of Parliament, maid be king James the First and his successours kings of Scotland: visied, collected, and extracted furth of the Register*, published in 1597, the year Menmuir was incapacitated, was presented by its editor to Lord Edzell, who had stepped into his brother's shoes as lord of session, privy councillor, and master of the metals. Skene and Menmuir were friends and colleagues, so the presentation must be taken as a compliment to both men.

Of the two treatises Lord Menmuir is known to have written, one seems, sadly, to have disappeared (the other is the *Questions* discussed below). It is mentioned in a letter he received from Patrick, Master of Gray, who wrote, 'I vill requyst your Lordship cause send me a copie of your Discours De Jure Anglicano, quhilk I sau in Falkland.'⁷⁷ This suggests that Menmuir, towards the end of his life, was making a careful study of English law, perhaps in the

⁷⁵ *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1580-1593, no. 2100.

⁷⁶ *Lives of the Lindsay* II, pp. 376-377.

context of mulling over the practical implications of the Union of the Crowns, which, as Elizabeth aged and James VI remained her likeliest heir, was a subject which must certainly have been under consideration by forward-looking Scots, and particularly by Scots lawyers.

One possible clue to Menmuir's inward thoughts may be twelve lines of Latin hexameter written in what seems to be his hand. Though he had a contemporary reputation as a Latin poet and moved in circles where the composition of Latin verse was almost an expected accomplishment,⁷⁸ they prove on inspection not to be of his own composition. The lines are Seneca's Latin version of a passage from a lost Greek play, Euripides' *Bellerophon*,⁷⁹ beginning

Sine me vocari pessimum ut dives vocer
An dives omnes quaerimus, nemo ad bonus ...

Call me a scoundrel, only call me rich!

All ask how great my riches are, but none, whether my soul is
good ...

and ending,

Pecunia ingens generis humani bonum,
Cui non voluptas matris aut blandae potest
Par esse prolis, non sacer meritis parens.
Tam dulce siquid Veneris in vultu micat,
Merito illa amores caelitum atque hominum movet.

Money, that blessing to the race of man,
Cannot be matched by mother's love, or lisp
Of children, or the honour due one's sire.
And if the sweetness of the lover's glance
Be half so charming, Love will rightly stir
The hearts of gods and men to adoration.

⁷⁷ 15 September, 1596, *Letters and Papers Relating To Patrick, Master of Gray* (Edinburgh: For the Bannatyne Club, 1835), p. 184.

⁷⁸ *The Lives of the Lindsays*, I, p. 375: 'Of his *Epigrams* I can give a less satisfactory account; he was esteemed "excellent in that airt" by Scot of Scotstarvet and Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, themselves poets and no mean judges of literary merit'.

⁷⁹ Seneca, *Epistulae Morales* 115.14, trans. Richard M. Gummere, 3 vols (London and Cambridge, Mass.: Loeb Classical Library, 1925), III, p. 328.

Their meaning is initially puzzling: on the face of it, they are an un-nuanced praise of riches as the chief good of life, lauded as better than love or family affection. But this put in context by Seneca's letter, which explains that this speech was so resented by the audience at its first performance that the playwright had to rise and explain to his booing audience that Bellerophon, who was speaking, was voicing the attitudes which would lead to his destruction.

In 1592, Lord Menmuir had been created "Master of the Metals" by James VI, an office bestowed on him for life. In this capacity, he had re-explored the alleged gold mines of Crawford Muir on the lands of Newbattle Abbey, to no avail.⁸⁰ He had an intimate acquaintance with James VI's thirst for wealth. His public duties also included the onerous exchequer duties of an 'Octavian' with 'extreme jurisdiction and absolute disposal of the public money'.⁸¹ In the light of these concerns, these lines about wealth as an absolute good would have had a personal ironic resonance for him and for his circle, beyond even the theoretical mistrust of riches expressed by the neo-stoics of the later renaissance.

In addition to his extensive purchase of books (further discussed in chapter three), one very important decision which Lord Menmuir made was to form a collection of letters, mostly royal, relating to Scottish history, which were eventually given to the Advocates' Library in 1712 by his great-grandson Colin, 3rd Earl of Balcarres.⁸² Many magnates preserved a family archive primarily focused on property and related concerns (indeed, the Lindsays themselves have an archive of this kind, containing agreements, title deeds, wills, marriage settlements, family letters and so forth).⁸³ Collecting primary source material relating to Scottish history more generally suggests an unusual sensitivity to the importance of records, and in the sixteenth century, was often the province of heralds (such as Menmuir's English contemporary, William Camden). Some churchmen also took an interest in books and records, especially in preserving texts which might be deemed relics of popish superstition by less sophisticated reformers. John Leslie, historian, Bishop of Ross, and stout defender of Mary, Queen of Scots, notes in his diary that he had had a long talk with

⁸⁰ *Lives of the Lindsays*, I, p. 353; also Barker, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, p.15.

⁸¹ *Lives of the Lindsays*, I, p. 355.

⁸² Now NLS Adv. 16.2.3, 19.1.24, 29.2.1-9a. A few items in the collection date from after 1600, but the great majority are sixteenth century.

⁸³ NLS MS Acc. 9769.

the Bishop of Ely in 1571, 'quha counseled me to tak panes at my retorning into Scotland, to recover all the antient bookis that was in Abbayes and Cathedrall churches, as the Archbishope of Canterbury [Matthew Parker] hes done in Inland'.⁸⁴ Parker's great library is still preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; Lesley, unfortunately, left England only for exile in France, and was unable to implement the English bishop's suggestion.

Much of Lord Menmuir's collection relates to the regency of Mary of Guise, above all, to her foreign policy, which was centred on her French relatives, particularly after she committed her small daughter, the future Mary, Queen of Scots, to the care of the French royal court in 1548 in order to keep her out of the hands of the English. It includes some of Henri II's correspondence with the Queen Regent, letters exchanged between the Queen Regent and her exiled daughter, letters from the French queen, Catherine de Medici, from other royal ladies such as the Duchess of Savoy and the Queen of Navarre, from Diane de Poitiers (the king's principal mistress), and from other major figures of mid-sixteenth-century France, such as the Constable of France, Anne de Montmorency.⁸⁵ The fact that Lord Menmuir collected these documents suggests that he had an unusually strong sense of history, but the question of where he got them from is easier asked than answered. His mother, as we have seen, seems to have spent a year or two at the court of Mary of Guise, but this does not immediately explain how a substantial amount of the queen's personal archive of correspondence came into his hands: the Queen Regent's body was taken back to France and buried in the church of the Convent of Saint-Pierre in Rheims, where her sister Renée was abbess, and her private papers should have gone with her. These letters, which are very important witnesses to Scottish politics in the 1540s and 1550s, have to be regarded as a discrete collection.

One possible conduit for this archive is hinted at by an odd incident in 1567. When David and John Lindsay arrived in Dieppe with their tutor, James Lawson, he reported back to the Countess that 'we visitit my Lord Duke's Grace [at the Château d'Arques], and was honourably and gladly entreatit of him, who speirit at

⁸⁴ *The Bannatyne Miscellany* III (Edinburgh, for the Bannatyne Club, 1855), pp. 113-56, pp. 143-4.

⁸⁵ Some are edited by James Maidment in *Analecta Scotica: Collections Illustrative of the Civil, Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, Thomas G. Stevenson, 1834), and a much more substantial collection is in *Foreign correspondence with Marie de Lorraine, queen of Scotland: from the originals in the Balcarres papers*, ed. Marguerite Wood, 2 vols., Scottish History Society, 3rd ser., 4, 7 (1923-5).

David the whole maner of your worship's house, the number of male and female, the weill-fare of his guiddame, sindry times'.⁸⁶ 'Guid-dame' is Scots for 'grandmother': even if this is not taken literally, it suggests a close and acknowledged relationship between a French duke, the Lindsay family, and a great lady still alive in 1567 who, presumably, was French but married in Scotland, where she had remained, since the Duc seeks news of her. A confidante of the Queen Regent's might conceivably have taken charge of her French correspondence, in her chaotic final months when she found herself at war with the Protestant Lords of Congregation and just such an individual was living only a few miles from Edzell at the times of the Lindsay's visit to the Château d'Arques. She was the by then elderly Barbara de Berles, daughter of Garlache de Berles, Seigneur de Guignicourt in Champagne and wife of John Erskine, owner of the nearby estate of Dun in Angus.⁸⁷ She had been in the train of the Queen Regent on her first coming to Scotland and, significantly, her brother Odet de Berles was a soldier in the company of the Duc de Bouillon, suggesting the source of the Duc's knowledge of an Angus noblewoman.⁸⁸

Another group of fifty-six letters from the Regent Morton, were brought to Balcarres by Margaret Guthrie, who presumably inherited them from her first husband, David Borthwick. Most of the other letters in the Balcarres collection are from the reign of James VI, and nearly all date from after Menmuir became a royal servant.⁸⁹ Some are from the king, some to him, or about him. These may very well have been acquired by Menmuir when he was Royal Secretary, in the last stages of his public career. One subgroup of these letters is clearly Menmuir's own archive, letters on mining and minerals, correspondence on affairs of state, papers connected with St Andrews (of which he was chancellor), and his own drafts. Among those that are published is a letter from Sir John Skene, addressed to Menmuir himself as Lord Secretary in 1597,

⁸⁶ *Lives of the Lindsays* I, p. 331.

⁸⁷ "Autre familles nobles: les de Berles, les de Boham, les de Savigny, etc.", *Revue d'Ardenne & d'Argonne* 12 (1904): 133-134. She died not long afterwards, on 15 November 1572 (see "The Obitis of the Lairdis and Ladeis of Dwne", in *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club, Volume Fourth* (Aberdeen: Printed for the Club, 1849), lxxvii.

⁸⁸ François-Alexandre Aubert de la Chesnaye-Desbois and Jacques Badiet, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse . . .*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1771), ii. 347.

⁸⁹ Some of these are also edited by Maidment and included in *Letters and State Papers during the Reign of James the Sixth. Chiefly from the manuscript collections of Sir James Balfour of Denmyln* (Edinburgh: for the Abbotsford Club, 1838).

and a memorandum on lead exports from Scotland in 1590, very properly the business of the Master of the Metals.⁹⁰ He may simply, if not altogether correctly, have taken them home with him. Menmuir's interest in the Mary, Queen of Scots saga is evident from a set of three letters in the Balcarres collection written in the immediate aftermath of the murder of David Rizzio by Huntly, Morton and Ruthven,⁹¹ but apart from the letters contributed by Margaret Guthrie, he did not have access to many documents from Mary's reign.

There is a strong indication that Menmuir was deliberately collecting historical material towards the end of his life in a letter sent to him in 1596 by Patrick, Master of Gray, which accompanied a highly delicate collection of documents relating to the trial and execution of Mary Queen of Scots; 'I would haue bein loth to haue send some of theis to many vithin Scotland', said Gray, warning Menmuir to keep them secure.⁹² Gray, once a supporter of Mary, had turned his coat in the 1580s, and had actually been one of the Scots ambassadors in England at the time of the Queen's execution. The interest of such papers was more than antiquarian. Menmuir was a minister of state under James VI, and his king had been put on his throne in consequence of the deposition of his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, who was subsequently executed after nearly twenty years of English exile in 1587. The rights and wrongs of the Queen's deposition, imprisonment and execution were much debated, and James's title to the English throne not yet secured. Historical documents, therefore, might well be relevant to present-day politics.

It is interesting that Gray sent Menmuir 'a letter of the King of France, an vther of the Duke of Guise to the King, only for the formes' - that is, lay-out, salutation, conclusion, form of address and so on, which would give Menmuir a benchmark for judging whether other letters were genuine (palaeography as a science was in its absolute infancy, and forgery was certainly an aspect of what had by that time become a dirty war of propaganda, the Casket Letters being an egregious example).⁹³ The inventory of documents sent for copying and return includes highly damaging and possibly

⁹⁰ *Letters and State Papers*, pp. 104-6, 91-4.

⁹¹ *Letters and State Papers*, pp. 102-4.

⁹² *Letters and Papers Relating to Patrick Master of Gray, afterwards Seventh Lord Gray* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1835), 184.

⁹³ *Letters and Papers Relating to Patrick Master of Gray*, 184.

spurious items, particularly Queen Mary's agent Fontainie's letters 'to the King' (most probably Philip II of Spain).⁹⁴

Turning from statecraft to personal scholarship, it is evident from Menmuir's books that he was a serious student of Greek. He bought a number of Greek books, mostly in France. Most of his Greek purchases were probably not very expensive: John Bellenden, writing home from Paris in 1564, notes that until the university session opened, Greek books had cost a 'lyard' (three deniers), but now the price was 'hichted to four denners', which is still only a third of a sou.⁹⁵ However, Menmuir was evidently having to lay out his money with caution, since most of his books were old enough when he bought them to suggest that they were acquired second-hand. Nonetheless, he still had the resources to sink into larger acquisitions, such as the 1578 Estienne Plato in two volumes (1316) which he purchased in May 1581 for £14 or £24 Scots, in either case a substantial sum.⁹⁶

His knowledge of Hebrew is witnessed by his ownership of a four volume Hebrew Old Testament, printed by Plantin in 1566 (189).

[PLACE ILLUSTRATION 7 HERE]

[PLACE ILLUSTRATION 8 HERE]

The study of Hebrew was of passionate interest to the reformers, for whom it held both active and symbolic significance: when Andrew Melville walked from Paris to Geneva in 1569 to further his studies, he 'caried na thing with him bot a litle Hebrew Byble in his belt'.⁹⁷ Having been summoned to appear before the privy council in 1584, he took out the same Hebrew Bible and slammed it on the table before the king and chancellor, declaring that this was his warrant that, for 'with all earnestnes, zeall and gravitie, I stand

⁹⁴ The most recent scholarly biography of Mary Queen of Scots knows nothing of 'Fontainie'. See John Guy, *My Heart is my Own: the Life of Mary, Queen of Scots* (London: Fourth Estate, 2004). This agent cannot be Robert le Maçon dit de la Fontaine, minister of the French church in London, who acted as intermediary between Henri IV and Queen Elizabeth, since he was born in 1574 and thus only a teenager in the last years of Mary's life.

⁹⁵ John Durkan, 'The French connection', p. 23.

⁹⁶ The price has been partially rubbed out in the original with only "[-]4l." now visible.

⁹⁷ *The autobiography and diary of Mr James Melvill*, ed. R. Pitcairn (Edinburgh: for the Wodrow Society, 1842), 40-41.

for the cause of Jesus Chryst and his Kirk'.⁹⁸ Melville's classmate at St Andrews, James Lawson, perhaps started Menmuir off on Hebrew studies when he was tutor to the Lindsay boys, since he must have had a competent knowledge of the language by 1569, when he was appointed to teach it at St Andrews, lessons which the young Menmuir probably attended, since he spent 1569-70 at St Andrews. It does not appear, however, that Menmuir pursued Hebrew studies further than forming an acquaintance with the Old Testament in its original language. Another work by a Jewish scholar he is known to have owned was a French translation of a work probably first written in Italian and published as *Dialoghi d'amore* in 1535 by Judah Leon Abravanel (2), a Neoplatonist who was attached to the court of Naples.

[PLACE ILLUSTRATION 9 HERE]

As with Lord Edzell, caution is required in any attempt to extrapolate Lord Menmuir's religious position from the books on religion which we know he owned. His public life was dominated by the daily difficulties of assisting the king his master in the governance of Scotland in the face of the unpredictable and sometimes absolute appropriation of authority by the reformed church and 'the increasing presumption, intolerance and tyranny of its ministers'.⁹⁹ He supported James's attempt to find a mechanism which would put in place some balance of power between kirk and king, with an element of royal and legal control of the Church. To this end, he drew up the 55 Questions printed at Edinburgh by Robert Waldegrave in 1597 as *The Questions to be resolvit at the Convention of the Estates and General Assemblie*. David Calderwood, the most influential Presbyterian historian of the first half of the seventeenth century, represented the Episcopalian settlement thus achieved as a 'dooleful decay', but Michael Lynch has argued that it was more effective and less unpopular at the time than it subsequently seemed, commenting: 'the reading of history backwards, from the crisis of 1637-8, has dealt unkindly with the very real achievements of the Jacobean episcopate'.¹⁰⁰

In the light of Lord Menmuir's struggles with the ministers of the new church, it may offer some amusement to discover that his

⁹⁸ *Autobiography and Diary*, 142.

⁹⁹ *Lives of the Lindsays*, pp. 357-70.

¹⁰⁰ Michael Lynch, 'Preaching to the Converted? Perspectives on the Scottish reformation', *The Renaissance in Scotland*, ed. A.A. Macdonald *et al* (Leiden, 1994), pp. 301-43, pp. 305-6, 338.

private library contained a work of controversy in which John Knox very much got the worst of the argument. This volume, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, was the controversial pamphlet by James Tyrie SJ (1543–97), *The Refutation of ane answer made by Schir Johne Knox to ane letter send be James Tyrie to his umquhyle brother*, printed at Paris by Thomas Brumenius in 1573 (**1649**), and bought there by the future Lord Menmuir in June 1588. It contains extensive annotation in Menmuir's hand, but the volume is cropped making many of his marginal comments hard to decipher. Those which are readable, such as "maligni" next to "Schir Iohne Knox" (fol. †2r) or "Arrogantium [Societatis] Jesus" next to "with greit humilitie and modestie" (fol. †4r), suggest an equivocal stance on Menmuir's part which held both sides of the dispute in something approaching contempt. While this evidence offers a useful corrective to much binary and simplistic Scottish reformation history, the pamphlet itself suggests a more nuanced narrative. In short, Menmuir's approval would appear to be directed to Tyrie's skill in formal disputation, as there is no doubt (in the course of the quoted assertions by Knox in answer to Tyrie's first work, and Tyrie's last round of answers to those answers) that by the rules of late renaissance argument, Tyrie wins by a clear margin. He maintains an unswerving, logical appeal to history and tradition, allowing himself only one side-swipe of mock-sympathy at Knox's domestic arrangements for offering him so little chance for thought and reflection. Knox is provoked into losing his temper in a burst of apocalyptic rant, and Tyrie moves in to a conclusion of triumphant demolition.

None of this is evidence for particular Catholic sympathies, any more than is the 1538 Rouen *Primer of the Use of Salisbury* owned by, and bound for, Menmuir's mother, Katherine Campbell, Countess of Crawford. It seems likely that this latter book was still at Balcarres in the 1640s, when a child drew a Covenanting trooper brandishing a saltire on one of the rear endpapers, and Lord Menmuir's son and grandson both took the field on behalf of the Covenant in 1639. It has to be remembered that a man in Menmuir's position would have to inform himself widely on the topics of the day, when questions of religion were at the heart of contemporary politics, most especially in Scotland.

By the beginning of 1597, a longstanding problem with kidney stones was becoming so serious that Menmuir was contemplating the desperate step of going to Paris for surgery. Kidney stones ran in the family – his brother James had died of them – but seem to have been a frequent problem for early modern

élite men, perhaps for reasons of diet: not drinking enough liquid and eating too much protein are both implicated.

Since kidney stones were both tormentingly painful and debilitating, the unfortunate sufferer was left with a choice of two evils. 'Cutting for the stone' (through the perineum and up into the bladder) was an established operation and often successful, but without anaesthetic, it was also agonizing, and therefore, often put off till the patient was too weak to survive it. Menmuir was one such. He twice resolved to go to France, but was unable to summon the strength, and was eventually released from his sufferings in September 1598 at the age of forty-six.¹⁰¹

David Lindsay, 1st Lord Lindsay of Balcarres (1587-1641)

In the next generation, it was Lord Menmuir's son and heir, David Lindsay of Balcarres, who built up the library. For the sake of clarity, to avoid confusion with his uncle, David Lindsay of Edzell, this section will refer to this David Lindsay as Balcarres, a title he did not in fact acquire until 1633, when Charles I took advantage of his visit to Scotland for his second coronation to create a new peerage wholesale, ennobling '1 Marquesse, 10 Earles, 2 Viscounts, 8 Lords' on the same day.¹⁰²

The Scottish aristocracy of King James's era were not all educated men, but education was increasingly prevalent among them. A number of them also began to accumulate substantial libraries. Edzell and Menmuir's contemporary, Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney and uncle of John Napier of Merchiston, is one of the first major book collectors: his library was on a scale little short of that of the king himself. Like that of the Lindsays, it was humanist in tendency, and included works on magic, medicine, mathematics, political theory, and astronomy as well as law and theology, mostly in Latin, together with Italian and French (along with a few 'workis in Inglis', lumped together unregarded).¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ *Lives of the Lindsays* I, pp. 370-380.

¹⁰² James Balfour, *The Historical Works of Sir James Balfour: Published from the Original Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, William Aitchison, 1824), II, pp. 202-4.

¹⁰³ His library inventory survives, printed in the ***The Warrender Papers***, ed. A.I. Cameron, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1931), II, pp. 396-413. See Duncan Shaw, 'Adam Bothwell, a conserver of the Renaissance in Scotland', *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: essays in honour of Gordon Donaldson*, ed. I. B. Cowan and Duncan Shaw (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1983), 141-69.

Clerics such as Bothwell were the first major book-owners, but laymen were also beginning to buy books in significant numbers. Henry Erskine, Master of Cardross, was near-contemporary of Balcarres's with a passion for books. Writing from Paris in 1620, he assured his father, the second Earl of Mar, that '... I will not be so prodigall in nothing except in baying of bookes, and yit none bot suche as shall be necessarie'.¹⁰⁴ As his father will have realised, a bibliophile's definition of 'necessarie' can be somewhat elastic. Similarly, by 1633, the first Earl of Buccleuch owned 1,200, predominantly in Latin, Italian and French, with a smaller number in English – a lack of interest in English literature is characteristic of Scots readers before the Restoration. Similarly, the Lindsay library before the eighteenth century contains comparatively little (see chapter three).¹⁰⁵ As Duncan Shaw observes of Adam Bothwell, '[his] library, like any in Scotland at that time, shows that Scotland was almost exclusively receiving its theological and intellectual impulses directly from the continent'.¹⁰⁶

Near neighbours to the Lindsays who also bought books in quantity included the Earl of Rothes, who was painted in his library c. 1625,¹⁰⁷ the Earl of Wemyss, a substantial bookbuyer, and John Scot of Scotstarvet, scholarly brother-in-law of the poet William Drummond of Hawthornden, patron of literature, and a generous donor to the library of St Andrews.¹⁰⁸ Both Scot and Drummond were personal friends of Balcarres's and their surviving letters suggest a rich bibliophilic correspondence. On 5 April 1615, Scotstarvet was full of the news of what would become the *Delitiae poetarum Scotorum*, which was eventually published in Amsterdam in 1637.¹⁰⁹ He was also full of requests: could Lindsay lend source

¹⁰⁴ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Supplementary Report on the MSS of the Earl of Mar & Kellie* (London: HMSO, 1930), p. 97.

¹⁰⁵ Brown, *Noble Society*, p. 220, and on lack of interest in English, see also Jane Stevenson, 'Reading, Writing and Gender in Early Modern Scotland', *The Seventeenth Century*, 27.3 (2012), 335-74.

¹⁰⁶ Shaw, 'Adam Bothwell', p. 168.

¹⁰⁷ Murray Simpson, 'Housing Books in Scotland before 1800', *Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* 4 (2009), 11-31, p. 13.

¹⁰⁸ R. V. Pringle, "An Early Humanist Class Library: The Gift of Sir John Scot and Friends to St. Leonard's College (1620)", *The Bibliothek* 7 (1974): 33-54. See also Drummond's library as recorded in R. H. MacDonald, *The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971).

¹⁰⁹ Crawford I, pp. 71-2. Scot's letter to Balcarres reveals an otherwise unknown fact: *Delitiae poetarum Scotorum* is often described as edited by Arthur Johnson, but Christopher A. Upton has confirmed that the basic work of finding was done by Scot of Scotstarvet ('National

texts for his project, "among which there is one which you worship, has, viz. Bodius' Answers to the haile Epistles of Ovid" (Mark Alexander Boyd, *epistolae heroides, et hymni* [Geneva? 1592]) as well as other texts in manuscript and print.¹¹⁰

Similarly, Drummond's letter of 26 July 1623 acknowledge Balcarres's gift of a book by Scipio Ammirato to the Drummond library, and made his own gift in return:

I would often since have answered your booke, though unable those other courtesies, but, considering what a difficultie it were to send you a booke which ye (perhaps) had not alreddy, or a new one, ye having so good intelligence abroad, I have been bold to present you with this of mine own, which, though of small worth, is a new one and only singular in this that it is not to be found in any library, I having caused print only some coppies equaling the number of my friends.¹¹¹

This bibliographical delicacy was the first state of Drummond's *Flowres of Sion* (513).

The Edzell Lindsays seem not to have been bookish in the generations that succeeded Lord Edzell himself, but as we shall see, Balcarres was a serious reader, and built on his father's collection. One of the principal witnesses to Balcarres's education is a notebook of his from 1603 demonstrating that in the last months of that year, at the age of sixteen, he was engaged in serious and intensive study of the Latin classics.¹¹² He was going through texts excerpting vocabulary and 'sententiae', interesting, pithy phrases which might in future ornament a speech or an essay with the 'as the poet says ...' asides which were considered a mark of good style at the time. He evidently saw the point of the exercise since four years later, he bought a couple of printed collections of *sententiae*, one excerpted from Cicero, the other a general collection. Other Scots of his generation did the same: for example,

Internationalism: Scottish Literature and the European Audience in the Seventeenth Century', *Studies in Scottish Literature* 26 (1991), 218-225). However, this letter gives the further information that Scotstarvet was not the editor either: the "collecting and getting togidder" was done by a John Ray, head of the Edinburgh High School. For his involvement see Michael Wallace, *The Latin Poetry*, ed. Jamie Reid Baxter and Dana F. Sutton (2013), <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/wallace/>

¹¹⁰ Crawford I, pp. 67-68.

¹¹¹ Crawford I, pp. 71-72.

¹¹² Now NLS Acc 9769 14/8/2.

John Maxwell of Southbar in Renfrewshire, who died in 1604, collected adages and *sententiae* out of Seneca, Ovid, Ennius, and Propertius.¹¹³

When he finished with a work, Balcarres noted the date (in Latin form), on which he did so which shows that he was getting through his authors with commendable industry: in September, he read Terence, Sallust, the third book of Cicero's *De Officiis*, Plautus's *Miles Gloriosus*, Tibullus, Catullus, Cicero on Sallust, Juvenal, Cicero's *Ad Familiares*, and Propertius.¹¹⁴ On the one hand, this shows he was already well able to comprehend long and complex works of Latin literature. On the other, unless he was a very remarkable sixteen-year-old indeed, it also strongly suggests that an unnamed tutor was standing over him and assigning his reading.

Margaret Guthrie had, in her last letter to her husband, requested that Lord Edzell, along with Edzell and Menmuir's nephew-by-marriage, Alexander Seton, first earl of Dunfermline, be asked to keep an eye on the Balcarres children.¹¹⁵ If we ask who David Lindsay of Balcarres was studying under, in the absence of direct information, the most likely possibilities are someone in the household of one or other of these two.

His uncle, Lord Edzell, as we have seen, was less bookish, though he did appoint a tutor for his own children, John Strathachine, of whom nothing is known.¹¹⁶ Perhaps the more likely household for the young Balcarres's formation is that of his cousin by marriage and guardian, Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline. In 1593, Lord Seton's children were being tutored by Steine Ballantyne, a Catholic who had been forbidden to teach in schools on account of his religion.¹¹⁷ Balcarres evidently knew Seton's library at Pinkie House well, since he later made a list of books at Pinkie in 1625,¹¹⁸ and he was close to the household, since he chose Seton's daughter Sophia, his cousin, as his wife. It may be

¹¹³ Edinburgh, University Library MS Laing III 467; discussed Priscilla Bawcutt, 'The commonplace book of John Maxwell', *A Day Estivall*, ed. Alisoun Gardner Medwin and Janet Hadley Williams (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990), pp. 59-68.

¹¹⁴ All texts later present in the Lindsay library, though perhaps not in the editions used by the young Balcarres.

¹¹⁵ His first wife was Lilius Drummond, daughter of Menmuir and Edzell's sister Elizabeth Lindsay and Patrick, 3rd Lord Drummond. She died in 1601.

¹¹⁶ NLS Acc 9769, 4/1/80-145: Strathachine submitted an account in 1607.

¹¹⁷ Brown, *Noble Society*, p. 183.

¹¹⁸ NLS Acc 9769/14/2/2. See the discussion of this document's origins in Campbell, "An 'Inventair'", 32.

relevant to note that between 1601 and 1604, Seton was the guardian of the future Charles I, born 1600: given the personal nature of early modern politics, a chance of laying some foundations for a personal relationship with the king's second son is one which Balcarres would presumably have taken with alacrity.

Seton was discreetly Catholic, though prepared to be outwardly conformist in the interests of pursuing his political career. He had himself been given an excellent classical education at the Jesuit-run German College in Rome, and he turned out 'a great humanist in prose and poesie, Greek and Latine; well versed in the mathematics and great skill in architecture and herauldrie'.¹¹⁹ His mathematical interests were evidently known to Scottish scientists, since he was the dedicatee of John Napier's epoch-making book on logarithms, *Rhabdologia* (1617). Another mathematician, Robert Pont (father of the famous cartographer, Timothy Pont), dedicated *A Newe Treatise of the Right Reckoning of Year and Ages of the World* (1599) to him, describing him as foremost of the 'rare Maecenases of this land'. Seton's intellectual sophistication, and his interest in the sciences, may well have influenced Balcarres. The library at Pinkie indicates a man and a household of exceptional cultivation, perhaps the single household in Scotland most in tune with the later continental renaissance.¹²⁰ The groundwork laid by Seton's early continental education seems to have been built upon in later life: he owned an exceptional number of illustrated books, including the architectural treatises of Palladio and Serlio - certainly the first documented appearance of Palladio's work in Scotland.

One specific indication that the studies represented by Balcarres's notebook of 1603 may have taken place at Pinkie is an unusual inclusion. Along with the standard authors, Lindsay was reading Cassander on rhetoric, by which he presumably means *Tabulæ præceptionum dialecticarum, quæ quam breuissimè & planissimè artis methodum complectuntur* printed by Wechel in Paris in 1548. George Cassander was an eirenecist who attempted to reconcile the Catholic and Protestant churches, the sort of man to interest Lord Dunfermline. The overlap between Seton's library

¹¹⁹ Mark Dilworth, 'Scottish Students at the Collegium Germanicum', *Innes Review*, 19.1 (1968), pp. 19-22, p. 20, Richard Maitland, *The historie of the house of Seytoun ... with the continuation, by Alexander Viscount Kingston*, ed. J. Fullarton, Bannatyne Club 31 (Edinburgh, for the Bannatyne Club, 1829), p. 63.

¹²⁰ cf. Davidson and Campbell on Dunfermline and his library as well as Michael Bath, "Philostratus Comes to Scotland: A New Source for the Pictures at Pinkie", *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 5 (2013),

at Pinkie, revealed by the list Balcarres made in 1625 and the books which Balcarres added to the Lindsay library might suggest that he sought out his own copies of books he had admired at Pinkie. They form a heterogeneous group which includes Blaise de Vigenère's *Traicté des chiffres* (on codes) and Vigenère's French translation of *L'Art Militaire d'Onosender*, Bodin's *Démonomanie*, Philostratus's *Les Images ou Tableaux de Platte Peintures*, and Gilbert Genebrard's *Chronographia*.

The world young Balcarres was preparing himself for, as he worked diligently through the Latin classics in 1603, was changing rapidly. In the spring of that year, king James VI had become James I of England, and bundled himself off south with almost indecent haste, leaving his Scottish subjects sure of few things; among them, that without a court in Edinburgh, Scotland would be a very different place, especially for families that served the crown directly, such as the Lindsays. And that, whatever the future brought, acquiring a solid education was a good place from which to start.

Among other considerations, James's removal to England made the disparity between standards of wealth in England and Scotland dismayingly visible to the Scots, who had not been particularly welcome visitors to England during the reign of Elizabeth. Keith Brown points out that the average value of a Scottish peer's inventory in this period was £3,865 Sterling, equivalent to that of a wealthier member of the Yorkshire gentry, and very much less than the average income of an English peer.¹²¹ He also makes the point that Scots nobles responded intelligently to the challenge of changed times. A considerable number went South, to the dismay or disgust of the English, with whom they were competing for royal favour. Of those who stayed at home, quite a few were dynamic and enterprising: with court preferment harder to come by, they turned to improving their estates, and investing in new industries such as manufacture or mining - the Lindsays were among them, as we have seen.¹²²

On the evidence of his notebook, Balcarres had done a good deal of Latin reading by the time he was sixteen, and he continued to add to the library in ways that suggest he was reading classical authors for pleasure. One early acquisition is a copy of Sallust, bought in Edinburgh in 1603, at 24s. At eighteen, he bought a Juvenal in Edinburgh ('David Lyndesius, 1605 August Primo Edinburg 40s.' is inscribed on the flyleaf).

¹²¹ Brown, *Noble Society*, p. 29.

¹²² Brown, *Noble Society*, pp. 48-70.

His education took a more formal turn in 1607. In the aftermath of a family bloodfeud of a kind which the powers that be were no longer inclined to tolerate (his cousin, David Lindsay of Edzell, had attempted to murder their more distant cousin, the Master of Crawford, in revenge for the murder of their uncle Walter Lindsay of Balgowie, who was the Catholic brother of Menmuir and the elder Edzell), Balcarres was given license to study abroad for seven years, and went to the Sorbonne, returning, in fact, after five. He made good use of his time in France, not least in adding to the family library.¹²³

Between Manuscript and Book

Before looking at Balcarres's contribution to the library, his book-buying and use of books might usefully be contextualised with respect to seventeenth-century ideas of 'what is a book?', and with the knowledge that printed books had not entirely superseded manuscripts in the seventeenth century. University students were still expected to write their own books from dictation. The volumes so produced were known as *dictata*. Two of Balcarres's manuscript books, 'Annotationes in Institutiones Justiniani' and 'Observationes in Institutiones' (are probably *dictata*, i.e., lecture-notes from his time at the Sorbonne, on the basic handbook of civil law, Justinian's *Institutes*.¹²⁴ This practice meant that the idea of writing out a book-sized manuscript was less alien to a man of that era than it is to us.

The distinction between manuscripts and books which most of us take for granted derives in part from the way book-collecting developed in the nineteenth century.¹²⁵ The unexamined assumption that if it is printed, it is a book, is enshrined, for example, in the way research libraries routinely catalogue books and manuscripts separately. Whether this is entirely relevant to the perception and use of books in the seventeenth century is another question. As well as being more used to writing, bookish individuals like Balcarres were far more used to reading script than we are. The distinction between books and manuscripts is useful to us, but not always relevant to the acquisition of early-modern book acquisition or use. Relatively speaking, books were expensive, even second-hand ones. Like many of King James's servants who were

¹²³ *Lives of the Lindsays* II, pp. 2-3; Crawford I, pp. 58-60.

¹²⁴ NLS Acc 9769 14/8/3-4.

¹²⁵ Kristian Jensen, *Revolution and the Antiquarian Book: reshaping the past, 1780-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 68

useful rather than decorative, Lord Menmuir had never received the rewards for state service he might have seemed entitled to, and the Lindsays' wealth was not unlimited. Book-buying takes money, so Balcarres would have to be careful and economical. While one might sometimes achieve economic savings by copying out books by hand, it is not clear that this was the principal motivation for Balcarres's production of manuscript books.

Early modern hand-written codices can be separated into different categories. Firstly, there are manuscript books surviving from the pre-print era, conceived as books, and still used as such. For example, there is an early fifteenth-century medical collection, the Inchbrakie manuscript (now GUL MS Hunter 414 (V.3.12)), made in 1413-1414 and owned by David Lindsay, Lord Edzell. We now value such a compilation for its uniqueness and its early Scottish binding, but it is wholly likely that it was bought as a book rather than a curiosity - that is, to read, or to refer to the tracts contained, many of which are about planetary influences, which were evidently of interest to the man who laid out the remarkable Edzell garden.¹²⁶ The book had left the library by the late seventeenth century ('Ex Libris Jo: Watson 1688' has also been written in it), which may suggest that a printed book was preferable to a manuscript, but *faute de mieux*, a manuscript would do.

Secondly, there is the type of handwritten material now most familiar to us, notes, written memoranda, accounts and so forth, more or less ephemeral: the Lindsays kept all kinds of papers, as well, of course, as the archive of royal letters assembled by Lord Menmuir. But in the seventeenth century, additionally, there were manuscripts of material for personal reference, organised with a view to rereading and later use, though fundamentally private: Balcarres's 1603 collection of *Sententiae* falls into this category.

Closely related to these personal books are manuscripts written for someone else in particular: again, there is a clear example of this in the Lindesiana. Lady Anna Lindsay (Balcarres's daughter-in-law) wrote a book of advice for her son Colin, together with *Lives* of Joseph and Abraham, in a single manuscript volume.¹²⁷ This book was evidently intended to be kept in the family and referred to for moral guidance.¹²⁸ The *Lives* of Joseph and

¹²⁶ See Davidson, "Edzell Garden".

¹²⁷ NLS Acc 9769 17/5/1. As volumes which were neither intended to be printed nor derived from printed sources they have been excluded from the library catalogue.

¹²⁸ A variety of seventeenth-century women wrote a volume of 'Mother's Advice' of some kind. Elizabeth Grymston (before 1563-c. 1603)'s

Abraham which it includes are also, in a more indirect fashion, advice, used to illustrate the virtues of family loyalty and mutual forgiveness between brothers. Another volume from the Lindesiana, with one of their characteristic bindings, contains a complete text of the Marquis of Halifax's *Advice to a Daughter* (first printed in 1688 in both London and Edinburgh), presumably handwritten as an exercise, since it was not a difficult text to obtain.¹²⁹

Beyond these family books, there are other categories of early modern manuscript which are less familiar to us. A significant number of seventeenth-century writings were scribally published: that is to say, the author created a copytext (or more than one) and made it available for copying. There was any number of reasons for this, ranging from aesthetic preference to the avoidance of censorship.¹³⁰ Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, for example, issued his history in manuscript. One of these manuscripts (formerly in the collection of John Scott of Halkhill) preserves the text as he probably intended it, while at least sixteen others, variously added to, have survived. The Lindsay library probably had a copy: there is one, written c. 1600 among their manuscripts, though there is nothing to indicate when it was acquired.¹³¹ It was not published till 1728, about 150 years after it was written, but in the meantime, it evidently circulated amongst the Scottish elite. There seems no particular reason why Lindsay's "Chronicle" went unpublished, apart from the author's preference: while somewhat biased towards the glory of the Lindsays, it was not politically or religiously tendentious in any way calculated to get him into trouble.¹³²

Miscellanea, Meditations, Memoratives (first printed 1604), was, like Lady Anna's book, written for her son, Bernye. More characteristic of the genre are mother-to-daughter volumes, such as Dorothy Leigh's *The Mother's Blessing* (first printed 1616), and Elizabeth Joscelyn, *The Mothers Legacie*, left by her in manuscript and printed on several occasions between 1624 and 1635 and in 1684. See further *Women's Writing in Stuart England: The Mothers' Legacies of Dorothy Leigh, Elizabeth Joscelyn and Elizabeth Richardson*, ed. Sylvia Brown (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999)

¹²⁹ NLS Acc 9769 84/1/19. It is bound in vellum with the distinctive yellow linen ties which many seventeenth-century Balcarres books possessed, though most of them have since lost them (Crawford I, p. 70).

¹³⁰ Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

¹³¹ NLS Acc 9769 84/1/1.

¹³² Eventually Lindsay of Pitscottie's *History* was published in 1728 by Robert Freebairn. The Scots were great readers of history: almost all accounts of noble libraries reveal a significant amount of historical

Balcarres's granddaughter Henrietta Lindsay's reflections on religion, though they might appear to be strictly private, were also scribally published, with her permission. The original seems not to survive, but it was copied by Robert Wodrow from an original 'in the hand of Mr J Anderson, who had it from my lady'.¹³³ English gentlewomen not infrequently permitted their writings to circulate in manuscript;¹³⁴ and in Scotland, a variety of narratives of seventeenth-century women's religious experience were disseminated in this fashion.¹³⁵

However, some types of writing went unpublished for more urgent reasons than feminine diffidence. In the seventeenth century, the Covenant, the Civil War, and the Glorious Revolution produced a variety of dissident voices uttering sentiments unacceptable to the authorities. This can be illustrated by a Lindsay manuscript of political verse and prose belonging to Colin, third Earl of Balcarres (NLS Acc 9769 19/6/1) which contains a variety of texts.¹³⁶ One, 'Tarquin and Tullia', probably by a Jacobite called Arthur Maynwaring, is likely to be copied from print, since it was anonymously issued by an unidentifiable publisher in London in 1689, but the identifiably Scots contents of this book are of works which were circulated in manuscript. They include Sir John Scott of Scotstarvit's curious and cynical meditation on Scottish politics, 'The Staggering State of Scots Statesmen', which was published only in 1754, and 'the Lord Balcarres his Memoir' (on the defeat of James II and accession of William II), by the third Earl himself; this, similarly, was not printed at the time it was written (1690), but survives in a number of manuscripts (including another from

writing, much of it relating to Scotland, so he could probably have found a publisher had he so wished. This Robert Lindsay was not a close connection of the Edzell/Balcarres Lindsays, but related to the Lindsays of Byres.

¹³³ NLS Wodrow MSS Octavo xxxi/8 (colophon). See *Women's Life Writing in Early Modern Scotland: Writing the Evangelical Self*, ed David George Mullan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 351. There is another copy in the Lindsay collections, NLS Acc 9769 84/1/3.

¹³⁴ Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 147-165.

¹³⁵ *The Exercise of a Private Christian, or Barbara Peebles' Trance* (dated 20 July 1660) must have enjoyed some circulation in Presbyterian circles since it survives in three copies, as does Jean Collace's *Some Short Remembrances of the Lord's Kindness to me*, similarly, there are two copies of Margaret Cunningham's autobiographic writings. Suzanne Trill, 'Early Modern Women's Writing in the Edinburgh Archives: A Preliminary Checklist', *Writing Women in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, ed Sarah Dunnigan *et al.* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004), pp. 201-25, p. 204.

¹³⁶ Scot, 'The Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen'.

Balcarres which seems to be the original), and was evidently circulated among the like-minded.¹³⁷

One further class of seventeenth-century manuscript codices which is particularly well represented in the Lindsay collections is that of complete scribal transcripts of printed books. There are many examples of this practice in Scotland. For instance, around 1600, one Adam Walker copied two popular medical works, the *Treasure of Poor Men* (there were ten London editions of this, from 1539-1575) and *Dietary of Health* (London, editions from 1542-76), while in 1661, another medically-minded Scot, Robert Fergusone, made a copy of *A rich Storehouse or Treasurie for the Diseased* (London, nine editions between 1596-1650).¹³⁸ Manuscripts such as these come about because the copyist either could not afford a printed copy of the book he wanted, or, also very possible at that time, he could borrow the one he had seen, but not find one to buy. However, there may have been other motivations as well. Among Balcarres's autograph manuscripts in the Lindsay archive is an 'epitome of Guiccardin's History in Latin'. Francesco Guicciardini's *La historia d'Italia*, was a substantial work in quarto and the library contained the 1565 Venice edition (**793**). Making an abbreviated version was in this case more probably a form of commonplacing. Another epitome from the library, probably the work of Balcarres's son and heir Alexander Lindsay, is interesting in a different way, since it is of a book which many Scots would have considered very important indeed and would not have been hard to find. It is untitled but is in fact a drastically shortened version of John Calvin's *Institutiones Christianae Religionis*, breaking off unfinished in book IV, ch. 6.¹³⁹ Here we can see copying being used as a pedagogical tool, a means of digesting and engaging with an important text.

It also has to be remembered that building up a scholarly library in Scotland in the 1620s and 30s was not easy and would have required regular purchases furth of the realm, something indicated by Drummond's envious reference to David "having so good intelligence abroad".¹⁴⁰ There were booksellers in Edinburgh,

¹³⁷ NLS Acc 9769 19/6/2, 'Memories of the late revolution in Scotland in the years 1688, 1689 by the Right Honourable Colin, Earl of Ballcarras', with five copies containing rewriting. It was printed, without Balcarres's permission and for the purposes of Whig polemic, in 1714, reprinted in 1754, and re-edited and presented to the Bannatyne Club by the 25th Earl in 1841.

¹³⁸ Edinburgh, University Library MS Dc 8 130, NLS MS Acc. 5171.

¹³⁹ NLS 9769 16/7/1.

¹⁴⁰ Crawford I, p. 72.

but not many, and they carried a limited stock, since the market within Scotland was small. Of all sectors of society, it was the ministers of the church who had the greatest need for books. Protestant clerics were supposed to be learned, and many of them were, but they were not well paid, so their ability to buy books was limited, and they did not constitute much of a market.¹⁴¹ Alastair Mann, historian of Scotland's book trade, comments that 'the early modern clergy were the most consistent customers for the Scottish book trade in this period, as can be seen from the many clerical debtors in the testaments of book traders'.¹⁴² But the fact that they were debtors also testifies to the ministers' inability to afford what they wanted, or felt they must have. Before 1616, only one of the ministers studied by Foster owned a library worth more than 200 merks. After that date, he found ten libraries worth 200 merks and upwards, which is still not very much: about £130 Scots, which is £11 sterling.¹⁴³ In 1633, Patrick Hume of Polwarth had trouble finding his preferred edition of the Greek New Testament for sale and asked Robert Kerr, Earl of Ancrum, who was in London, for help: 'I wrote to zow before for a smallest volume of Greik New Testament of Henricus Stephanus print, bund in tua partes for my poket, quhilk I expect ze will bring with zour self'.¹⁴⁴ It should be borne in mind, though, that this does not necessarily indicate a lack of Greek New Testaments *per se* on the Scottish market, but rather a lack of Henri Estienne's edition, which Hume probably wanted as much for its dissertation on the literary style of the apostles, a widely admired work, as for the Biblical text.¹⁴⁵

Because their market was constrained, Scottish printers of the mid-seventeenth century leaned heavily on a diet of psalters, catechisms, schoolbooks, government publications, university theses, and a few standard classics (among which the works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount continued to bulk large) for most of their ordinary output. Booksellers imported additional stock: sixteenth-century Scottish booksellers had imported almost all their

¹⁴¹ Lynch, 'Preaching to the converted?', p. 312.

¹⁴² Alastair J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade, 1500-1720, Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), p. 65.

¹⁴³ Walter Roland Foster, *The Church before the Covenant* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1975), p. 168.

¹⁴⁴ *The Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr, First Earl of Ancrum, and his son William, Third Earl of Lothian*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: for the Roxburghe Club, 1875), I, p. 77.

¹⁴⁵ cf. the admiring comments by Richard Simon later in the century, Simon, *A Critical History of the Text of the New Testament* (London: Printed for R. Taylor, 1689), 84.

classical texts from Antwerp, entirely in Latin, and in the first half of the seventeenth century, continued to maintain strong links with the continent. They still did not bring in many books from England.¹⁴⁶

It is instructive, in this context, to look at the books Balcarres identifies as bought in Scotland. Of the thirteen which have been identified, only one - Smeton's *Ad Hamiltonii dialogum* (**1546**) - was printed in Scotland and only one more - Heydon's *Defence of Judiciall Astrologie* (**828**) - printed in England. All but two are in Latin, the exceptions being Heydon above and two works in French. They include Juvenal (**940**), Cicero (**370**), Sallust (**1460**), and Horace (**860**), a standard law-text, a medical work, and some theology.

[PLACE ILLUSTRATION 10 HERE]

[PLACE ILLUSTRATION 11 HERE]

Only a few of his purchases made in Scotland reach beyond university teaching-texts, the sort of books he was made to read as a schoolboy in 1603. Examples of more obscure works include an edition of Petrarch (**1285**), and a French book, Louis le Roi's *La Vicissitude ou Variete Des Choses En l'Univers* (**1006**). These purchases also have another interesting feature in common, which is that most of them were more than fifty years old. There was no antiquarian book market in the first half of the seventeenth century: these purchases were not antiquarian - i.e., more expensive - so much as second-hand, and probably cheaper than newer editions. Balcarres is most unlikely to have been buying old books as a matter of deliberate choice, but rather, he was picking up texts which interested him as functional parts of his library.¹⁴⁷ When he was buying books in Paris and London, the books acquired are mostly much newer, just a few years old. This indicates the limitations of what was on offer in Edinburgh. Balcarres could find standard classics there, albeit in older editions such as his 1528 Horace (**860**), for which he paid 50s. in 1633 or his 1523 Sallust (**1460**), which cost only 24s. in 1603. What new

¹⁴⁶ Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade*, p. 73. Thomas Vautrollier despatched a consignment of 252 books from London to Leith in 1586: the only 'literature', whether English or Latin, included was two copies of John Lydgate's *The Destruction of Troy*, which was about 150 years old by then. Donald Robertson, 'A Packet of Books for Scotland', *The Bibliothek* 6 (1971-3) 52-3.

¹⁴⁷ Jensen, *Revolution*, p. 77-9.

books were available on the Edinburgh market were considerably more expensive, such as the copy of Jean Lorin's 1617 *Commentarii in sapientiam* (1054) which cost him £4 10s. in 1613, a large sum even in Scots money. For more exotic reading, he had to look further afield.

The book trade in London was much bigger and centred on St Paul's churchyard. Apart from new books, imported books were available, and also second-hand books. Similarly, in early modern Paris, the Rue Saint Jacques was the book-hunter's mecca (like St Paul's churchyard, it had been a centre for the book trade since before the invention of printing). In 1608, the English traveller Thomas Coryat found the Rue St Jacques (which he calls Via Jacobaea) 'very full of booksellers that have faire shoppes most plentifully furnished with bookes'.¹⁴⁸ Notes on his purchases reveal that Balcarres studied in Paris from 1607-12, as we have seen, and subsequently bought books in London in 1630, St Andrews in 1631, Paris in 1632, Amsterdam in 1633, and both Paris and London in 1634.¹⁴⁹

A variety of books survive from the sojourn in France (1607-12) where he seems to have studied law. Apart from the *dictata* already mentioned, another handwritten book which suggests some real interest in the civil law is a copy of a set of public competition lectures to choose the successor to the professor of law at Poitiers, Bonaventure Irland, in 1608.¹⁵⁰ Irland had succeeded his father Robert (a Scot) and was one of several Scots to hold chairs in that university, which may have drawn Lindsay's interest.¹⁵¹ These are almost certainly transcripts of printed pamphlets, though they may not survive as such.¹⁵² Balcarres may well have spent time in Poitiers. As David Allan observes, 'If a stay in Paris was desirable for social as much as for educational reasons, then Poitiers, Orléans and Bourges afforded unrivalled access to the civil law, certainly Europe's most stimulating and inventive academic discipline by the end of the sixteenth century' - and Balcarres's

¹⁴⁸ J.F. Kellas Johnstone, *Bibliographia Aberdonensis: being an account of books relating to or printed in the shires of Aberdeen, Banff, Kincardine, or written by natives or residents or by officers, graduates, or alumni of the Universities of Aberdeen*, 2 vols (Aberdeen: for the Spalding Club, 1929-30), II, p. xxxiv.

¹⁴⁹ See chapter three.

¹⁵⁰ NLS MS Acc 9769 14/8/5.

¹⁵¹ The much-published Adam Blackwood was another.

¹⁵² Seventeenth-century universities tended to print such material, and a contemporary Poitiers printer, Antoine Mesner, was describing himself as 'University and Royal Printer' (Regis et Academiae Typographus), which makes it even more likely.

interest in civil law is beyond doubt.¹⁵³ He also bought printed books on this trip: an edition of Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius (**342**) bought in 1609 reflects his continued interest in Latin verse, and the *sententiae* of Cicero (**387**), acquired in the same year, shows that he was still interested in collecting quotable quotes.

The theological books in Lord Balcarres's library cover a very wide spectrum from an almost-antiquarian copy of the 1538 Rome edition of the exiled English Cardinal Pole's *Pro Ecclesiae unitatis defensione* (**1336**), bought in Edinburgh for a mere 28s. in July 1613, or James Laing's explicitly counter-reformation attack on leaders of the reformation and praise of the Jesuit martyr Edmund Campion, *De Vita et Moribus Theo. Bezae* (**240**), published at Paris in 1585 to John Donne's explicitly anti-catholic satire, *Ignatius his Conclave* (**497**).

[PLACE ILLUSTRATION 12 HERE]

He owned a number of English classics of Anglican protestantism, unified by their opposition to the extremes of puritanism. As well as a 1634 London edition of the *Common Prayer* (**243**), these included the 1603 *Sermons* of John Jewell (**893**), and Richard Hooker's *Of the lawes of ecclesiastical politie* (**857**). His breadth of reading interests is attested by his ownership of both Catholic (Lyon, 1520; **193**) and Lutheran (Hanover, 1624; **197**) texts of the Latin Bible.

A similar tolerance would seem to have attended his household, in that, despite his own initial support for the Parliament in 1638, he would have appeared to have built the detached chapel at Balcarres in 1635 for his wife Sophia Seton, who had been at least brought up as a Catholic. If the aumbry or Sacrament House in that building were to prove to be of a date with the rest of the structure,¹⁵⁴ rather than antiquarian re-use from another building, then the conclusion that it must have been built for religious observance with a reserved Sacrament is inescapable. This would make it the first purpose-built Roman Catholic chapel in Britain to be constructed after the reformation.

¹⁵³ David Allan, "'Ane Ornament to Yow and Your Famelie': Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun and the Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland," *Scottish Historical Review*, 80.1 (209) (April, 2001), 24-44, p. 30.

¹⁵⁴ See John Gifford, *The Buildings of Scotland, Fife* (London: Penguin, 1988), p. 83. He describes the style of the aumbry as 'late gothic' and leaves the question open.

Family tradition relating to this building is that it was unroofed soon after it was built. Lady Anne Barnard (1751-1825) wrote, 'the chapel ... was built by a Catholic grandmother who finding that when she finished she would be obliged to pay the stipend of a clergyman appointed by the Bishop, thought it more prudent ... add a few appropriate ornaments in the Gothic taste and to apply it to the solemn but necessary purpose of a family Mausoleum which it now is'.¹⁵⁵ Balcarres, who seems to have been a Presbyterian, might well have jibbed at supporting a Catholic chaplain, but the Catholic hierarchy would hardly have insisted that a chapel must have a chaplain, and certainly could not have enforced this. Conceivably, the Episcopalian archbishop of St Andrews might have taken this line, and, since this building was completed only two years before the national Covenant, supported by Lord Balcarres, the family may have decided that the building was not expressing their stance. Lady Anne Barnard's account does not resolve the issues it raises, but it perhaps increases the likelihood that the 'late gothic' aumbry was a subsequent addition.

While many of Lord Balcarres's interests were absolutely standard for his milieu - classical literature, theology and history - he also had a strong interest in practical science, shading to alchemy, and even to witchcraft, which is less common, though far from unparalleled. Witchcraft was a major issue in Balcarres's lifetime, and Fife and the Lothians were precisely the area which saw the most intensive and repeated persecution of witches (notably in 1629-30).¹⁵⁶ As is well known, James VI firmly believed in black magic - his *Daemonologie* was published in 1597. Lord Balcarres may have done so as well. He owned Girolamo Menghi's treatise on exorcism, *Flagellum daemonum* (1615), and Jean Bodin's highly paranoid *De magorum daemonomania libri IV* (1581).¹⁵⁷ The latter was also owned by Seton, and (along with the better-known *Malleus Maleficarum*), by Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ Lord Crawford, pers. comm.

¹⁵⁶ Christina Larner, *Enemies of God* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1981), p. 81.

¹⁵⁷ Barker, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, p. 43, also records that Lord Lindsay noted that copies of Johann Wier, *De Praestigiis daemonum* (1568) and Giambattista della Porta, *Magia Naturalis* (1569) survived from the first Lindsay library, which presumably belonged to Balcarres; though they seem subsequently to have wandered out of the collection.

¹⁵⁸ Davidson, "Alexander Seton", 337, and *The Warrender Papers*, ed. A.I. Cameron, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1931), II, pp. 399, 403.

The paradigm of the early modern Scottish witch is an elderly, poor, and socially isolated female.¹⁵⁹ Magic could, of course, be used to trump up a charge against a noble individual (such as William Ruthven, first Earl of Gowrie, executed on charges which included sorcery).¹⁶⁰ However, some members of the élite seem genuinely to have experimented in that direction. The Ruthven family were persistently linked with the pursuit of occult knowledge, not all of which can be put down to politics.¹⁶¹ Archibald Napier of Merchiston, father of the famous mathematician, was put on trial with the then Lyon king of arms, Sir William Stewart of Luthrie, for treason and witchcraft in 1568–9, accused of summoning and worshipping a spirit called Obirion [Oberon?], at Merchiston and elsewhere, and using ‘Italian’ incantations in order to divine the future for political advantage: from the description of their crime in the arraignment, they were engaged in Neoplatonic invocation of daimons rather than traditional witchcraft.¹⁶²

More than twenty years later, Lord Menmuir was not above hinting that Napier’s mining expertise was achieved with supernatural assistance, ‘be the spirit of divination’, so the reputation of being a magus must have hung about him.¹⁶³ George Erskine of Innertiel, who seems to have been a personal friend of Balcarres, produced a notorious practical treatise on how to conjure spirits in 1602, *Arbatel: de magia vetum* (first published in Basel in 1575).¹⁶⁴ In the next generation, John Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale and cousin and bosom friend of Balcarres’s eldest son, Alexander, was also fascinated by the supernatural.¹⁶⁵ The *Canons*

¹⁵⁹ Larner, *Enemies of God*, p. 89.

¹⁶⁰ Sharon Adams, ‘Ruthven, William, fourth Lord Ruthven and first earl of Gowrie (c.1543–1584)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004, online)

¹⁶¹ Keith Brown, *Noble Society*, p. 224.

¹⁶² P.G. Maxwell-Stuart, *Satan’s Conspiracy: Magic and Witchcraft in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001), pp. 57–59.

¹⁶³ Napier, *Memoirs of John Napier*, p. 232. Napier’s nephew Richard, who lived in England, also had a great reputation as a magician who regularly conversed with angelic spirits. See John Aubrey, *Miscellanies*, in *Three Prose Works*, ed. John Buchanan-Brown (Fontwell: Centaur Press, 1972), pp. 101–2.

¹⁶⁴ ‘Arbatel: the magik of the auncient Philosophers, the cheiff studie of wisdom ...1602, Februarii xiiij’, Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians ERG 1/6/23.

¹⁶⁵ Giles Mandelbrote, ‘The Library of the Duke of Lauderdale’, *Ham House: 400 Years of Collecting and Patronage*, ed. Christopher Rowell (New

and Constitutions Ecclesiastical published in 1636 for the Church of Scotland lay down that ministers are forbidden ‘the study of unlawful arts or sciences, nor consult[ing] with those who are infamous for magick sorcerie or divination’ – the degree of élite involvement with the supernatural which can be discerned in Scotland at this time suggests why such a ruling might have been deemed necessary.¹⁶⁶

As far as the Lindsays are concerned, it is clear that Lord Balcarres was far more interested in alchemy than he was in magic. He was at the very least, moving in circles of active alchemists, whereas there is no indication that he was conjuring spirits, good, bad, or indifferent. The development in understanding of the physical world since Balcarres’s time makes alchemy now seem rather futile, but in the seventeenth century, it was a serious study, undertaken by intelligent men, some of whom were laying the foundations of modern chemistry.

The underlying problem with the alchemists’ endeavours is that, while they were committed to experiment and observation, they understood their results within terms of a series of unexamined and fallacious assumptions. One, obviously, is that God made the world and placed man in it as effective lord and master of a wholly legible Creation. It followed from this, as they saw things, that the physical world was comprehensible in human terms – hence a mathematician such as Kepler expending much ingenuity on trying to link the movement of the planets with the Platonic solids, because this would be an indication of divine order.¹⁶⁷

Another assumption was that there was a very small number of primal elements (three or one), which was coupled with a deep belief in hierarchical order as part of the underlying structure of things. This meant that metals could be arranged in ascending order of nobility from iron through copper and lead to silver to gold, and also that these, to us, atomically-distinct elements were fundamentally made of the same substance. Roger Bacon’s *Mirror of Alchemy* (115), for example, described how Nature created the hierarchy of metals from iron to gold, by varying combinations of two fundamental principles, mercury and sulphur.

Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 222–231, p. 227.

¹⁶⁶ P.G. Maxwell-Stuart, *Satan’s Conspiracy: Magic and Witchcraft in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001), p 196, points out that there were Protestant ministers who were practising magicians.

¹⁶⁷ Johann Kepler, *Harmonica Mundi* (Linz, Godofred Tampachius, 1619).

The practical implications of this are clarified by looking at a perfectly sound process for extracting copper, known since the Renaissance, and still in use in the nineteenth century. Copper ores dissolved in sulphuric acid yield copper sulphate; if one then adds iron, this precipitates the copper out of the solution. The procedure was published in a popular metallurgical handbook, Georgius Agricola's 1556 *De Re Metallica* (**16**). While laborious, it required lower temperatures than smelting, therefore less fuel, an issue when ore was being processed in quantity – the downside was that sulphuric acid was even more expensive than fuel. As a procedure, this is completely explicable in terms of modern chemistry. But it was understood by a sixteenth-century alchemist as 'transmuting of iron into copper with vitriol' – that is, he thought that the iron was 'turning into' higher-status copper.¹⁶⁸ This helps to explain why the Lindsays, having found iron ore, were in hopes of copper and lead.¹⁶⁹

Balcarres's reading in this area included some rare and esoteric works. It is unsurprising to find that a number of manuscript copies are in his own hand, made from printed books which, presumably, he was in a position to borrow but not buy. One volume, titled "Transcripts, 1631", consists of copies of three published works (he records which edition he is copying), the *Astrologia theologizata* (Frankfurt, 1617; **91**), Gerhard Dorn's *Dictionarium Theophrasti Paracelsi* (Frankfurt, 1584; **501**), and Michael Sendivogius's *Tactatus de sulphure* (Cologne, 1616; **1505**).¹⁷⁰

Quite a number of Lord Balcarres's books relate to the Philosopher's Stone. This was, alchemists believed, producible, after a series of long and delicate operations, and once made, would turn anything it touched into gold. As a miraculous object, it was completely compatible with the early modern framework of ideas about the physical world, and many highly respectable people vouched for having seen it in action. According to Sir Thomas Browne, Arthur Dee, son of the famous alchemist Dr John Dee, had 'seen [alchemical] projection made', and had confirmed 'with the highest asseverations ... unto his death that hee had ocularly,

¹⁶⁸ Glyn Parry, *The Arch-Conjuror of England: John Dee* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 88.

¹⁶⁹ Vladimír Karpenko, 'The Chemistry And Metallurgy Of Transmutation', *Ambix*, 39.2 (1992), 47–62.

¹⁷⁰ NLS MS Acc 9769 14/8/6. See Ignacio-Miguel Pascual-Valderrama & Joaquín Pérez-Pariente, "The Alchemical Manuscripts of David Lindsay (1587-1641), Lord Lindsay of Balcarres", *Ambix* 64.3 (2017), 234-262 at 243.

undeceavably & frequently beheld it in Bohemia', in his father's laboratory at Prague.¹⁷¹ Another aristocratic experimenter with a wholly practical bent, Mary Talbot, née Cavendish, received a description in 1609 from her employee Thomas Coke, then in Italy, of a nail which he had seen at the Medici court, partly transmuted into gold by the German alchemist Leonhard Thurneysser.¹⁷²

Lord Balcarres was one of a number of Scots who shared this fascination. The legendary medieval adept Michael Scot was not forgotten, but the new, Renaissance alchemy first appeared at the royal court in the first decade of the sixteenth century, since it was among the intellectual interests of James IV. He supported an Italian adept, John Damian de Falcuis, who extracted a small fortune from him between 1501 and 1508. Damian failed to make the Philosopher's Stone, though he remained on good terms with his employer.¹⁷³ A hundred years later, stories began to circulate about a Scottish alchemist from the Lothians, who went by the name of Alexander Seton, departed for the continent in 1602, and acquired the sobriquet of 'the Cosmopolite' (citizen of the cosmos) for his restless travels. His success in making gold was widely reported.¹⁷⁴ According to legend, Seton, having been imprisoned by the Elector of Saxony, was rescued by a Moravian called Michael Sendivogius, who married his widow, and published a version of his work, *Cosmopolite, ou Nouvelle Lumière de la physique naturelle*, in Paris in 1609. Other editions followed. Michael Sendivogius was of intense interest to Lord Balcarres, who, as well as the manuscript copy of the *Tractatus de sulphure* mentioned above,

¹⁷¹ Letter to Elias Ashmole, 25 January 1659, *Elias Ashmole (1617-1692): his autobiographical and historical notes*, ed. C. H. Josten, 5 vols. (London: Oxford University Press 1967), II, p. 755.

¹⁷² David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) pp. 21, 226 fn 31. Thurneysser (Tornaiser) is one of the alchemical writers whose work was collected by George Erkin (Edinburgh, College of Physicians ERG 1/4/20).

¹⁷³ For Damian see John Read, "Alchemy under James IV of Scotland", *Ambix* 2 (1938), 60-67, and Mario M. Ross, "L'abate aviatore", in *Friendship's Garland: Essays Presented to Mario Praz*, 2 vols. (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1966), I, pp. 43-80.

¹⁷⁴ E.J. Holmyard, *Alchemy* (Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1957), p. 225. While there is a certain amount of early modern evidence that 'Seton' existed, Włodzimierz Hubicki has suggested that the individual referred to was actually an Italian imposter, Girolamo Scotto of Parma. 'The Mystery of Alexander Seton, the Cosmopolite', *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of the History of Science*, 4 vols (Tokyo: Science Council of Japan, 1975), II, pp. 397-400.

also translated Sendivogius's *Novum lumen chymicum* into Scots in 1633 (1504).

Apart from this shadowy and probably spurious 'Alexander Seton', there were other Scots seriously interested in alchemy in Lord Balcarres's time. Patrick Ruthven, son of the fifth earl of Gowrie, similarly left an alchemical manuscript, written in 1629,¹⁷⁵ and so did Robert Napier, John Napier's son, who was the author of a tract called 'The Revelation of the Mystery of the Golden Fleece'.¹⁷⁶ The professional rivalry between Sir Archibald Napier and Lord Menmuir may have militated against the development of a friendship between their respective sons, despite a considerable range of interests in common. Be that as it may, there is no apparent connection between the alchemical work of the Napiers and Ruthvens on one side, and that of Lord Balcarres on the other.

The Napiers and Ruthvens were not the only alchemists in Lowland Scotland. George Erskine of Innertiel was another enthusiast, and he had a definite connection with Lord Balcarres – he may, in fact, be the principal source for the esoteric works which Balcarres copied. Erskine was about twenty years older (born c. 1567), but both men wrote an alchemical manuscript in the year 1633, so they were actively pursuing this interest simultaneously.¹⁷⁷ Erskine had received an excellent education since he was taught along with the young king and their cousin, John Erskine, later second Earl of Mar, by George Buchanan and Peter Young. In 1611, he acquired the lands of Invertiel, Fife, which in 1618 were incorporated into the barony of Invertiel, known then as Innerteil, and put him among the Fife gentry, along

¹⁷⁵ Edinburgh, University Library, MS DC 1 30.

¹⁷⁶ John Read, 'Scottish Alchemy in the Seventeenth Century', *Chymia* 1 (1948), 139–51. It is clear from the contents of Patrick Ruthven's manuscript that he was in touch with John Napier (pp. 147–8); but there is no overlap of rare texts between Ruthven and Balcarres (or Erskine). J.B. Craven, 'A Scottish Alchemist of the Seventeenth Century: David, Lord Balcarres', *Journal of the Alchemy Society* 1 (1913) 68–73, p. 69, suggests that a work published in London, *The Revelation of the Secret Spirit ... translated into English by R.N.E. gentleman*, might also be his (interpreting the initials as 'Robert Napier, esquire').

¹⁷⁷ This manuscript of Erskine's is not among those now in the Edinburgh Royal College of Physicians's library. It entered the Marquis of Bute's collection and was sold at Christie's, London (lot 326/sale 5353; present whereabouts unknown). The text is *Lapis philosophicus siue liber veri aureus de perfectissima Lapidis Philosophici ratione, inventione et confectiione*, by C.V.M (unidentified). It is signed 'George Areskyn 2 August 1633' on the title page.

with his brother, the Earl of Kellie, whose seat at Kellie Castle is within a few miles of Balcarres.¹⁷⁸

Erskine amassed a considerable library of alchemical texts. His library of printed books does not survive, but a collection of manuscript copies in a wide variety of hands has been preserved; some may have been bought as manuscripts, others copied for him by amanuenses (one has written on its reverse, 'For my very good lord My Lord Innerteill').¹⁷⁹ They have been bound up in groups in no discernable order. According to his grandson, the Earl of Cromarty, who presented the resulting codices to the College of Physicians in Edinburgh, Erskine had links with alchemical adepts on the continent. Cromarty had seen 'letters directed from one Dr Politius (a Polonian or Silesian) to my grandfather, [who] had a correspondence in very remote parts with the sonnes of Hermes'. This individual has been tentatively identified as Dr Jodocus Pellitius (Polytius) of Hamburg, court physician to Duke Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1564-1613). Duke Heinrich was deeply interested in alchemy, and married to Anne of Denmark's sister Elizabeth, which gave him English connections.¹⁸⁰

However, what is clear from the collections now in the Sibbald Library is that Erskine had equally significant links with 'sons of Hermes' in England. His collection contains a great deal of alchemical literature originating in England, written by adepts such as George Ripley, Thomas Charnock, John Dastin, Thomas Norton, William Blomfield, Percy the Black Monk (i.e, a Benedictine), Edward Kelley, and others. Many of the texts he owned were later collected by Elias Ashmole in his *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, (1652), but in the early years of the seventeenth century, they must, for the most part, have been still circulating as manuscripts (though a few had reached print: Ripley's *Compound of Alchymy* was published in 1591).

There was no shortage of alchemists in Stuart London who could have corresponded with a Scots enthusiast such as Balcarres: Johannes Huniades, for instance, a Hungarian domiciled in London, who was giving regular courses of chemistry in London in the 1630s. But one possible source who is perhaps particularly worth dwelling on is William Backhouse, 'a most renown'd chymist, Rosicrucian, and a great encourager of those that studied

¹⁷⁸ ODNB, s.n.

¹⁷⁹ Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians ERG 1/6/22.

¹⁸⁰ Peter G. B. McNeill, 'Erskine, Sir George, of Innerteil, Lord Innerteil (c.1567-1646)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004, online).

chymistry and astrology', as Anthony à Wood describes him. The reason why he is possibly relevant is that his collection of alchemical documents passed to Elias Ashmole and formed the basis of the latter's *Theatrum*; and many of these texts were known to Erskine.¹⁸¹

Given that these texts were far from easy to get hold of, particularly in Scotland, the fact that some of the manuscript texts in Erskine's collection are also found in that of Lord Balcarres strongly suggests that they were sharing and discussing them. Among the English works copied by both men are treatises by Roger Bacon, Thomas Charnock, and John Dastin. Balcarres also translated a number of alchemical texts in Scots, including John Bunbelam's *Stella complexionis* (**281**), Thomas Charnock's *Breviarie of Naturall Philosophie* (**356**), John Dastin's *Dreame* (**452**), Andreas Libavius's *Syntagmatis arcanorum chymicorum* (**1025**), Marcellus Palingenius's *Zodiacus vitae* (**1257**), Philippe Rouillac's *Theorik* (**1442**) Michael Sendivogius's *Novum Lumen Chymicum* discussed above (**1504**), and John Thornborough's *Treatise on Chemistry* (**1621**).¹⁸²

[PLACE ILLUSTRATION 13 HERE]

Erskine, who was clearly experimenting for himself, left a collection of notes and extracts which he had found practically useful, which include 'Notes out of Novum Lumen'.¹⁸³ Which man (if either) actually owned the original Latin book is, for the moment, beyond recovery.

One of the most important texts they both owned is *Fama Fraternitatis* (**610**), the manifesto of the Rosicrucians. Manuscripts of the *Fama*, which seems first to have been written in German, circulated from c. 1610, and it was first printed (in Kassel, Germany) in 1614. An English translation was published by Thomas Vaughan in 1652, based, he says, on a translation by 'an unknown hand'.¹⁸⁴ This unknown translation must have been around for some time, since Lord Balcarres's 1633 collection of alchemical tracts

¹⁸¹ Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops who Have Had Their Education in the University of Oxford : to which are Added the Fasti Or Annals of the Said University*, ed. Philip Bliss, 4 vols (London, P.C. and J. Rivington, 1848), III, pp. 576-7; C. H. Josten, 'William Backhouse of Swallowfield', *Ambix* 4 (1949-51), 1-33

¹⁸² NLS Acc 9769 14/8/9

¹⁸³ Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians ERG 1/6/33, 34.

¹⁸⁴ Frances Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, (London, Methuen, 1972), p. 237.

includes a Scoto-English version of *Fama Fraternitatis* closely similar to that of Vaughan, and apparently acquired from George Erskine, whose collection also includes it.¹⁸⁵

The Scots manuscripts are the earliest surviving witnesses to this English translation. The syntax is English, so it is unlikely to be the work of Erskine or Balcarres, both of whom wrote a full system of Scots: here, individual words are spelt in Scots style, but that was perfectly normal when a writer of Scots copied an English text (it has to be remembered that spelling was highly individualistic until the eighteenth century), but the grammar is English. One small but interesting point of divergence from Vaughan's later version is a line in the second paragraph, which refers, in the printed text, to 'Porphyry, Aristotle and Galen, yea, and that which hath a meer show of learning'. This is learned over-correction by Vaughan: the Erskine text gives '*Poperie*, Aristotle and Galen', which must be correct, since the German original has 'The Pope' here.¹⁸⁶

Erskine and Balcarres also share another major Rosicrucian text, 'Theophilus Sweighard' [Daniel Mögling]'s *Speculum Sopicum Rhodo-Stauroticum* (1178).¹⁸⁷ Again, this suggests a definite connection between the two men, since the text as published in 1618 is in German, and these copies are both Latin. There is other evidence of an early Latin translation, notably in a manuscript now in London, of unknown origin.¹⁸⁸

A third text they have in common is attributed to Jhone Bristoll.¹⁸⁹ I can find no trace of it outside these two manuscripts. This is an intriguing little work since it is addressed to a noblewoman, anxious to learn the art of distillation:

Guid Madame, understanding that zou haue a desyr to spent zour hours fred [freed] from greater occasions in distilling waters and extracting tincturs, I thoctt guid to wreat to zour la: [ladyship] hou mutch the ladie Alchimie rejoyses that a ladie of zour birth and worth will voutchaf [vouchsafe] to com and knock at hir first and outmost gaites.

¹⁸⁵ See also Pascual-Valderrama and Pérez-Pariente, "Alchemical Manuscripts", 244.

¹⁸⁶ Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p. 238.

¹⁸⁷ Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians ERG 1/6/1-47, NLS 9769 14/8/8

¹⁸⁸ London, University College MS Phill 89. This interleaves the printed German text with a Latin translation.

¹⁸⁹ Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians ERG 1/6/32, and NLS 9769 14/8/8, ff. 217-239.

This may, again, be English, though no 'John Bristoll' is identifiable: a variety of Englishwomen were interested in alchemical experiments, even Queen Elizabeth herself, as were women elsewhere in Europe.¹⁹⁰ It is certainly possible that there was Scots noblewomen with interests in practical science, though it is not immediately possible to identify them.

It is important to recognise that for all the Rosicrucianism and mysticism in these collections, both Erskine and Balcarres were hard-headed, and their intentions, at least, were practical. As well as *Fama Fraternitatis*, Balcarres owned Bernardus Caesius's *Mineralogia, sive naturalis philosophiae thesauri* (**295**), and certainly made a copy of Jean du Châtelet, Baron de Beausoleil's, *Archetypus verae philosophiae de materia prima lapidis* (**361**)- as he often did, he has copied the titlepage.¹⁹¹ Du Châtelet was an alchemist, but also a serious student of minerals, a hugely experienced miner, and employed as an expert prospector by the French state. Erskine's collection similarly includes a rough English translation of a major German work on mining and metallurgy: Lazarus Ercker's *Beschreibung aller fürnemisten Mineralischen Ertzt und Berckwecksarten* (Frankfurt, 1598) - all of which suggests that, however superficially fantastical the means, the end is the prosaic one of exploiting mineral resources.¹⁹²

One of the most striking features of Lord Balcarres's book collection is how much scientific writing it includes. Apart from these numerous volumes on alchemy, which in the context of the time, can be reckoned a scientific pursuit, there is a significant interest in mathematics and in astronomy. Balcarres owned an early work on practical astronomy, Jean Pierre de Mesme, *Institutions Astronomiques* (**1166**), inherited from Lord Menmuir along with a mathematical text on sines,¹⁹³ so astronomical science was an inherited interest. This he supplemented with a considerable investment in astronomical works: an edition of Copernicus (**418**), an up to date volume of ephemerides issued in

¹⁹⁰ Penny Bayer, 'From Kitchen Hearth to Learned Paracelsianism: Women and Alchemy in the Renaissance', *Mystical Metal of Gold, Essays on Alchemy and Renaissance Culture*, ed. Stanton J. Linden (Brooklyn, NY, AMS Press, 2007), pp. 365-386.

¹⁹¹ NLS Acc 9769 14/8/8.

¹⁹² Warren Alexander Dym, 'Alchemy and Mining: Metallogenesis and Prospecting in Early Mining Books', *Ambix*, 55.3 (November 2008), 232-254.

¹⁹³ Petrus Apian, *Instrvmentum Sinuum, Seus Primi Mobilis* (**53**).

1621, covering up to 1640 and bought by him in 1625 (**70**), and Tommaso Campanella's defence of Galileo (**316**; bound together with four other tracts by the same author) were among them. He copied out a Dutch tract on astronomy,¹⁹⁴ and also bought everything he could lay hands on by Johannes Kepler, Tycho Brahe's assistant and successor in Rudolf II's observatory at Prague –eleven volumes in all (**951-961**). Balcarres was certainly interested in the controversy surrounding Galileo and was probably the purchaser of the library's copy of Galileo's 1638 *Discorsi e dimostrazioni matematiche* (**671**).

But other books which Balcarres certainly owned are also, if indirectly, relevant to astronomy. Among other mathematical treatises, he had Adriaan Metius's *Arithmeticae* (**1168**), which included a section on trigonometry, Bartholomeus Pitiscus on trigonometry (**1311**), and Johann Stöffler on how to make and use an astrolabe (**1577**), a device for establishing the positions of stars. The significance of this is that the principal use for trigonometry in the early seventeenth century was astronomy.¹⁹⁵ All of this suggests that Lord Balcarres was a practical astronomer.

Astronomy was essentially mathematical as a discipline: in order to understand the movement of stars one had to plot their course, in turn dependent on taking thousands of observations. It became enormously interesting to intelligent people in the later sixteenth century, because this slow, patient process of observation had blown a hole – two holes – in the conceptual model of the universe which had served Europe for more than two thousand years. Tycho Brahe's observation of a new star (a 'supernova') in 1572 destroyed the notion of the fixed sphere of the unchanging heavens which went back to the ancient Greeks. The belief that the planets moved round the earth each attached to a transparent sphere was also destroyed by Tycho Brahe, who by careful and meticulous observation of comets, was able to show that they moved freely through the antique cosmology's 'crystal spheres', which therefore could not exist.¹⁹⁶ Balcarres's intense concern with astronomy was one which he shared with those of his contemporaries moving towards what we would consider a modern and 'evidential' view of nature and the solar system.

¹⁹⁴ NLS 9769 14/8/1, G. Leyden, 'Doctrina Sphaeri methodice composita', Dordrecht, 1600.

¹⁹⁵ A. Keller, 'The physical nature of man: science, medicine, mathematics', *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland*, ed. J. MacQueen (1990), 97-122, p. 115.

¹⁹⁶ T.G. Cowling, *Isaac Newton and Astrology* (Leeds: Leeds University Press, 1997), p. 9.

Mathematics and/or astronomy were not unusual interests among educated Scots of his generation: a number of Balcarres's contemporaries were keenly interested in the mathematical sciences for their own sake, as an approach to God, for some practical reason, or any combination of the three. The most famous Scottish mathematician of Balcarres's generation is of course John Napier of Merchiston, but, as Arthur Williamson warns, he should not be seen as an isolated figure: there was 'a selfconscious group of Edinburgh mathematicians, astrologers and exegetes of which the Laird of Merchiston and the Reverend Pont were only the most famous'.¹⁹⁷ Robert Pont engaged in detailed, mathematically based work on chronology, notably *De Sabbaticorum annorum periodis chronologica a mundi exordio* (London, 1619), although this work is not in the library.¹⁹⁸

James Maxwell, confident enough in his mathematical ability that he was ambitious to study with Tycho Brahe,¹⁹⁹ was a younger member of this group, and so was James Hume, son of David Hume of Godscroft. James Hume published a number of mathematical works in Paris, and was, like Alexander Seton, interested in clocks.²⁰⁰ His intellectual links with Napier are apparent from his *Traité de la trigonométrie pour résoudre tous triangles rectilignes et sphériques, avec les démonstrations des deux célèbres propositions du baron de Merchiston non encore démontrées* (Paris, 1636). Lord Balcarres, though he did not publish, has clear intellectual links with this group, as has his father-in-law Alexander Seton, to whom both Napier and Pont dedicated work.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷ *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979), p. 103.

¹⁹⁸ It may be worth observing that there were also Scots Catholic chronographers, notably James Gordon of Lismore, author of *Chronologia annorum seriem* (Bordeaux, Simon Milangius 1611): interest in the sciences was not confined by confessional allegiance.

¹⁹⁹ James Maxwell, *A New Eight-Fold Probation of the Church of England's Divine Constitution* (London, John Legatt, 1617), sig. B1r.

²⁰⁰ Hume published *De l'analemme de Ptolomé. Ou Traitté des horologes* [probably in France, after 1636]: Seton owned Christopher Clavius's practical treatise on clocks, *Compendium brevissimum describendorum horologiorum horizontalium ac declinantium* (Rome: A. Zannettum, 1603) and Oronce Finé's book on sundials, *De solaribus horologiis, & quadrantibus* (Paris, [1560]); see Davidson, "Alexander Seton", 337). Horology was a thriving luxury trade in an age with few or very expensive clocks.

²⁰¹ Another possible member is William Douglas of Tofts, grandson of James, Earl of Morton and confidant of Robert Kerr, second Earl of Lothian: 'a gentleman of a good spirit, generous, and learned *in omni scibili*,

Napier's work on logarithms made difficult calculations relatively easy - indeed, astronomers such as Kepler and Newton could never have performed the complex calculations needed for their innovations without it. The French astronomer and mathematician Pierre Simon Laplace remarked, almost two centuries later, that Napier, by halving the labours of astronomers, had effectively doubled their lifetimes.²⁰²

Napier's last book, *Rhabdologia*, 1617, was dedicated to Alexander Seton, Lord Balcarres's friend and father-in-law: *Rhabdologia* was on his major invention of counting rods (sometimes called 'Napier's bones'), an aid to multiplication, long division, and even the extraction of square roots. Another mathematician and astronomer active in the immediate vicinity of Fife was Andrew Young, professor of philosophy at Edinburgh, who carried out astronomical observations there.²⁰³ He was also one of two Latin poets to salute both Napier's *Mirifici Logarithmorum Canonis Descriptio* (Edinburgh, 1614) and *Rhabdologia* (the other was Patrick Sands, perhaps the man of that name who became Principal of Edinburgh in 1620).

A variety of other seventeenth-century Scots were involved with scientific astronomy. Perhaps the earliest is James Bassendyne, whose *Astronomique discours* was first published in French in Lyons in 1557 and subsequently translated into Latin. Another Scot, James Cheyne of Arnage, was publishing on astronomy in the 1570s.²⁰⁴ John Craig (brother of Menmuir's colleague Sir Thomas Craig, the most prominent legal theorist of his day) taught mathematics, philosophy and medicine in Frankfurt, and was a mathematician and astronomer of some distinction. He was for a time a friend of the noble Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe, as was Craig's pupil, Duncan Liddel (Brahe, touchy and paranoid, eventually quarrelled with both Scots, but he quarrelled with almost everyone eventually). Craig returned to Scotland about

especially in the Mathematickes, wherein he had attained to so great a perfection, that he had no equal in his oune countrey, perhaps few in Christendome'. James Turner, *Memoirs of his Own Life and Times* (Edinburgh: for the Bannatyne Club, 1829), p. xiv.

²⁰² George Molland, 'Napier, John, of Merchiston (1550-1617)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004, online).

²⁰³ Keller, 'Physical nature', p. 117, John L. Russell, 'The Copernican System in Great Britain', *The Reception of Copernicus' Heliocentric Theory*, ed. Jerzy Dobrzycki (Dordrecht and Boston: Kluwer, 1973), pp. 189-239, p. 223.

²⁰⁴ James Cheyne (ca. 1545-1602), *De sphaerae seu globi coelestis fabrica, brevis praeceptio; eiusdem Anakephaleosis principium aliquot sphaerae usuum* (Douai: Joannes Bogard, 1575).

1582 where he worked on tables of sines, and he was personally known to Napier.²⁰⁵ On Craig's recommendation, Liddel moved on to Breslau in 1582 to study for a year with a famous astronomer and mathematician, Paul Wittich. Some of Wittich's notes on Copernicus are copied into one of Liddel's two copies of the latter's *De Revolutionibus*, now in Aberdeen University Library.²⁰⁶

Johann Kepler also included Scots among his friends and associates. One was an astronomer called James Wedderburn, one of the Wedderburns of Dundee, and author of a defence of Galileo, *Quatuor Problematum quae Martinus Horky contra Sidereum Nuntium de Quatuor Planetis Novis Disputanda Proposuit, Confutatio* (Padua, 1610). He knew Galileo personally, but after the latter moved to Florence, Wedderburn went to Prague where he became a friend of Kepler's: in the dedication of Kepler's *Nova Stereometria* (1613) Kepler refers to him as 'my very close friend' (mihi amicissimus) and describes him as an excellent mathematician. Like many Scots of his time, he made his career abroad, principally as physician to the Prince von Lichtenstein, though he left money for the sangschule in his native city of Dundee, showing that he did not entirely lose touch with Scotland.²⁰⁷

Kepler's other Scottish friend was Thomas Seget, a wandering scholar and fine Latin poet who came from Seton - Kepler records Seget and himself looking for the moons of Jupiter together in the autumn of 1610; confirming Galileo's epoch-making discovery of satellites which did not go round the earth.²⁰⁸ But Thomas Seget was in the Lothians, making a living as a schoolmaster, when Lindsay was a young boy: in the summer of 1594, Alexander Seton ignored the presbytery of Haddington's warning against employing Seget (a Catholic, as of course was Alexander Seton) to give a funeral sermon on one of his brothers.²⁰⁹ A couple of months after this defiance of the kirk, Seget popped up

²⁰⁵ Keller, 'Physical nature', p.117.

²⁰⁶ H.J.H, Drummond, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501-1600, in Aberdeen University Library* (Oxford, 1979), nos. 1219-20, p. 63.

²⁰⁷ Keller, 'Physical nature', p. 114

²⁰⁸ Edward Rosen, 'Thomas Seget of Seton', *Scottish Historical Review* 28 (1947) 91-5.

²⁰⁹ Keith Brown, *Noble Society*, p. 264. Seget appears to have matriculated at the University of Leiden in 1589; after intensive humanist study under Justus Lipsius, he returned to Edinburgh in 1595. Ö. Szabolcs Barlay, 'Thomas Seget's (from Edinborough) Middle European connections in reflection of Cod. Vat. Lat. 9385', *Magyar Könyvzsemlé* 97 (1981) 204-220, p. 208.

in (Catholic) Antwerp, and never again returned to Scotland.²¹⁰ He came to Prague fifteen years later, in April, 1610, where he found a number of friends acquired in Italy, including Johann Mattheus Wacker, previously emperor Rudolf's ambassador to the Vatican,²¹¹ and Johannes Leo, with whom he had studied law at Padua. Galileo, who was then in Padua, sent his latest work, the *Sidereus nuncius* (published in March) to Kepler, via Wacker, with the request that Seget should give it to him – as was done, since Kepler says as much in his letter of thanks.²¹²

There is no evidence that Seget stayed in touch with Alexander Seton (though it is worth noting that Seton owned the complete works of Justus Lipsius, Seget's friend and patron in the years immediately after he left Scotland). However, he met both a William Seton, possibly Alexander's brother, and Balcarres's Catholic uncle Walter Lindsay in Louvain in 1597.²¹³ It is also interesting to note that the intellectual milieu of Prague was intensely concerned with alchemy as well as with astronomy. Seget's friend Johannes Leo was married to an English woman Latin poet, Elizabeth Jane Weston, the stepdaughter of the alchemist Sir Edward Kelley, and was the agent of Christian van Anhalt,²¹⁴ an enthusiastic Calvinist, deeply involved in mystical and Paracelsist movements, and patron of Oswald Croll, Cabalist, Paracelsist and alchemist. Croll had recently died when Seget arrived in Prague in 1610, but another potential link between Balcarres and intellectual circles in Prague is offered by Erskine of Innerteil: as we have seen, he was probably in touch with Dr Judocus Pellitius, and Pellitius's employer, Duke Heinrich Julius of

²¹⁰ His *album amicorum*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vat. Lat. 9385, yields information about his peregrinations in the late '90s. It has been published by Stefano Gattei as "The Wandering Scot: Thomas Seget's *album amicorum*", *Nuncius* 28 (2013): 345-463.

²¹¹ Seget's long friendship with Wacker is also evidenced by 'Ad perillustum et amplissimum virum Joannem Matthaeum à Wackenfels Sac. Caes^{ae} Mtⁱ à Consiliis et Relationibus Aulicis', in *Thomae Segheti Britannii Idyllia Duo* (Kraków, Andreas Petricovius, 1611).

²¹² 'VI. Idus Aprilis per Thomam Segethū exemplari Nuncii Siderei ...'. Kepler's answer to Galileo was printed in *Narratio de observatis a se quatuor Jovis satellitibus erroribus*, (Frankfurt, Zacharias Palthenius, 1611).

²¹³ Gattei, 395-396 (Lindsay), 429 (Seton). In 1596, Spanish sources speak of Lindsay as in Spain, negotiating with the government under the pseudonym of Don Balthasar. He must then have gone to Italy. While abroad he composed his *Relación del estado del reyno de Escocia, en lo tocante a nuestra religion catolica*, which was printed in Madrid in 1594.

²¹⁴ On whom see Frances Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, pp. 36–7.

Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, moved to Prague in 1607 to pursue alchemical research.²¹⁵

Balcarres's intellectual interests thus put him in close proximity to some of the more notable scientists of his day, and there is a variety of possible chains of connection which may help to account for the more esoteric elements in his library. For all his learning, he seems never to have pursued the sort of career which had engrossed his father. Michael Lynch has observed that, after James assumed the English throne, 'Scottish politics ... would also unfold in the labyrinthine, faction-ridden maze of the London court. For the remainder of the century, successful Scottish politicians had to be able to move freely in both environments, creating and being a part of bonds of clientage in each'.²¹⁶

Balcarres was not the man for such a life. He travelled periodically, since he bought books in London, Paris and Amsterdam, but the temper of his life was domestic and scholarly. In this, he was sensitive to another intellectual current of his time, neo-Stoicism.²¹⁷ This was a philosophical and literary movement, closely related to developments in legal humanism, which included among its most notable writers Justus Lipsius in the Netherlands, whose works were owned by Seton, and in France, Philippe du Plessis Mornay, a favourite of Balcarres' son Alexander, and Michel de Montaigne, whose *Essays*, in John Florio's translation, were part of Balcarres' own library. These writers looked back to the Stoic political theorists of antiquity, such as Seneca, Epictetus and Tacitus. Sceptical of the venality of public life and the moral compromises required by making a career, the neo-Stoics praised the virtues of moderation, self-control, and a retired and private way of life.²¹⁸ As we have seen, Lord Menmuir seems to have taken Seneca's moral views to heart. Balcarres's 1603 book of excerpts from classical authors, perhaps made under the eye of Lord Seton, begins with Justus Lipsius, and he also read Seneca's plays. This book consists almost entirely of excerpts from poets, so we should not look to find excerpts from Tacitus.

²¹⁵ R.I. McCallum, 'Sir George Erskine of Innerteil (c.1570-1646) and the Royal College Of Physicians of Edinburgh', *Journal of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh* 32 (2002), 214-225, p. 210.

²¹⁶ Michael Lynch, *The New Penguin History of Scotland* (London: Penguin, 2001), p. 235

²¹⁷ For Neo-Stoicism in Scotland during this period see David Allan, *Philosophy and Politics in Later Stuart Scotland: Neo-Stoicism, Culture and Ideology in an Age of Crisis, 1540-1689* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000).

²¹⁸ Allan, "'Ane Ornament to Yow and Your Famelie'", p. 32.

Towards the end of his life, Balcarres was able to realise a substantial addition to the family collection in the form of the library which had been assembled by his younger brother Robert. Little is known of Robert, who was baptised on 24 October 1591 in Edinburgh, Sir Robert Bowes, the English ambassador, serving as one of his godparents.²¹⁹ Later records describe him as "magister", indicating that he had received a university M.A., but his place of study is uncertain and may not have been in Scotland. One of his books, a 1514 folio of Peter Lombard's *Sacratissima sententiarum* (**1015**) is inscribed "Robertus Lindesius ex dono M. Roberti Petraei", but even this provenance does little to elucidate his career, beyond indicating a connection with the Robert Petrie who graduated MA. from St. Salvator's College, St Andrews, in July 1614.²²⁰ When he next appears in the historical record, he was deceased. On 4 September 1639, his brother David was retoured heir general to his estate.²²¹

Instead, we know Robert through his books. The list reproduced in appendix A and dateable to 1609 or later provides a snapshot of his library, including those books which were "sur la table", and suggests a committed and highly Calvinist whose copy of Immanuel Tremellius's Hebrew and Greek catechism (**340**) could happily lie alongside "the lairds great Tacitus" (**1603**). That Robert's library later passed to David is amply evidenced by the presence of volumes from the early booklist in the subsequent Lindsay library as well as by provenance in surviving volumes, but it would appear that this transfer did not simply happen by inheritance. Of the six books first owned by Robert and subsequently by David which survive, each bears the date 12 September 1638 and a price, not always a low one.²²² Similarly, another book list, dated 1638 and headed "I miss this of my brothers Buiks" contains a list of twenty-seven titles, many of which have prices noted next to them (see appendix XXX).²²³ It would

²¹⁹ *Scots Peerage*, I, p. 517.

²²⁰ Robert N. Smart, *Alphabetical Register of the Students, Graduates and Officials of the University of St Andrews, 1579-1747* (St Andrews: s.l., 2012), p. 483.

²²¹ *Inquisitionum ad capellam domini regis retornatarum, quae in publicis archivis Scotiae adhuc servantur abbreviatio*, 3 vols. (s.l.: s.l., 1811), ii. Inq. Gen., no. 2450.

²²² Robert's 1551 Juvenal and Persius is priced at the princely sum of £5 6s. 9d. (**942**).

²²³ Again, some of these are priced quite steeply, even in Scots money, with an immediately post-incunabile Venetian Arrian (**88**) going for £5 and the fine 1549 Froben edition of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (**484**) fetching a similar sum.

appear that David purchased, rather than inherited, Robert's collection and at a price which must have represented considerable outlay on his part.

The first lord Lindsay of Balcarres lived his life with neo-Stoical values in mind. He read in his library, possibly made chemical experiments, and filled the house with children – ten of his own, and two families of fosterlings, the three sons of Sir John Lindsay of Balinscho, his sisters's children, and the children of Colonel Ludovic Foulter.²²⁴ He lived contentedly and unambitiously, whether in Fife or on his frequent journeys to London and the continent. His engagement with public affairs was minimal, but with his books and the ideas of his day his engagement was considerable.

Alexander Lindsay, 1st Earl of Balcarres (1618-1659)

Alexander Lindsay's education, unlike that of his father, is quite well evidenced. He inherited his father's and grandfathers' scholarly bent, but was unable to follow his own inclinations, since he was forced by the needs of the times into a public and military life. He was sent to school at Haddington (from 1627), accompanied by a tutor, David Forret, where he became friends with his cousin, John Maitland of Lauderdale (Maitland's mother, Isobel, was another daughter of Alexander Seton's). Both of them went on to study at St Salvator's college in St Andrews, and in both, bookish tendencies were visible from their schooldays. Maitland would become one of the great bibliomanes of his generation.²²⁵ Alexander Lindsay also inherited his family's love of books. He wrote to his parents on 18 February 1628, at the age of ten,

Master David [Forret] sayeth that if I learn the litle
book of questions on the Byble perqueir [*par coeur*, by

²²⁴ *Lives of the Lindsays* II, pp. 9, 52. Foulter was another bibliophilic acquaintance, having joined Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet in donating books to the University of St Andrews in 1620, including a Latin edition of Guicciardini (St Andrews UL Scot DG539.G8) and a lavish two-volume Venetian edition of Ricciardi's *Commentaria symbolica* (St Andrews UL Scot AE3.R5). He may also have served as a book hunter for Balcarres on the continent as one surviving letter between the two concerns "some books I iudged you had not as yett in your librarie" found in Dieppe (Crawford I, p. 75).

²²⁵ Giles Mandelbrote, "The Library of the Duke of Lauderdale (1616-1682)", in *Ham House: Four Hundred Years of Collecting*, ed. Christopher Rowell (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 222-231.

heart], I will get from you when I come to Balcarres a litle kist with some bonie litle bookes, as my Lord Maitland hath.²²⁶

When they got to St Andrews, he continued to associate with his cousin John Maitland, who was his closest friend, but also got to know James Graham, Marquess of Montrose, and possibly Sir Robert Moray, who was certainly a fast friend later in life. A man of that name matriculated at St Andrews in 1627 (when Moray would have been 21, rather old to begin university studies); but Moray told Alexander Bruce in 1658 that he had never been east of Cupar, which is some seven miles west of St Andrews, so this friendship probably does not go back to university, important though it was later to be.²²⁷ Moray was a man of the Lindsays' type, a mathematician and scientist, who would later marry Alexander's sister Sophia, and in the distant future, become first president of the Royal Society and Charles II's tutor in chemistry.²²⁸

Like his father, Alexander fell in love with a Seton cousin, his mother's niece. She was Anna Mackenzie, the very attractive second daughter of Colin Mackenzie, first earl of Seaforth, and his wife, Lady Margaret, daughter of Alexander Seton, first earl of Dunfermline. Her parents had both died when she was a child, and she was sent to live with her cousin, Lord Rothes, at Leslie in Fife. There was some opposition to the match from her uncle, the second earl of Seaforth, not because the heir of Balcarres was ineligible, but because, since he was already part of a close family nexus, such a marriage would not extend Seaforth's sphere of influence. After some pressure from Lord Rothes, and Charles Seton, second earl of Dunfermline, and a friend of Lord Balcarres's, and a spirited exchange of letters in the

²²⁶ Crawford I, p. 86.

²²⁷ David Allan, 'Moray, Sir Robert (1608/9?-1673)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004, online).

²²⁸ The king had a private laboratory: Samuel Pepys wrote in his diary in 1669, 'Then down with Lord Brouncker to Sir Robert Murray, into the King's little elaboratory, under his closet, a pretty place; and there saw a great many chymical glasses and things, but understood none of them'. The king and Moray spent many hours there together. See John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Andrew Clark, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), II, p. 82.

course of 1639, Lord Seaforth gave way, and the young couple were married in April 1640.²²⁹

Anna Mackenzie was not a major heiress: she had, in theory, a dowry of some twenty thousand pounds Scots, but this, though promised, was not in fact paid until many years later.²³⁰ The Lindsays of Balcarres in this period were not very well off: Balcarres had done nothing to advance the family's fortunes, and there were other children to consider. A letter of kindly advice from Lord Rothes to Anna implies as much. She had apparently been rather extravagant in the year before her marriage, which is not very reprehensible in a beautiful eighteen-year-old with an admiring lover:²³¹

My heart,

I have sent Mr David Ayton with your compts [accounts] since my intromission; they are very clear and weill instructed, but truly your expence hath been over large this last year; it will be about 3600 merks [£240 sterling], which indeed did discontent me when I looked on it ... you must accommodate yourself to that estate whereof you are to be mistress, and be rather an example of parsimony nor a mover of [extravagance] in that family. Your husband hath a very noble heart, and much larger than his fortune; and except you be both an example and an exhorter of him to be sparing, he will go over far - both he, my Lord and Lady [i.e. her parents-in-law] loves you so weill that if ye incline to have those things that will beget expence, they will not be wanting although it should do them harm, they all being of a right noble disposition ... therefore go very plain in your clothes, and play very little, and seek God heartily.

The advice was well received, and put into practice. The life of a close-knit family, and the texture of Lord Balcarres's

²²⁹ Crawford I, pp. 92-95.

²³⁰ Alexander William Crawford Lindsay, 25th Earl of Crawford, *A Memoir of Lady Anna Mackenzie, Countess of Balcarres and afterwards of Argyll (1621-1706)* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1868), p. 29. See now also Mary McGrigor, *Anna, Countess of the Covenant* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2008).

²³¹ Lindsay, *Memoir of Lady Anna*, p. 13.

relationship with his cousin John Maitland in particular, is suggested by a letter of Maitland's written in March 1643.²³²

My Lord,

If Fife wer on this side of the water, yee should be oftner troubled with me nor yow are, and my mislike of the ferrie is one of the reasons I doe not waite on you at this time, yet yee will have so much good company now, that I will no be missed. And I am in good hope yor Lo. will come over with yor Lady when my father comes back againe.

We shall not end our booke bargane at this time, but when yee come over (wch I am very confident will be nixt week), I hope this studie shal be fitter for making coses [chatting] nor (than) balcarres; and if yee will bring over 'Novus Orbis' and the book that is dedicate to God, yor Lo. shall not be troubled with the Italian Bible, which I so oft offered to yow, and we shall end the rest of your bargane heir, neithr need yow fear that I seeke Bibliotheca Mundi, for I will send for it to Paris tomorrow. Their is nobodie comd as yet from my Lord Chancellor, not any certaintie of news since we parted. Be pleased to remember my service to your Ladie and your sisters.

The two young men (Maitland was twenty-six and Balcarres twenty-four) have evidently been carrying out an intricate set of swaps of hard-to-come-by books. Maitland read Italian, but there is no indication that Lord Balcarres did, so he was understandably resistant to acquiring a Bible in that language. 'Novus Orbis' is presumably Simon Grynaeus's *Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum* (779), a description of the New World. *Bibliotheca Mundi* is by the thirteenth-century encyclopaedist Vincent of Beauvais (1696), but one wonders if Maitland was actually after a more recent work, Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca Universalis* (704), which Lord Balcarres also owned - it is one of the Lindsay books now in Worcester College, Oxford. Whichever the book was, both young men evidently regarded it as a prize.

Lord Balcarres's possessive pride in the family library is evidenced by the fact that he had one of his father's

²³² Lindsay, *Memoir of Lady Anna*, p. 414.

armorial binding stamps (for which see chapter three) remade for his own use, removing the name 'David' (it read David Dominus Lyndesay de Balcarres) and substituting his own 'Alexander'. It is a sad fact that due to the misfortunes of war, no Balcarres books survive with this modified stamp, but the stamp itself, remarkably, is still extant. It was, at some point, discarded, and by a curious chance, was picked up in 1909 by the 27th Earl of Crawford who spotted it on a rag-and-bone-man's barrow in Thame.²³³ It is now back at Balcarres.

One indication of the difference between these bibliomane cousins is that, as this letter hints, Maitland had much deeper pockets. He was in a position to send a message to Paris to have a copy of a book sourced for him in the Rue St Jacques, which his friend Alexander was not. He was also a rising star in Scottish politics, and fiercely ambitious. He married at sixteen; a fact which suggests a union of advantage rather than choice, especially since his bride was the daughter of a neighbouring magnate, Alexander Home, first earl of Home. Lord Balcarres, by contrast, had married for personal affection rather than political or financial gain, and like his father, was apparently content with a quiet life centred on his library, family, and estates.

However, the young husband and wife could not look forward to a prospect of peace. Lord Balcarres's mother, like her own father, may have been discreetly Catholic, and the family had generally no quarrel with bishops – indeed, his grandfather Lord Menmuir had been one of the architects of James VI's episcopal settlement, and the Bishop of Edinburgh who was pelted with stools in St Giles Cathedral on 23 July 1637, when Charles I's prayer book was introduced, was his kinsman David Lindsay (a Lindsay of Edzell). But, although Alexander Lindsay came from a family with a tradition of service to the kings of Scotland, like his University friend the Marquess of Montrose, his religious principles led him to sign the National Covenant in 1638 at the age of twenty. Both he and his aging father took arms to defend Presbyterianism in 1639.²³⁴

John Maitland was also a supporter of the Covenant, but unlike his cousin, he was enough of a political animal to use the national crisis to his own advantage. He first

²³³ *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* I, p. 100.

²³⁴ *Lives of the Lindsays*, II, pp. 30-32.

attracted attention in September 1641, when he accompanied the commissioners appointed by the Scottish covenanters to negotiate peace with the government of Charles I, first at Ripon and then at London, after their military defeat of the king - he was still only twenty-five. His education stood him in good stead, since he was an able and eloquent speaker. By November of 1643, he had left Fife and moved to London, where he established himself as a principal figure in the covenanter alliance with the English parliamentarians, and a man to watch.

Meanwhile, Lord Balcarres inherited his title on his father's death in March 1641, and continued to fight for the covenant, and therefore, to join the Parliamentary forces in opposition to the king. He commanded a Scottish regiment of cavalry which took part in Cromwell's decisive victory at Marston Moor on 2 July, 1644 and the sieges of York and Newcastle. Balcarres was active in the covenanting cause. He returned to Scotland to face the royalist rising led by his university acquaintance, the marquess of Montrose, and commanded the cavalry in Major-General William Baillie's army at the battle of Alford on 2 July 1645. On 15 August Baillie and Balcarres were again defeated by Montrose at the battle of Kilsyth.²³⁵

After Charles I was handed over to the English in January 1647, Lord Balcarres was among those began to feel that things had gone too far. 'I saw blasphemies tolerated', he wrote bitterly in 1648, 'all the old condemned heresies ripped out of their graves and avowed openly ... the extirpation of all which everyone who had taken the Covenant was sworn to endeavour ... I saw the King violently seized and cheated into a close prison, contrair to the expectation of this Kingdom and the many assurances were given when we parted from him ... I found the work of reformation quite obstructed, and a design instead of a lawful government to introduce confusion and anarchy, both in Church and State for the destruction of King and Monarchy'.²³⁶

When Cromwell invaded Scotland in 1650, Lord Balcarres was appointed the colonel of a regiment raised to oppose him. Thereafter he was identified with the royalist cause, and on 9 January 1651, Charles II, who had been crowned at Scone on 1

²³⁵ David Stevenson, 'Lindsay, Alexander, first earl of Balcarres (1618-1659)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn),

²³⁶ *Lives of the Lindsays II*, pp. 416.

January, created him earl of Balcarres.²³⁷ According to family tradition, the new king honoured the house of Balcarres itself with a royal visit, where his hostess was somewhat inconveniently in childbed, gave the boy his name and stood as godfather at his baptism on 7 February 1651 in Dundee.²³⁸ Alas for tradition, however, Lamont of Newton's record of the king's movements in February suggests that neither the royal visit nor the royal sponsorship can be true. On 7 February, Charles was in Stirling, not Dundee, and his subsequent movements through Fife, though they passed very near to Balcarres, do not seem to have taken in that house.²³⁹ Instead, it would appear to be a town house in Dundee which the king visited, as Sir James Balfour in his *Annals* recorded that

My Lord Balcarras gaue his Maiestie a banquet at his housse, quher he stayed some tuo houres, and visited his ladey that then lay in one Satterday, 22 day, befor he went from Dundie.²⁴⁰

Charles II took the Scottish army into England in August 1651, hoping to regain the larger of his kingdoms. Lord Balcarres was one of those commissioned to raise forces to drive out the enemy and maintain a government within Scotland. After Charles's resounding defeat at the Battle of Worcester in September, Lord Balcarres was among those who tried to maintain resistance in Scotland but the country was eventually forced to capitulate on 3 December 1651: Scotland had been conquered by Cromwell, who proceeded to impose English rule. The Fife diarist, James Lamont, commented that he 'gatt verie good conditions from the English'.²⁴¹

Unfortunately, as his career bears witness, Lord Balcarres was a sincerely religious Presbyterian, a confession Charles cordially loathed, due in part to his treatment at the hands of the covenanters in 1651, when they had done their level best to

²³⁷ *Scots Peerage* I, p. 519.

²³⁸ Crawford, I, p. 101. The baptism records that "The Right Noble Lord the Lord of Balcaras [had] a Man childe named Charles" (NRS OPRs 282/10/94). A space has been left blank for the list of godparents, but they have not been entered.

²³⁹ *The Diary of Mr. John Lamont of Newton, 1649-1671* (Edinburgh: for the Maitland Club, 1830), pp. 27-28.

²⁴⁰ Sir James Balfour, *The Historical Works of Sir James Balfour of Denmylne and Kinnaird*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh: Printed by W. Aitchison, 1824-1825), IV, p. 247.

²⁴¹ *Diary of Mr John Lamont of Newton*, p. 37.

hammer the young man into the mould of the king they wanted. He was 'daily told both in prayers and sermons of the sins of his fathers house, [and] his mothers idolatry', but they succeeded only in disgusting him with Presbyterianism and with Scotland in general.²⁴² The king was also suspicious of the loyalty of Presbyterian royalists such as Lord Balcarres, who had taken arms against his father. They had set their religion before loyalty to their king; they might do so again. Despite the fact that Lord Balcarres had mortgaged or sold all he possessed for Charles II, and his strictly honourable and veracious character, when Lord Balcarres eventually joined his sovereign in exile, Charles did not entirely trust him, and found it only too easy to believe that he might be treacherous. Unfortunately, as Lord Balcarres attempted to manoeuvre the king into a support for the covenant which he firmly believed was in Charles's best interests, his actions were easily misconstrued:

In November 1654 Balcarres sought to persuade his supporters among the royalists in arms in the highlands to demand that the king declare support for the covenant. When this was discovered in April 1657, Balcarres was banished from the exiled court. A visit to London a few months later brought suspicions that he was betraying the king's cause, and in August 1658 Charles II was still expressing his bitterness at what he regarded as Balcarres's malice and dishonesty.²⁴³

Banished from the royal court, the Lindsays moved to the court of Charles's sister Mary, the princess of Orange, at The Hague, where Lady Anna was appointed governess to the future William III. Lord Balcarres was by then moving towards the end of his life, his health broken by his years of campaigning. He died in his wife's arms on 30 August 1659, at only forty-one, a scholarly, intellectual man who had been forced into a life as a soldier and man of affairs by the needs of the time and his own sense of honour, against the grain of his character, and without even the consolation of much success. The heartbroken Lady Anna wrote, 'I stayed by him and dressed him all myself, which he expected from

²⁴² Edmund Walker, *Historical Discourses upon several occasions inc. A journal of several actions performed in the Kingdom of Scotland after king Charles the second's arrival there in 1650* (London: S. Keble, 1705), p. 187.

²⁴³ Stevenson, 'Lindsay, Alexander'.

me—for a month before that he would not eat nor drink but that I gave ... At last I closed those dear eyes and that dear mouth I never in all my life heard make a lie'.²⁴⁴

The singularly ill-requited loyalty of Lord Balcarres brought the Lindsay library within a hairs-breadth of destruction. For a man forced to flee the country, unable to take even his infant sons, a library was a massive encumbrance, but one he valued highly, since it was entailed to the value of 6,000 merks (£333 sterling) on his heirs-male in an attempt to protect it.²⁴⁵ In a codicil to his will, he reverses this and leaves the books to his devoted wife, as all the recompense he can give her for her sacrifice of her jewellery: it made no difference in any case, because when she eventually returned to Scotland, the books were brought back to Balcarres from wherever they were hidden, and there they stayed. When he left Scotland, never to return, the books were saved by the courage and resolve of a close friend of Charles Seton's and friend of the family, Anne Murray, who tells the tale in her own vivid words:²⁴⁶

In May 1653 the Earle of Dunfermeline [Charles Seton, the 2nd Earl of Dunfermline] came to my chamber, and told mee hee had gott certaine information that there was a party of horse to bee sentt the next day to Belcarese [Balcarres], and take my Lord Balcarres, and bring him prisoner to Edb [Edinburgh], which hee durst nott writt nor communicate to any butt mee; and desired I would goe and lett him know what was designed, that hee might escape.

Which I undertooke, and wentt early the next morning, taking only a man with mee (for I was nesessitate to leave my woman to looke affter some busynese then fell outt); and the tide falling to bee betwixt 3 and 4 in the morning, and a very great wind, so as few butt the boatmen and my selfe ventured to goe over, which contributed well, for I landed safe, and was att Belcarese before ten a'clocke; and my Lord and Lady [Alexander and Lady Anna] wentt away imediately, and had desired mee to stay in the howse with the children, and take downe all the bookes, and convey them away to severall places in trunkes to

²⁴⁴ Lindsay, *Memoir of Lady Anna*, p. 43.

²⁴⁵ *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* I, p. 103.

²⁴⁶ *Autobiography of Lady Anne Halkett*, ed. John Gough Nichols (London: for the Camden Society, 1875), pp. 86–7.

secure them (for my Lord had a very fine library, butt [those] they intrusted were nott so just as they should have beene, for many of them I heard afterwards were lost).²⁴⁷

I was very desirous to serve them faithfully in what I was intrusted, and as soone as my Lord and Lady were gone I made locke up the gates, and with the helpe of Logan, who served my Lord, and one of the women, both beeing very trusty, I tooke downe all the bookes, and, putting them in trunkes and chests, sentt them all outt of the howse in the night to the places apointed by my Lord, taking a short way of inventory to know what sort of bookes were sentt to every person.²⁴⁸

Anyone who has ever moved books knows it is a formidable task: after two sleepless nights, one of them spent crossing the Forth in adverse weather, and a great deal of strenuous physical work performed in desperate haste, Anne collapsed, and was ill for a long time. But she had the satisfaction of seeing that her effort had not been in vain: 'I forgott to tell that the things had nott beene two houres outt of the howse when the troope of horse came and asked for my Lord [Balcarres] ...They searched all the howse, and seeing nothing initt butt bare walls and weemen and children, they wentt away.'

²⁴⁷ This narrative is not without its problems: in November 1652, the family moved to St Andrews in November 1652 (*Diary of John Lamont*, p. 49), and, though Anne Murray gives the impression that the Earl and Countess immediately went abroad, in the summer of 1653, Lord Balcarres was campaigning in the Highlands with the Earl of Glencairn, at the king's request. However, there may have been some particular reason why the Earl and Countess were at Balcarres when Anne Murray burst in on them at ten o'clock on a May morning., or the St Andrews move may have been temporary. Lord Balcarres's decision to co-operate with Glencairn may thus have been motivated both by Charles II's request that he should do so, and by the fact that in any case he stood no chance of remaining unmolested in Fife.

²⁴⁸ Sadly, this manuscript does not appear to have survived. Anne Murray, who later became Lady Halkett, was no stranger to adventure: in 1647, she had played a key part in the rescue of James, Duke of York from his imprisonment by the English parliament, organised a suit of women's clothes for him, and dressed him in them. She notes elsewhere in her autobiography (written 1677/8) that Lady Anna had been very kind to her. When she moved into unfurnished lodgings in Edinburgh after spending a couple of years as Seton's guest at Fyvie Castle, Lady Anna had lent her everything she needed, but she clearly paid her debt with interest.

One treasure which remained at Balcarres – invisible, and probably quite unknown to Anne – was the family archive of Lord Balcarres’s friend and cousin, John Maitland. He had buried his family muniments in chests in the courtyard at Balcarres, which he must have considered safer than Lethington Hall: ‘[the] writts & evidents wer put vnder the ground in the yeard of Balcarres in three yron chists’, at about this time. They had been so successfully concealed that they remained undisturbed until after the Restoration: unfortunately, ‘be vnder-water comeing in throw the ioyneing and seems of the saids chists’, they had rotted and become unreadable. Maitland was forced to secure an Act of Parliament to confirm his assertion of what they had contained.²⁴⁹

Charles Seton’s role in the rescue of the Balcarres library might strike the reader as ungallantly passive, but one of the features of the Civil War was that a variety of women found themselves taking on unexpectedly active roles, partly because, having no official standing, they might be leniently treated if things went wrong: if Mistress Anne Murray had been arrested attempting to cross the Firth in a small boat (incidentally, a dangerous enterprise in itself), she stood more chance of getting away with a caution than did the Earl of Dunfermline. The King’s Physician, Dr William Denton, wrote from French exile to his brother-in-law, ‘Women were never soe useful as now, and though you should be my agent and sollicitor of al the men I knowe ... yett I am confident if you were here, you would doe as our sages doe, instruct your wife and leave her to act it with committees, their sexe intitles them to many privileges, and we find the comfort of them now more than ever’.²⁵⁰

The Lindsay ladies themselves were equally dauntless. If Lady Anna had stayed at home with her children, she would probably not have been molested, but she chose to accompany her husband. According to the preacher Richard Baxter, who got to know her in London after the Restoration and greatly admired her, ‘through dearness of affection, [she] marched with him and [lay] out-of-doors with him on the mountains’.²⁵¹ After Balcarres’s death and Lady Anna’s remarriage to the Earl of Argyll, her daughter

²⁴⁹ *The Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, ed. Thomas Thomson and Cosmo Innes, 12 vols (Edinburgh: printed by command of His Majesty, 1814–75), VII, p. 135 (1 January, 1661).

²⁵⁰ William Denton, 1646, from abroad: Frances Parthenope and Margaret M. Verney, *Memoirs of the Verney Family during the Seventeenth century* (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1925), II, p. 240

Sophia successfully organised her stepfather's escape from prison, having disguised him as her servant, in 1681. She risked being whipped through the streets of Edinburgh, if not executed, but she was in fact left unmolested at the insistence of the Duke of York.²⁵²

The temporary dispersal of the library has left no trace in family papers because it happened after the Earl and Countess had gone. Since the estate was formally sequestrated by Oliver Cromwell in January 1654,²⁵³ the Lindsays perhaps thought it wisest not to enquire about the fate of their beloved books, in case any communication fell into the wrong hands. But the books must have gone to neighbours in Fife, since the Firth was watched by the English, so even if the tide had been propitious, books could not be sent to Pinkie. Some will have been sheltered by the faithful tutor and friend of the "bonie bookes", David Forret, but others will necessarily have gone to less reliable hosts. Not all of those who harboured the library were faithful to their trust. Anne Murray observed as much: 'butt [those] they intrusted were nott so just as they should have beene, for many of them I heard afterwards were lost'.

This explains something the 28th Earl of Crawford was mystified by; the tranche of Balcarres books which turned up in the collection of the secretary of General Monck, Cromwell's commander-in-chief in Scotland, Sir William Clark, and were presented to Worcester, College, Oxford by Sir William's son in 1736. There is no record of how or when these books left Balcarres, but this sequence of events explains how they could have come on the market in the late 1650s, when Clark was in Scotland. The Worcester books also tend to confirm Anne's narrative, because they are a group of civil and ecclesiastical legal texts, mainly folios, many of which had previously belonged to Lord Menmuir. Anyone moving books in a hurry does it shelf by shelf, and most working libraries organize books by subject; therefore a chest of books hastily dispatched in the way she describes would tend to contain literature on a particular theme.

²⁵¹ Richard Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae, or, Mr. Richard Baxters narrative of the most memorable passages of his life and times faithfully publish'd from his own original manuscript by Matthew Sylvester*, 2 vols (London: Printed for T. Parkhurst, J. Robinson, F. Lawrence and F. Dunton, 1696), I, p. 121.

²⁵² Lindsay, *Memoir of Lady Anna*, pp. 116–118. James perhaps felt that he and his brother owed the Lindsays considerably more than they had ever attempted to repay.

²⁵³ On January 4 according to *The Diary of John Lamont*, p. 66.

But any friends the Lindsays might have sent books to would have been fellow Royalists. They were not the only noble family significantly impoverished by the struggles of the Civil War. Those loyal to the king had suffered during the ascendancy of the Covenanters, those, like the Lindsay, who supported first Covenant, then king, suffered again when Cromwell conquered Scotland, and the most convinced Covenanters eventually suffered in their turn at the Restoration. As Michael Lynch observes, 'the nobility [were] exiled or weighed down by debts owing to war creditors, and now by punitive financial penalties imposed by the English'.²⁵⁴

Long years passed with no sign of the family's return, and, during Cromwell's lifetime, no apparent hope of the restoration of the monarchy. The collapse of the Protectorate not long after his death, 3 September 1658, came as a surprise to almost everyone. It may reasonably be inferred that one (or more) of the Lindsays' neighbours yielded to temptation and sold the books they had been trusted with. When Lady Anna came back, a widow, she must have made contact with Lady Anne Halkett (as Anne Murray was by then), and proceeded, on the basis of Anne's hasty memorandum of where the books had been sent, to try and reclaim them. But, when enquiry was eventually made, it would have been only too easy for embarrassed neighbours to claim that the books had never arrived in the first place, and nothing could ever be proved. Further systematic investigations in Fife libraries may yet uncover another kist or two of books.

The fact that the library left Balcarres and returned to it in the mid-seventeenth century may also explain some of the other questions which it prompts. I have suggested that books were packed up more or less by subject, and this would explain, for example, why the nine works by Johann Kepler purchased by Lord Balcarres have vanished - there was, perhaps, a chest of books on astronomy and related topics which never returned to the house. What is currently known of the library shows some surprising gaps in the collection: comparatively little history survives (though quite a few historical works appear in Monro's list of books bought in 1620, see appendix A), and history was a major interest of most educated Scots in this period. There is also very little topography, even though Timothy Pont, compiler of the famous maps of Scotland, was a protégé of Lord Menmuir's, and the close relations between Scot of Scotstarvet and Balcarres might have been expected to bring a work like Blaeu's *Atlas Novus* into the library (instead they had a copy of Jansson's rival *Atlas novus* of 1647

²⁵⁴ Lynch, *New Penguin History*, p. 252.

[890]). There are fewer emblem books than might be expected, though they did possess Hadrianus Junius's *Emblemata* (918) and La Faye's *Emblemata et epigrammata miscellanea* (981). The most widely read poet in seventeenth-century Scotland was the Lindsays' relative and namesake, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, who is not represented either. However, in the particular circumstances of this dispersal and reassemblage of the library, absence of evidence for any book cannot be taken as evidence of its absence.

Lady Anna returned to the house of her first marriage in 1660, where she found the two sons she had been forced to abandon as babies, now children of nine and eight, who had meanwhile been brought up by the old family tutor, David Forret, on an allowance of £10 a year from the sequestered estates – and perhaps also her oldest daughter. One minor mystery about the Lindsay exile is what happened to the oldest daughter, Anne, who is not mentioned in any of the Lindsay papers, or by Anne Murray. Anne Lindsay must have been born around 1645 (Sophia and Henrietta were probably younger and born on the continent). It is hard to believe that the Earl and Countess would have taken a seven-year-old with them on campaign in the Highlands, yet when Lady Anna was reunited with her sons, she does not mention Anne.

She found her sons, she wrote, 'two of the prettiest healthfulest boys that can be, and so like their dear father that I know not which of them may be the likest'.²⁵⁵ The urgent necessity of the moment was not only rebuilding her relationship with her sons, but getting the sequestration lifted from the estate. She went briefly to London, returned to Balcarres for her husband's burial, which took place on 12 June 1660, and then went back to London for a couple of years in order to lobby for her son's rights, where she won the respect and admiration of Richard Baxter, the well-known Presbyterian preacher: 'her great wisdom, modesty, piety and sincerity made her accounted the saint at the Court'.²⁵⁶ She took her five children with her, and in 1661, her oldest daughter Anne gave her further cause for sorrow when she converted to Catholicism and became a nun (see chapter two).

The man the widowed Lady Anna put most hope in at this point was her husband's old friend John Maitland, who had contrived to avoid the pitfalls which engulfed his more scrupulous cousin, had returned to England in the royal train as a gentleman of the bedchamber, and, in the summer of 1660 had become secretary of state for Scotland, a powerful position, since it implied

²⁵⁵ Lindsay, *Memoir of Lady Anna*, p. 50.

²⁵⁶ Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, I, p. 120.

constant attendance on the king. Lady Anna wrote him letter after letter, but personal affection and family loyalty were not the most effective levers to move a clever and ruthless politician.²⁵⁷

Lady Anna was not wordly-wise. She wrote, in her advice to her son Colin, 'it wes weill said by on I hard preach at London, did I know the most loveing man in the world I should trust him above all men and fear no injurie from him' (this, she notes in the margin, was Richard Baxter).²⁵⁸ Elsewhere she writes, 'if God call you to be a statesman and fit you for it, let God's honour and glory, the safety of the true Protestant religion and the weal of the people be your greatest aim'. These were not the tenets a man such as Maitland lived by, but they are probably those of Lord Balcarres.

In October 1662, Charles, second Earl of Balcarres, added to his mother's griefs when he died suddenly at the age of eleven of an unsuspected heart defect. The succession passed to his younger brother, Colin, who thus became third Earl (see chapter two). Lauderdale sent him a gift to mark the occasion, his first sword, and the twelve-year-old's reply suggests something of the family's difficulties at the time.²⁵⁹

I have with no small contentment girded your Lordship's present to my side and shall use it in my Sovreign's and your service: for if by his Royal bounty and your lordship's endeavours it be not prevented, the law will not suffer me so to employ it in the defence of anything which I might call an inheritance. I do therefore with thankfulness embrace your sword as an addition to your former favours and an earnest of your future care.

The estate was still mortgaged; and there were further debts incurred during the years of French and Dutch exile, and in London. Charles II had promised Lady Anna a pension of £1,000 in 1660; but in 1664, this was yet to be paid. In 1665, Colin wrote to Lauderdale again, 'I know, were I a man, I must take my sword in my hand, ane beggar, but that troubles me not so much as the trouble I see my mother in for me'.²⁶⁰ The pension came through after that, albeit sporadically, and in 1669, Lady Anna's dowry (nearly thirty

²⁵⁷ Lindsay, *Memoir of Lady Anna*, pp. 56–65.

²⁵⁸ NLS Acc. 17/5/1, p. 37.

²⁵⁹ *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* II, p. 115.

²⁶⁰ Lindsay, *Memoirs of Lady Anna*, p. 76.

years overdue!) was finally paid, at which point the family's finances became less straitened, which to a very great extent was due to Lady Anna's rigorous and untiring management.

At some point in those difficult years, Lady Anna must have retrieved as much as possible of the family library. Books continued to be important to the family: Lady Anna read to her children from the Bible, and in the notebook she personally wrote for Colin in 1671, she cites stories about Alexander and Caesar from Plutarch's *Lives* (presumably in Roger North's translation), which were evidently familiar to him ('you remember the storie', she says), suggesting family reading.²⁶¹ But the first books which the third Earl added to the library were purchased in the 1670s and 80s, suggesting that there was a gap of some years between the first Lindsay library, and the point at which Colin and his successors were able to add to it.

It is thus with Alexander, first Earl of Balcarres (1618-59) that the founding period of the Lindsay Libraries, and most especially the library at Balcarres, draws to an end. In his youth, when still at school, he had written touchingly of the promise of books as a reward for his notable diligence 'ane little kist with some bonie litle bookes'.²⁶² But the events of the wars of the three kingdoms so fell out that his adult life afforded him only a brief interlude of comparative peace at Balcarres, between his retirement from public life in the year 1648 and his resumption of his service to Charles II three years later.²⁶³ It was in the years of distraction and exile which followed that the library was dispersed for its own safety, the courage and resilience of Anne Murray preventing its outright sequestration by the Cromwellian authorities, and allowing its partial re-edification after the restoration.

But the first Earl did not live to see either. After his death at Breda in 1659, he was commemorated as befitted a crucial member of the King's court in exile, by Abraham Cowley, whose substantial, complex elegy focuses on the idea of the virtuous man compelled by circumstance to live in an evil time:²⁶⁴

If you will say: few persons upon earth
Did more then he, deserve to have

²⁶¹ NLS Acc 6769, 17/5/1, p. 5.

²⁶² Barker, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, p. 20.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 21

²⁶⁴ Abraham Cowley, 'Verses written on several occasions', *The Works of Mr Abraham Cowley* (London: Henry Herringman, 1669), pp. 10-12.

A life exempt from fortune and the grave
Sustained and consoled only by his own virtue and integrity,
expressed by Cowley in the same emblem-image which Andrew
Marvell had used for the exiled Charles II:

His own and Countries ruin had not weight
 enough to crush his mighty mind,
He saw around the Hurricanes of State,
Fixed as an Island 'gainst the waves and wind.
 Thus far the greedy Sea may reach,
 All outward things are but the beach;
A great Mans Soul it doth assault in vain!

Cowley sees in such constancy and steadfastness more than a
conventional regard for the religious expectations of the day, but a
kind of constancy which distinguishes a whole life as an integrated
offering of virtue, raising the human beyond human limits towards
the divine:

His Wisdom, Justice, and his Piety,
His Courage both to suffer and to die,
 His Virtues, and his Lady too,
Were things Celestial.