

- ART. VIII.—1. *Les Écossais en France, les Français en Écosse.* Par FRANCISQUE-MICHEL. 2 vols. 8vo. Londres: 1862.
2. *Papiers d'État relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Écosse au 16^{me} Siècle; tirés des Bibliothèques et des Archives de France, et publiés pour le Barnatyne Club d'Édimbourg.* 3 vols. 4to. Paris.
3. *Papers relative to the Royal Guard of Scottish Archers in France.* (From Original Documents.) Printed at Edinburgh for the Maitland Club. 1 vol. 4to. 1835.

IN the midst of international questions of every shape and shade, and when the value of every conceivable form of international relation is daily submitted to the test of fresh experience, it is interesting to turn to the history of an alliance, the direct effects of which have ceased for three centuries to be appreciable to politicians, but which is still so important in the eyes of men of learning and ability as to entitle it to a literature of its own. The alliance of France and Scotland was, indeed, a memorable friendship, standing out from all merely political arrangements not only by intimacy and warmth whilst it endured, but by the lasting effects which it left behind it. These M. Francisque-Michel has traced,—in the public history, and still more in the private and domestic annals of France. In Scotland they meet us at every turn,—in the institutions, habits, and speech of the people, from the organisation of the Court of Session, the terminology of the law, and the constitution of the Presbyterian Church, to the baking of 'kickshaws' (quelquechoses) and 'petticoat-tails' (petits-gâteaux), and the opening of an oyster.* The high-roofed gable and the pepper-box turret of the French chateau gave to Scotland a style of architecture which became domestic amongst us in the sixteenth century, and which has been revived in our own days with great propriety and taste. We claim for the popular cookery of Scotland, distinguished by an enlightened use of vegetables and of broths, a marked superiority over the barbarous culinary preparations of South Britain; but it must be confessed that we owe that superiority to the lessons of our French allies. And, as we write, we are informed that in more than one Scottish village lingers the tradition of a French tambour-stitch, which was probably imported when the newest fashions came from the Court of Blois or Fontainebleau.

* In Scotland, as in France, oysters are opened with the hollow side undermost, so as to retain the juice—a process which is too often reversed in England.

M. Michel says that a sense of the disproportion between the small space accorded to the Scottish alliance in the ordinary histories of France, and the magnitude of the part which it really played in the history of his country, was one of his motives for undertaking the work to which he has devoted so considerable a portion of his life. However the matter may have stood when M. Michel commenced his labours, five and twenty years ago, our countrymen will be extremely unreasonable if they are not more than satisfied with the *amende honorable* which has now been made to them. Of the class of writers—archæologists and compilers, rather than historians—by whom the task of reviving this curious and interesting page in the history of the two countries has been accomplished, M. Michel has been the most industrious, and he is consequently the most exhaustive. In the good work of restoring, as it were, to each other, two old school-fellows and comrades in arms, whom the changes and chances of life had drifted asunder, he holds, and probably will continue to hold, the first place. He is so far from a faultless writer, that,—taking into account that he is a Frenchman, and remembering the precision with which Frenchmen distribute their matter, and the clearness, sharpness, and brevity with which they write,—it is almost incredible that he should have produced so disorderly and dull a book. But the merits of M. Michel's performance altogether outweigh its defects; and, of the former, one of the greatest consists in the extent to which it has rectified and widened our conception of the subject of which it treats.

Hitherto this alliance between the most polished court of continental Europe and our ruder forefathers has been viewed chiefly in relation to two or three well-known historical events; for to say the truth the league of Scotland and France grew up under the shadow of England, and was strengthened by common hatred or common fear. In the popular conception of it, in France more especially, these passions centre in the single person of Mary Stuart. Everybody knows the ties which bound the beautiful and unhappy Queen to France,—that her mother was a Frenchwoman—that France was the land in which her own happy girlhood was spent—that for a brief period she sat upon the French throne (France and Scotland being then united by what would now be called a personal union)—that when she ultimately returned to her paternal kingdom she was accompanied by French attendants, and continued to be surrounded by them during her whole life, and that up to the last she herself always both spoke and wrote by preference what was indeed

her mother's tongue. So constantly are these facts present to the minds of Frenchmen, that they regard her less in the light of a beautiful exotic that flourished for a time in the rich soil of France, than as the fair and fragile emblem of their country transplanted, by an adverse destiny, to arid and sunless Scotland. But the rough unkindness of Scotland is forgotten, and the lily is seen only as crushed and broken at last by the jealousy and bigotry of England. M. Mignet has with entire justice and incomparable skill combated the prepossessions of his countrymen; but no Frenchman can forget that on the scaffold at Fotheringay Mary Stuart reminded her executioners that it was on the Queen Dowager of France that they were about to lay their sacrilegious hands.

What has been said of the powerful and indelible character of the influences of ballad poetry, might be said with equal truth of the sympathies and antipathies which arise from occurrences that appeal very strongly to the national imagination. Scottish auxiliaries fought by the side of Joan of Arc, under the banner which, according to M. Michel, a Scotchman had painted; and Scotchmen stood around as sympathising spectators of her last sufferings at Rouen. In like manner Scotland shared the insults offered to France in the person of Mary Stuart. It is quite surprising to how great an extent these facts, and the many pathetic incidents with which they are connected, dwelt upon as they are in early youth, still colour the feelings with which Frenchmen in general regard the two divisions of this island.

But the marriage of Mary Stuart, and the occurrences which arose out of it, down to the latest generation of her male heirs, are not the only links which, even in the popular imagination, bind Scotland to France. Many other royal marriages which preceded it are for the most part forgotten — even that of the fair and tender Madeleine de Valois. But the institution of the Scottish Guard, for example, is popularly remembered; and Quentin Durward has as many readers in France as in Scotland. Then, by a more limited class of persons, the Scottish colleges, and the numbers of Scotchmen who held learned appointments in the Universities of France, are called to mind; and the intellectual relation between the two countries which extended down to a very recent period, if it does not still exist*, is supposed to be the source at once of their national sympathies and of their political ties.

* Whilst M. Victor Cousin lives,—the pupil of Royer-Collard, the friend of Hamilton, and the eloquent expositor of the Scottish school of philosophy,—we may surely hold the chain to be unbroken.

On all of these subjects the researches of M. Michel have thrown a flood of light. The general information which most persons possessed has been enriched by details, till the skeleton has become a portly figure once more. We see how each public transaction drew after it a mass of private occurrences and arrangements, not very important separately, but extremely powerful in the aggregate, as fostering the relation between the two countries. Mary of Guise, for example, no sooner finds herself in interesting circumstances than she writes to her mother to send her a physician and an apothecary — the Medical School of Edinburgh not having then, it would seem, attained to the eminence which it has long enjoyed. A decent portrait, however, could be painted in Edinburgh even in those days; for the old Duchesse, in thanking her daughter for one of the King which she had sent her, says, in the true spirit of a Frenchwoman, ‘*Je l’ay trouvé sy beau en sa peinture, que sy vous savyés combien je l’ayme, je pense vous en seriés jallouse.*’ (Vol. i. p. 431.) Though Mr. Innes informs us that ‘*the hortus olerum* was an appendage of our better dwellings from the earliest records, and that some kinds of “kail” have been used in Scotland by all classes, as far back as we have any knowledge of,’ we learn from another passage in M. Michel’s book, that Mary of Guise caused fruits and vegetables to be sent her from France, ‘*sans doute parce qu’elle n’en trouvait pas d’aussi bons dans son royaume.*’ The letter from the Vicomte de Longueville, in which he gives an account of the manner in which he discharged his commission, and of the contents of the various barrels, is quoted by M. Michel. The articles sent consisted of medlars, white peas, green peas, and pears. Of one kind of fruit, the name of which cannot be deciphered, he says he has been able to procure only about a hundred, in consequence of the disease which had attacked it everywhere that year; but he had caused the barrel to be filled up with pears, of which the Queen might procure more if she liked them. (P. 455.) Mary of Lorraine had her shoes sent her from Paris — as a French lady might very well be pardoned for doing still, notwithstanding the numbers of French shoemakers whom M. Michel found in Edinburgh — and we have Marie Courcelles’s letter to the valet de chambre, Baltasar, who seems to have been then in Paris, ordering them both for her mistress and herself.

These, and hundreds of similar facts which the industry of M. Michel has collected, give a life and colour to the well-known incidents of the connexion between France and Scotland in the sixteenth century, which they never possessed before. They

bring them nearer to us, render them more intelligible, and whilst they remove them from the sphere of tradition to that of well-authenticated history, they add to, in place of diminishing, their interest. On the other hand, however, they do not in the slightest degree account for, or even convey to us a conception of, the extent and importance of this connexion, as an international relation, not only during the sixteenth century, when it reached its culminating point, but for two centuries at least previously, and even for the whole of the first century after the Reformation. It is in supplying this information from other sources that the great value of the work before us, as compared with others not less interesting, really consists. As it is now presented to us, we see that the peculiar and very intimate relation which so long subsisted between the two countries did not arise from a few royal marriages, or even from the occasional aid which the nations afforded to each other against a common enemy. Royalty, no doubt, counted for more in the sixteenth than in the nineteenth century. Still the royal marriages of those days do not seem to have differed very widely in their political or social effects from those which in our day have been contracted between our own royal family and the Protestant Houses of Germany, and which quite recently have been formed with the Houses of Prussia and Denmark. No very marked difference has occurred in our relations with these countries in consequence of those events, and none such would have occurred between France and Scotland from that cause alone.

M. Michel finds traces of bands of Scottish mercenaries in France as early as the twelfth century; and from the appendix to his second volume (p. 528.) it appears that so late as 1642, there were enlisted for the service of Louis XIII. no less than 9,600 Scotchmen. But it was not to France alone that Scotland's soldiers of fortune went; nor were the Scotch the only people whose surplus manhood was drafted off to foreign wars. The same for ages has been the case with the Swiss; and as regards the Scotch, when their services were no longer required in France, they swarmed over into Italy and Spain. M. Michel asserts that at a very early period their wandering propensities had carried them in great numbers into Germany; and it is well known, at any rate, that they were extensively engaged in the Thirty years' war, on both sides. In Sweden, to this day, names so slightly altered as to leave no doubt of their Scottish origin are quite common. Along the southern shores of the Baltic, Von Douglases and Von Gordons are to be met with, whose Scottish pedigrees are probably

kept with all the pride of those noble families. There is a quarter of the city of Danzig still called *Schottland*, in memory of a colony of Scotch weavers who settled there in the fourteenth century. From such works as the 'Diary of General 'Patrick Gordon,'* we learn that at a later period vast numbers of Scotchmen flocked to the shores of the Baltic and the banks of the Vistula for trading purposes, often in the humble capacity of pedlars; and there is, perhaps, no continental blood more largely impregnated with our own than that which is again poured out at this day in Poland in the genuine spirit of martyrs for national freedom.

But to none of these countries did Scotland ever stand in a relation in any degree resembling that in which for three or four centuries she stood to France. Many Scotchmen, it is true, went to all of them who never returned, and whose descendants, it is said, still cherish the memory of their origin. But for all practical purposes these individuals ceased to be Scotchmen altogether, and their continued existence and prosperity, and even their frequent reception into the ranks of the nobility in the countries in which they settled, produced no more effect on their native land than if they had been shipwrecked in their first voyage, or had fallen on their first battle-field. Scotland borrowed nothing from Poland, and very little from Germany; and into the lands of their adoption the emigrants to these countries carried nothing that was Scotch. But such was very far from being the case with those who went to France, or even with those who permanently settled in that country. Their connexion with Scotland continued, and the whole institutions of Scotland, political, legal, and even ecclesiastical, were modified by French influences. Nor is this result at all surprising when the facts are fairly before us. The constant and uninterrupted intercourse between the two countries to which M. Michel's pages bear witness, is surprising even in this railway generation. Over and over again he adduces a flood of testimony in support of this assertion. Speaking of the period of the regency of Mary of Guise, above all, he says that 'if one 'were to register the names of all the persons of note who 'passed from France into Scotland, or who took the opposite 'route, one would arrive at the conclusion that never did a

* Since we reviewed, in July 1856 (Ed. Rev. civ. p. 24.), the German translation of this very curious work by Prince Obolenski and Dr. Posselt, we rejoice to find that a great portion of the original has been printed by the Spalding Club; and it is one of the most interesting volumes in that valuable collection.

‘ more intimate relation subsist between two countries.’ He then proceeds to give two pages of names, concluding with the statement that hundreds of others might be discovered. If hundreds could be discovered, it is obvious that thousands must have ceased to be discoverable.

The fact is, that whereas the relation of Scotland with the other countries to which we have alluded arose from accidental and exceptional enterprises, that with France was the result of a *habit* which was gradually formed, and very slowly abandoned, and which arose from a great variety of causes. Scotchmen of all ranks, conditions, and avocations went to France for all sorts of purposes. Soldiers of fortune, ecclesiastics, invalids in search of health and of medical and surgical treatment,—of these M. Michel gives many instances,—men of letters, men of fashion: some went in pursuit of fame, many in pursuit of gain, not a few with that nobler thirst for intellectual culture which no country in Europe was then so much in a condition to satisfy. To the higher classes of Scotchmen in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Paris was very much what London has become to their descendants since the Union of the Crowns, and what indeed it probably was to their ancestors in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, before the rupture between the two divisions of the United Kingdom.

To assign all the causes which took Scotchmen to Paris in those days would be as difficult as to mention those which take them to London now. Many, no doubt, went merely because others had gone, because it was the fashion, and their friends were there. Many remained because they had formed habits which rendered Paris indispensable, and—Scotland impossible.

It is very easy to view these facts simply as indications of the necessities of the Scots, and of the poverty and rudeness of their native land. But the question as to whether or not this French connexion was creditable to the Scotch—if it be necessary to discuss it—must be determined by the manner in which they conducted themselves, and the position which they assumed in their adopted country. Viewed in this light, it seems to us that a more unequivocal compliment could scarcely be paid to a nation than that which the pages of M. Michel’s book contain. Taking into account the very large number of instances he has given—the energy displayed by the emigrants, and the splendid success which so often attended their exertions in what then was, far more unquestionably than it is now, the most luxurious, refined, and magnificent capital in Europe, are marvellous proofs of their abilities, whilst the small number of crimes and acts of meanness, or even violence, which he enumerates, is a not less

valuable testimony to their good conduct. Notwithstanding the general charge of insolence perpetuated in the proverb, *fier comme un Écossais**, against the highly paid and gaily accoutred soldiers of the guard, even they, up to the time at which the kindly relation between the countries began to be affected by the Reformation and the Union between Scotland and England, enjoyed an amount of popularity very rarely accorded to foreign troops, and which the Scotch did not always reciprocate towards those Gallic allies who from time to time were quartered in Scotland.

Then it is said† that, from first to last, besides a great number of professors and doctors in all the faculties, *not less than thirty Scotchmen held the office of Rector in the University of Paris*. Just let the reader reflect to what an amount of intellectual activity, and of personal respectability and worth, this single fact testifies. If we consider what Paris was then, and what the office of Rector of a University, putting it at the lowest, is at all times, it would have been very noteworthy if three Scotchmen, in place of thirty, had attained to so high a dignity! In like manner, the halls of the University of Padua, in which Galileo taught, were thronged by young Scotchmen of family in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; their names and well-known escutcheons may still be seen upon the walls, and we have in our own possession the diploma of a ‘nobilis ‘juvenis Scotus’—a Wallace—who graduated there in medicine in 1614.

We have said that the stream by no means ran with equal force in the opposite direction. If we except the regency of Mary of Guise, and the earlier years of the reign of her daughter, when the Court was really French, and when French tradesmen established themselves in Edinburgh in great numbers, the influx of Frenchmen into Scotland has been, comparatively speaking, very limited. Still, there were many—apart from the military expeditions, of which alone we hear anything from the public historians—who came to Scotland, both for private and public purposes. Subsequent to the Reformation, the emigration of Scotch Catholics into France was pretty

* *Jurer comme un Écossais*, it would seem, was the French equivalent for our phrase ‘swear like a trooper.’ In the beginning of his second volume, M. Michel has given some amusing specimens of the jargon with which these men of the sword *affligeaient les oreilles de nos ancêtres*. It is itself a proof of the extent of the connexion, that the *language escosse-françois* is spoken of by the writers of the period as a well-known patois.

† *Miscellanea Scotica*, vol. iv. p. 19.

well balanced by that of French Protestants into Scotland. James Melville, in his diary, mentions that subscriptions were raised for French Protestants in indigent circumstances in 1575; and Calderwood has a similar notice in 1622. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a colony of French weavers, mostly from Picardy, was established in the locality where Picardy Place now stands. Under the year 1597, the same James Melville records that, 'owing to the fame of Andrew Melville, the University of St. Andrews was this year attended by a considerable number of foreign youth, Poles, Danes, Belgians, and Frenchmen, "whilk crabbit the King mickle," Andrew being no favourite of his.*' So lately as 1861, three princes of the House of Orleans sat on the forms of the High School of Edinburgh. They were distinguished for ability amongst their schoolfellows, and much beloved and cherished by the inhabitants as the last and noblest representatives of the old friendship of the two kingdoms.

It is not so easy a matter as it at first appears to determine when the special relations between France and Scotland originated, or what were the causes which led to the formation of the *habitus* amongst Scotchmen of which we have spoken. The common opinion is, that the connexion arose entirely after the attempted conquest of Scotland, which they viewed as a separate Saxon kingdom, by the Norman kings of England, and that it was fostered mainly by the part which the Scotch took in what is known in France as the hundred years' war.

We are quite willing to put out of account at once the treaty between Charlemagne and King Achains, though it figures in the preamble of almost every subsequent treaty, down to the times of Louis XIV., on the ground that neither France nor Scotland existed in the sense of separate treaty-making countries at that day. To account for the connexion by a treaty of which nothing can be either affirmed or denied, reminds us of Müller's ingenious solution of the difficulty of fixing responsibility on poor humanity by ascribing sin to a free act of self-determination anterior to consciousness. If the proposition did not admit of being very satisfactorily established, it was one which no subsequent theologian was very likely to disprove; and the treaty in question, we presume, is equally safe from any search that will ever be made into the archives either of France or Scotland. We are aware, moreover, that the four treaties which M. Michel ascribes to the twelfth century rest upon evidence which is not only questionable, but which has been

* Chambers' Domestic Annals, vol. i. p. 290.

gravely questioned since he wrote ; and we admit that the fact of Alexander III. having sworn his coronation oaths in French is sufficiently accounted for by the Normanising fashion which, in his time, had extended itself to the Scottish Court. Still, there are facts cropping out, here and there, which do not seem to admit of much doubt, and which are scarcely explicable on any other assumption than that the connexion existed anterior to the war. Let us try the effect of a slight comparison of dates. The death of Alexander III., and the accession of the Maiden of Norway, took place in 1286 ; the date of the famous conference of Norham is the 10th of May, 1291, and it was not till 1314 that the battle of Bannockburn was fought. Now, M. Michel informs us that, in 1313, there was a street in Paris in which the Scotch students lived in such numbers that it was known as the Rue d'Écosse ; that a street bearing a similar name existed at Dieppe, and that in 1292 there were sixty persons of the name of Scot, (variously spelt) mentioned in the *Livre de la Taille*, for that year, as permanent residents, and of course persons of some means, in Paris. As surnames by this time were common, and as Scott never was a very common surname in Scotland, sixty Scotts in a condition to pay taxes speak for a considerable resident population of Scotchmen. It is probable, however, that in a foreign country, the national title ' Scot ' was sometimes used in place of a surname. In a subsequent passage M. Michel says, that at the commencement of the fourteenth century, there were numbers of Scotchmen to be found in many of the smaller towns of France, at a great distance from the places of their usual disembarkation. As an example, he mentions a Scotch colony at Mézin in 1327. Nor is M. Michel the only antiquarian who has collected facts bearing in the same direction. Tytler, in his history, and more recently Mr. Innes, both following Mathew Paris, whom the latter characterises as an ' intelligent and ' unsuspected testimony,' mentions the curious fact, that when Louis IX. set out on his memorable expedition to the Holy Land, one of the ships used for the transport of the horses of the men-at-arms was built for a great French lord, the Earl of St. Pol, at Inverness. Taking into account the heterogeneous character of which the crusading hosts consisted, the fact of a French nobleman building a ship at Inverness is far more significant of a connexion between the countries than even the large number of Scotchmen who joined that disastrous expedition. Then, as indicating the extent of the continental trade of Scotland, and the tendency of the Scotch to form continental connexions generally, it is not unimportant to bear in

mind that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Flemish colonies have been traced in Berwick, St. Andrews, Perth, Dumbarton, Ayr, Peebles, Lanark, Edinburgh, and in the districts of Renfrewshire, Clydesdale and Annandale. These strangers lived under the protection of a special code of mercantile law; and recent investigations have established the fact, that, a hundred years before the great Baltic Association came into being, we had a Hanseatic league in Scotland, small and unimportant comparatively, but known by that very name. This was in the time of David I., towards the middle of the twelfth century. A hundred years later the chronicler of Lanercost, speaking of the now insignificant town of Berwick-on-Tweed, informs us that it was 'a city so populous, and of such trade, that it might justly be called another Alexandria, whose riches were the sea, and the waters its walls. In those days the citizens, being most wealthy and devout, gave noble alms.' In confirmation of these remarks, Mr. Tytler mentions that the customs of Berwick under Alexander III. amounted to 2,197l. 8s. sterling, while the whole customs of England in 1287 produced only 8,411l. 19s. 11½d. The trade of Berwick was unquestionably a continental trade, carried on with Flanders, and to a large extent, probably, with the coast of France. Now if we take into account that cities that can by any stretch of the imagination even of a monkish chronicler, be likened to Alexandria are not built in a day—that it is not just after the first few wanderers arrive that streets are called by their name in towns like Paris and Dieppe, where there are a good many both Scotch and English residents to whom no such compliment is paid in our day, and that it must have taken some little acquaintance with Scotland to enable a French noble to fix upon so strange a place as Inverness for ship-building—we may conclude, with some confidence, that, however it may have arisen, there was in point of fact a close connexion between France and Scotland, of long standing, previous to the War of the Succession.

Nor are we at all shaken in this belief, which the mention of long-standing friendship and goodwill in the treaty of 1326 strongly confirms, by the reflection that till the war broke out there was no very special reason for the continuous intercourse of which we seem to find traces between France and Scotland. There is nothing in general that seems more surprising to us than the amount of international intercourse which existed in Europe in the middle ages. We regard it now as a new thing for an English monarch to have travelled as much as our own Prince of Wales. But King Alfred had made the journey to

Rome twice before he was seven years old ; and the proceeding was by no means an exceptional one in his day. On the subject of the intercourse which our Saxon ancestors maintained with Rome, Dr. Pauli, in his excellent 'Life of Alfred,' has the following remarks :—

'Ever since the arrival of Augustin, the islanders had preserved an uninterrupted communication with Rome. No long period elapsed till a house was established for the reception of their pilgrims and the instruction of their clergy. We have already seen two kings of the West Saxons die there. It was from the hands of the chief shepherd of Rome that the English archbishops received the pallium, and many bishops their consecration. Offa's name was as familiar at St. Peter's as in the Court of Charles.'

It was by Offa, King of the East Saxons, that the hospital or college over which Cardinal Wiseman presided in our own times, and the Church of the Holy Trinity, subsequently known as that of St. Thomas of Canterbury (Sto. Tommaso degli Inglesi), were founded in 775.

Nor was it Italy alone that was familiar with English faces and English tongues. Every reader of Count Robert of Paris, even if he should have neglected to dip into Ducange, or should have forgotten his Gibbon, is familiar with the Varangian Guard—that body of our countrymen with whom the emperors of the East surrounded themselves, from the battle of Hastings down to the taking of Constantinople, pretty much as their predecessors had done with the Prætorian guards, or as the kings of France did with the Scottish archers.

When was there a merrier 'excursion train' than that which started from the 'Tabard' in Southwark one April morning, somewhere about the year 1383, on a visit to Canterbury? The object of Chaucer was to exhibit the social habits of his time, and, with this view, the characters of the pilgrims whom he has brought together are, as a learned editor has remarked, 'as various as, at that time, could be found in the several departments of *middle* life; that is, in fact, as various as could, with any probability, be brought together, so as to form one company; the highest and the lowest ranks of society being necessarily excluded.*' But what we wish to call attention to is not the habit of home travel to which such an expedition testifies, but the extent to which that of foreign travel is revealed by the account which is given in the prologue of the various members of the party. First we have the knight, who had ridden

* Sir Harry Nicolas, Pickering's edition, vol. i. p. 261.

'As wel in Christendom as in Hethenesse,
And ever honoured for his worthinesse.'

The next few lines contain a catalogue of his voyages:—

'At Alisandre he was whan it was wonne.
Ful often time he hadde the bord begonne,
Aboven alle nations, in Pruce.
In Lettowe hadde he reysed and in Ruce,
No cristen man so ofte of his degre.
In Gernade at the siege eke hadde he be
Of Algeisir, and ridden in Belmarie.
At Leyes was he, and at Satalie,
Whan they were wonne; and in the Grete See,
At many a noble armee had he be.
At mortal batailles hadde he ben fiftene,
And foughten for our faith at Tramissene,
In listes threis, and ay slain his foe.
This ilke worthy knight hadde ben also
Somtime with the Lord of Palatie,
Agen another hethen in Turkie,' &c.

Then there is his son, 'a lusty bachelor' of twenty, who has already been

'in chevachie,
In Flaunders, in Artois, and in Picardie.'

The merchant and the shipman are travelled men, of course; and we are not surprised to hear that the pardoner is 'streit comen from the Court of Rome.' But it does surprise us a little to learn that the wife of Bath has been *thrice* in Jerusalem, and 'hadde passed many a strange streme.'

'At Rome she hadde ben, and at Boloine,
In Galice at Seint James, and at Coloine.'

The fiction, however, is not stranger than many well-authenticated facts. A very learned friend told us, the other day, that, in his historical researches, he recently came across the traces of a bailie of Peebles, who was just setting out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem!

Even as regards the mere amount of locomotion, there can be little doubt that we deceive ourselves in supposing it to be so very greatly in favour of modern times. But the increase in the quantity has unquestionably far exceeded that in the quality of travel, if by the quality we understand not its lazy ease, but its efficacy for purposes of human culture and development. In former times, when scarcely any organised means of land transport existed, so ordinary an affair as a journey from London to Rome was itself a positive school of instruction. It was im-

possible for a man to travel over the half of Europe on horse-back, or in a litter, still more so to perform the pilgrimage on foot, without going through what amounted to a second education. The most intimate contact with human character, and with external nature, under the greatest variety of circumstances, was perfectly inevitable. There was fatigue to be undergone, unquestionably, and very possibly danger to be encountered; but at the end of the journey the traveller must have felt himself invigorated in body, and filled with new thoughts and feelings, to a very different extent from the modern weakling who is shot along a railway, the noise of which drowns conversation, and the rapidity of which renders vision indistinct. In a marvellously short space of time, no doubt, he finds himself in the Piazza di Spagna, in the midst of a little knot of his countrymen, as ignorant and inexperienced as himself. He gains little by the change of place that he might not have gained by looking at a few photographs, and reading the letters of a newspaper correspondent. The more perfectly travelling is organised, the less instructive and even enjoyable it becomes — a fact which experience brings home rather painfully to those of us who are old enough to contrast the Continent now with what it was even twenty years ago. But it was not only the mode of transport which brought men into more intimate contact in those days. The same effect was produced by the modes of living. The poorer pilgrims were accommodated, M. Michel informs us, from a very early period in France, in *hospices*, free from charge; those whose circumstances were better, or who travelled for secular purposes, enjoying hospitality probably on very much the same terms as at the Grande Chartreuse or the Great St. Bernard at the present day. In the towns, of course, there were hosteleries and taverns for passers by, whilst those who remained made arrangements with the citizens, perhaps not differing very greatly from those with which we are familiar. But what were altogether peculiar were the educational establishments, where the stranger youth could avail himself of the advantages of foreign instruction in languages and manners without altogether losing the society of his own countrymen. Of institutions of this class the Scotch possessed several in France; and it is very much to be regretted that M. Michel has not presented us with a more complete history of them. Of the famous establishments in Paris and at Douai, the latter of which, for a period, was transferred to Rheims, he has told us scarcely anything beyond what was popularly known; and though he states that when the ecclesiastical committee of the National Assembly presented its report on the 23rd of Oc-

tober, 1790, on the English, Scotch, and Irish religious establishments in France, their number, including monasteries, convents, and colleges, amounted to twenty-four, he does not say even what were the numbers of the different kinds of establishments respectively. Many of them, probably, were mere dependencies of each other. For instance, in the village of Arcueil there was a house belonging 'to a community of Scotch priests,' which community M. Michel conjectures to have been the college of the Rue des Fossés-Saint-Victor, the Scotch college in Paris, which, he says, had other properties in other parts of the country, the most considerable, as the first in date, being that of the estate of Grisy-Suines, near to Brie-Comte-Robert, in the Brie-Parisienne. The total revenues of these establishments amounted to 329,000 livres, and the number of individuals who subsisted on them at the period of the Revolution, professors, students, and *religieux*, was about a hundred and fifty. 'The assembly passed a decree to the effect that these establishments should be continued in their existing condition, with certain modifications. In the same sitting, the demand for an allowance of 6,000 livres by the Irish college of St. Omer, was remitted to the finance committee.' With this very unsatisfactory extract from the 'Scots Magazine' for October, 1790—no very recondite or trustworthy source, surely—this very interesting and important branch of M. Michel's subject is permitted to drop. Of the unsuccessful attempts that have been made, from time to time, by various bodies—the University of Glasgow, the Advocates' Library, and the British Museum—to recover the documents of the Scotch colleges in Paris and at Douai, M. Michel, following for the most part Mr. Innes, has given a full, perhaps we might say a tedious account. Like so much else that was valuable, it is to be feared that these treasures perished during the frenzy of the Revolution, which confiscated their property, as well as that of the numerous Irish endowments in France.*

But though their archives may be mostly irrecoverable, it could be no very difficult matter to retrace the general outline, at least, of the history of these institutions; and it is scarcely possible to imagine a work which, if executed with reasonable care, and presented in an intelligible form, would be likely, even in a popular sense, more richly to reward an archæologist.

* Under the treaty of Paris in 1814, compensation was made by France to England for the seizure of British property in these establishments, and their claims were subsequently investigated by the Privy Council, in whose records some account of them may be found.

It was not in France alone that they existed, and consequently they were not all subjected to the fury of the Revolution. The Benedictine monastery at Ratisbon, for example, is or was recently a flourishing institution.* It never belonged to the wealthiest class of ecclesiastical establishments, and to its poverty it was probably indebted for its immunity from plunder; but its possessions, such as they were, have been guarded with loving care; and, within these last few years, we are informed that all the latest improvements in Scottish agriculture have been introduced on its farms, and the newest implements imported from Aberdeenshire by the worthy Superior. This report we give on the authority of an Aberdeenshire gentleman, who enjoyed the hospitality of the Prior some eight years ago. But a recent writer in 'Notes and Queries' (March 21, 1863), states that the monastery has now been finally dissolved, and the buildings and funds applied to the foundation of a Roman Catholic seminary. At Nuremberg there was a similar establishment, founded by Conrad III., about 1160, and now known as the Gideon Kirche; there was another at Vienna, situated near the Schotten-Thor; and, if we are not greatly mistaken, there were others at Cologne, and Würzburg, and elsewhere. That at Rome, of course, is still well known; but its modern date — (it was founded in 1649 by the Marchioness of Huntley and Count Leslie) — renders it an object of less interest than that at Ratisbon, which dates from the days of Macbeth. As the officials of all these institutions were no doubt in frequent communication with each other, the archives of those which remain would probably throw much light on the history

* The Rev. James Robertson, who was sent by Sir Arthur Wellesley and Mr. Canning in 1808, on a secret mission to the Danish Islands, for the purpose of inducing the Marquis de la Romana to return to Spain in British ships with the Spanish troops then quartered in the Isle of Fünen, was a Scottish Benedictine of this monastery of Ratisbon. The Duke of Richmond, in his travels through Germany towards the end of the last century, had become acquainted with the Abbot Arbuthnot and several other members of that community; and it was through his Grace, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, that Mr. Robertson was recommended to Sir Arthur Wellesley, then Irish Secretary. The service he performed was of the highest importance; and we do not remember to have read a more romantic and captivating narrative than the simple account of it which has recently been published in Mr. Robertson's own words, by his nephew Mr. Alexander Clinton Fraser. It was thus that one of these Scotch Benedictine monks successfully defied and defeated Napoleon and his police, when they were at the height of their power.

of the others, and a picture of the external educational institutions of Scotland might still be produced with tolerable completeness.

But the relations in which Scotland stood to the native educational institutions of almost all the countries of Europe, more particularly of France, were even more important for the national development than the institutions which she herself planted and maintained abroad. We have already referred to the surprising number of Scotchmen who attained to the office of Rector in the University of Paris. There is scarcely a single French university of which a tale more or less similar might not be told. M. Michel's pages are thickly studded with notices to this effect; but in place of gathering them together, we shall consult at once the interest of our readers and our own convenience, by presenting them with the following spirited sketch of 'scholarly knight-errants' by Mr. Innes, a writer the clearness and felicity of whose style is not one of the least of his attractions. It refers to the period subsequent to the Reformation and the Union of the Crowns, when all special cause for a French alliance, or for continental leanings on the part of Scotchmen had ceased; and still it shows how tenacious the continental habit proved.

'The want of employment, the insecurity, the poverty at home, only in part explain the crowd of expatriated Scotchmen who were, during those centuries, teaching science and letters in every school of Europe. There was something in it of the adventurous spirit of the country—something of the same knight-errantry which led their unlettered brothers to take service wherever a gallant captain gave hope of distinction and prize-money. It was not enough for one of those peripatetic scholars to find a comfortable niche in a university, where he might teach and gain friends and some money for his old age. The whole fraternity was inconceivably restless, and successful teachers migrated from college to college, from Paris to Louvain, from Orleans to Angers, from Padua to Bologna, as men in later times completed their education by the grand tour. The university feeling and the universal language of that day conduced somewhat to this effect. A graduate of one university was "free" of all. His qualifications were on the surface too, and easily tested. A single conference settled a man's character, where ready Latin and subtle or vigorous disputation were the essential points. But whatever were the causes, the student of the history of those centuries must be struck with the facts. The same period which saw Florence Wilson, Scrymger, the elder Barclay, received among the foremost scholars of Europe, in its most learned age, witnessed also three Scotsmen professors at Sedan, at one and the same time, and two, if not three, together at Leyden. John Cameron, admirably learned, lecturing everywhere, everywhere admired, moved in 1600 from Glasgow to

Bergerac, from Bergerac to Sedan, from Sedan to Paris, from Paris to Bordeaux, to Geneva, to Heidelberg, to Saumur, to Glasgow, again to Saumur, to Montauban, there to rest at last. But the type of the class was Thomas Dempster, a man of proved learning and ability, but whose adventures in love and arms, while actually "regenting" at Paris, at Tournay, at Toulouse, at Nismes, in Spain, in England, at Pisa, at Bologna, were as romantic as those of the Admirable Crichton or Cervantes' hero. Incidentally to his own history, Dempster makes us acquainted with four Scotchmen of letters whom he met at Louvain. He visited James Cheyne, a Scotch doctor at Tournay, succeeded David Sinclair as Regent in the College of Navarre at Paris, and was invited by Professor Adam Abernethy and Andrew Currie to join them at Montpellier.*

Every one's experience or desultory reading must have furnished him with examples of the phase of Scottish enterprise which Mr. Innes has commemorated. They are by no means confined to the period of which Mr. Innes has spoken. On the contrary, they stretch from the beginning of the thirteenth down to the end of the eighteenth century. It was not till the French Republican army entered Holland that the last resident Scotchman quitted the University of Leyden. Nor is the race, as regards students, by any means extinct in our own day. But the latest scholarly knight-errant of the old stamp, whom we ourselves have encountered, is poor Ludwig Ross, so well known at Athens, first as conservator of antiquities, and afterwards as a professor in the University, and whose premature death at Halle, in 1859, was deplored even in learned Germany as a serious loss to philological learning. In the interesting sketch of his life which his friend Otto Jahn has appended to a posthumous collection of his more ephemeral writings†, he informs us that Ross's family, which had been settled for several generations in Holstein, sprang from the North of Scotland, and that many traits in his own character and bearing constantly recalled his origin. Maternally he was a German, and German was his mother tongue; but by the father's side of the house he seems to have been a twig of that vigorous branch of the well-grown tree of the Rosses, or Roses, of which the genial king of riflemen is the head, and Ludwig, it seems, was accustomed, like a good Scotchman, to boast that his chief was a member of the Reformed Parliament, and that his shield displayed three *water-bougets*, in token of the crusading exploits of his ancestors.

* Sketches of Early Scottish History, p. 280, *et seq.*

† Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland. Berlin: 1863.

Ross's case, however, is a complete illustration of what we have already mentioned—viz., that, whereas those who went to France preserved for many generations their connexion with Scotland, those who went to the North of Europe almost immediately ceased to be Scotchmen. For practical purposes, the fact of his origin bound him as little to Scotland as the fact that his ancestor was a Crusader bound him to Palestine, and neither Scotland nor Holstein was the better or the worse for his accidental transference from the one to the other. Something very closely analogous, no doubt, occurred in many of the cases mentioned by M. Michel, where Scotchmen were entirely absorbed by the population of France. With those who were members of the greater families of Scotland, the Stuarts, Douglasses, Hamiltons, Lindsays, Crawfurds, Setons, and the like,—who fought in the hundred years' war, who conquered at Bauges, or fell on the fatal fields of Crevant or Verneuil, this would not readily occur. Even those of them, like the Douglasses Dukes of Touraine, the Stuarts Lords of Aubigné, and the Hamiltons Dukes of Chatelhéault, who became the possessors of great estates in France, for the most part retained property in Scotland, or their near relatives did so; and, at any rate, their connexion with the Court which, both in France and in Scotland, had a very cosmopolitan character, would readily keep up their intercourse with their countrymen. But of the 'dix mille chevaliers et braves soldats,' for example, who took service under the banner of Archibald, second Earl of Douglas, in 1422, and of whom the colonists who still exist at La Forêt, in the neighbourhood of Bourges, are very probably the descendants, it is natural to suppose that but few would maintain a Scottish connexion after the second generation. The same may very likely have been the case with the vast majority of those soldiers of fortune of a somewhat higher rank who married French wives, and settled down in the provinces, and whose family histories M. Michel has succeeded in disinterring. Of their Scottish origin, their names leave no possible doubt, for they are just the common names of Scotland at the present day,—Boyd, Chambers's, Cunninghams, Moncreiffs, Turnbills, Gorries, Doddses, Crichtons, Foulises, Monipennys, Lockharts, Morrisons, Pattullos, and Thomsons, the last being the founders of the *maison noble de Thomesson ou Tonneson!* Those of our countrymen who have a taste for orthographical distinctions, may find their account in consulting M. Michel's pages. There is not one of the Scotch names that we have mentioned which is not spelt in half a dozen ways; and this for the most part so as in no-

wise to obscure its identity. In other respects, too, our readers may discover what will be 'to their advantage.' The members of the great house of Thomson will be gratified to learn, 'that there is not the slightest reason to doubt that that family was considered as belonging to the good old nobility,' that Geoffroy de Tonnesson was Seigneur de Remenecourt, that 'Marie de Tonnesson married Antoine des Armoises, Seigneur de Neuville, whose daughter Henriette married François de Nathancourt, Seigneur de Passavant and of other places, who died in 1660,' &c. Some families that never gave proof of the prolific qualities to which that just mentioned may certainly lay claim, had a wonderfully brilliant career in France. Of these, the Pittillochs, or Pattullos, of whom some representatives still exist in Fife and Angus, are a prominent example. In the eventful year 1424, in which the battle of Verneuil was fought, Robert Pittilloch, of Dundee, landed in France, accompanied by a brave band of followers, and rendered such service to Charles VII., chiefly in the south of France, that he received and long retained the name of *le petit roi de Gascogne*. He was a mere soldier of fortune, but he rose to be Governor of Castelnaud, in Médoc, and captain of the Scottish guard, an office of the very highest distinction, in which we afterwards find another David Pitulo, no doubt his descendant, to whose honour, we are told, a statue was erected by Louis XI. Later still, in 1758, another member of the same family dedicated to Madame de Pompadour an *Essai sur l'Amélioration des Terres*.

But though individuals of this class, for all directly political purposes, were no doubt entirely merged in the population of France, it is evident that their existence in the very great numbers in which they are even now traceable, must, considering the strong feelings of kindred and of country for which Scotchmen have always been distinguished, have given, for many generations, a home feeling to all other Scotchmen in France greatly beyond what any Briton experiences in any continental country at the present day.

Previous to the Reformation, the Church was everywhere the great binding-link between different nations, as it was between different classes of society. In both senses it was emphatically the bond of union, and between two countries bound together by so many other ties, this was the case. It was to promotion in France quite as easy as in Scotland, that an ambitious young churchman would be no difficult matter to produce a long list of names who attained to French ecclesiastical preferment of a distinguished kind. John Carmichael was

Bishop of Orleans, Andrew Foreman was Archbishop of Bourges, David Bethune was Bishop of Mirepoix, and it was at the instance of Francis I. that he received the Cardinal's Hat; James Bethune, his nephew, the Archbishop of Glasgow, was Abbot of L'Absie, an office which was also held by another Scotchman named David Panter, or Panton. John Beaton, James's brother, was Canon of St. Quentin. It was the James Bethune, just mentioned, who left to the Scots College what was then considered the enormous sum of 80,000 livres, saved, it was said, during his long residence as ambassador at Paris, from the benefice we have mentioned, and other ecclesiastical preferments which he held in France. To these conspicuous and well-known instances it would not be difficult to add many others of Scotchmen of less note who held minor preferments in the French Church. In proof of the fact that the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries, at all events, preserved their connexion with Scotland unimpaired by their French appointments, it may be sufficient to remind the reader that during Andrew Foreman's short tenure of the archbishopric of Bourges he continued to be Bishop of Moray, and that the result of those complicated political and ecclesiastical intrigues between popes, emperors, and kings which M. Michel has recounted, was that he became Archbishop of St. Andrews; whilst David Bethune was at one and the same time Rector of Campsie, Abbot of Aberbrothick, Bishop of Mirepoix in France, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Cardinal of St. Stephen in Monte Calio, and—Chancellor of Scotland!

After the Reformation, the ties which had been contracted under the influence of a common faith were riveted by persecution. The Roman Catholic families of Scotland, fiercely opposed by the leaders of the Scottish National Church, naturally learned to look for sympathy and support to their co-religionaries of France. The Stuarts themselves were guilty of this offence against the majesty and independence of England, and it cost them the throne: and down to the fatal expedition of the Pretender in '45, buoyed up to the last by false hopes of French assistance, the capricious patronage of the Court of Versailles kept alive this old traditional delusion of the Jacobites. But it is no slight proof of the influence of Scotchmen in France, that a Berwick commanded her armies, a Law administered her finances, and a Macdonald rose to be one of the marshals of Napoleon I.

It used to be said that the establishment of permanent embassies in Europe took place subsequently to the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648; and even the latest edition of Mr.

Wheaton's 'Elements' gives countenance to this view. By those who claim for them a somewhat greater antiquity, their introduction (with the exception of the nuncios and legates of the popes, who confessedly resided permanently at an earlier period) is generally ascribed to Ferdinand the Catholic, as we had occasion to show from Dr. Puebla's despatches in our last Number. The statement is one which anything approaching to an intimate acquaintance with the earlier history of any one of the older European countries will equally serve to invalidate. The works before us, at all events, place it beyond question that long before the latter period, and probably before the former, the intimate relation which subsisted between France and Scotland had led to the custom of maintaining resident political agents at both Courts. M. de la Motte, for example, in Scotland, and Andrew Foreman in France, seem each to have been intrusted with a general mission. It is well known that Cardinal Bethune, or Beaton, as he is called in Scotland, resided at Paris from 1519 to 1625, and on two subsequent occasions, for shorter periods, in the character of an ordinary ambassador. Somewhat later, his nephew, James Beaton, succeeded him in that capacity. He served not only before the Reformation, but was subsequently employed by James VI.; and when he died in 1603, in his eighty-sixth year, he had been ambassador to three generations of the royal family of Scotland, had seen six kings of France, and transacted business with five of them. M. Taulet's 'Papiers d'Etat,' indeed, are mainly composed of instructions to and letters from resident ambassadors, and he mentions expressly their *discontinuance* during the troubled years which succeeded the imprisonment of Queen Mary in Lochleven, when the English influence was in the ascendant, as a departure from the ancient usage. 'After the imprisonment of Mary Stuart at Loch Leven,' he says, 'the ambassador Du Croc returned to France, and during nearly twenty years there were no more resident ambassadors in Scotland, *mais seulement des envoyés chargés de missions temporaires.*'

There was an old house in the Cowgate of Edinburgh, traditionally known as the residence of the French Ambassador, and in Wilson's 'Memorials' will be found an engraving of the edifice called the French Ambassador's Chapel, which was pulled down so lately as 1829. When not actually at war with England, both France and Scotland maintained constant diplomatic relations with that country. We frequently come upon Spanish ambassadors also, resident in all the three countries, and hear of Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Scotchmen, who were

resident in Spain. The extent to which Spain was mixed up in the transactions of England, Scotland, and France in the sixteenth century, has received very important additional illustration from a portion of M. Teulet's very interesting and important collection. Speaking of the 44th section of his work, he says :—

‘The pieces collected in this section are all taken from the same register (Angleterre XXI), in the Archives of the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères. It is a contemporary collection of the greatest authenticity, which comprises principally the correspondence of the Duchess of Parma, the Duke of Alba, Perrenot, and the Baron de Glajon, with Philip II., relating to the intervention of Spain in the disputes between France and England on the subject of Scotland in 1559 and 1560, when Francis II., become King of France and Scotland, resolved to send into his new States sufficient forces to reduce his revolted subjects. This correspondence, which extends from the 22nd of August, 1559, to 21st of May, 1560, seemed to us the more important because historians do not mention this intervention of Spain between France and England. It is curious to study, in the documents it contains, the opinion of the Spaniards on the respective strength of the two States, and to see how they came to the profound conviction that England was absolutely incapable of offering any certain resistance to an invasion by France. These documents were, therefore, sufficiently interesting to be published; but they exhibit all the faults of Spanish diplomatic correspondence in the sixteenth century, being almost always long, diffuse, and wearisome to the reader. We could not modify the text itself; but we have suppressed the despatches which were mere repetitions of the others.’*

It is not very clear to what extent the envoy of those days was surrounded by the ambassadorial staff of later times. The mission seems, however, generally to have consisted of several individuals; and that amongst these was included a secretary of legation, results from such facts as that Throckmorton's secretary was bribed, and furnished to the French Ambassador, La Forest, a portion of the documents published by M. Teulet!

These facts conclusively dispose of the common opinion that the permanent embassy is a modern institution, which took the place occupied by the Church as an international link in European society, down to the period of the Reformation. Long before the Reformation, the embassy existed alongside of the Church; sometimes, though by no means necessarily or constantly, in connexion with it; and its existence is one more proof, added to the many we have adduced, in support of the view that the relations between neighbouring European States were in general quite as intimate, and those between France

* *Teulet*, Preface, p. xiv.

and Scotland far more intimate, in earlier than in modern times.

There can be little doubt that Henry II. entertained the hopeless and irrational project of incorporating Scotland with France. M. Teulet has given, from a document in the Dupuy Collection, a decision of the Parliament of Paris, by which it was declared that, Mary Stuart having entered her twelfth year, Scotland should henceforth be governed in her name by French delegates,—a decision which, as M. Teulet justly remarks, could have been competently arrived at by the Parliament of Scotland alone. Such was probably also the object of the government of Mary of Guise, and of her indiscreet employment of French officials,—a measure which more than anything else tended to alienate the affections of the Scotch. But such was not the object of the Parliament of Scotland in reciprocating the general letters of naturalisation which Henry had issued, nor does there seem any ground for alleging such an intention against the kings of France, either before this period or after—from Louis XII. in 1513 to Louis XIV. in 1648—almost all of whom adopted similar measures. In conferring the right of possessing all benefices, dignities, and ecclesiastical offices, lands, and seigneuries, of acquiring and holding heritable and moveable property, of transmitting it, free from the *Droit d'Aubaine*, and of being ‘treated, favoured, held, deemed, and ‘reputed for ever, as true originals of the kingdom,’ the object was not incorporate union, but firm and intimate alliance; and we have already seen how well that object was accomplished. One of the most immediate and inevitable results of such relations as these, and one which does not follow at all from the exchange of mercantile commodities, however extensive, is intermarriages. We find, accordingly, that the Scotch who settled in France almost invariably married French wives, leaving behind them a progeny who were bound to both countries by stronger ties than either of their parents. It is thus that elements of national repulsion are overcome, and bonds of national union artificially created. How much more powerful these bonds are than any which arise from common interest, or mere political arrangements, the modern history of Europe most abundantly testifies.