The Green Island 1

IN the Hebrides, there are traditions of an Island away in the West, submerged by enchantments, in which the inhabitants continue to live as formerly, and which will yet become visible and accessible. Traditions regarding its position vary, each locality placing it near itself, and the tales are of interest as showing the direction popular imagination has taken on such a topic. It would be strange if men, placed on the margin of a boundless sea, and in whose evening entertainments song and poem occupied a prominent part, did not people the cloudy distance with inhabited islands.

The Sgialachds, or winter evening tales, often make mention of the 'congealed sea' (muir-teuchd or m. tiachd), the name now commonly given to jelly-fish. It was supposed to be the region where sea and sky meet. The water there is like jelly-fish, and boats cannot move through it from its consistency. This fancy very likely originated in vague rumours of the Polar ice. Before arriving at this distant region lay 'The Green Island in the uttermost bounds of the world' (an t-Eilein Uaine an iomall an domhain tur),2 which is at present invisible from being under enchantments (fo gheasaibh).

In the same ancient lore about giants, Lochlin, the kings of Ireland, and distant voyages, Tiree figures as the 'Remote Island' (an t-Eilein Iomallach), and the cave, in which, according to one of the tales, Sir Olave O'Corn killed the giant, is the Big Cave in Kennavara hill, at its western extremity. It was also known as 'Kingdom Tops-under-waves' (Rioghachd Bharrai-fo-thuinn), there being a current belief that it is lower than the surrounding sea. The extremely

¹ This paper was written about twenty years ago by the late Rev. J. Gregorson Campbell of Tiree, author of Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. It is now published for the first time.—Ed. S.H.R.

² Others say, 'an domhain dàmhair,' but can give no explanation of what dàmhair means.

level character of the island is so much in contrast with the rest of the Hebrides that such a belief might naturally arise. During a heavy surf, the sea is seen in several places right across the Island, from the one shore, breaking in foam upon the other. A fisherman in the west end said there could be no doubt on this point, as the boats always took longer going out to the banks than coming in again. In the latter case they were coming down an incline! There was also a tradition that the Island was at one time separated from Barra only by a narrow sound. A woman, milking a cow in Tiree, could throw the cow-shackle (buarach) across to another in Barra. Probably the tradition has originated from the existence of peat-mosses under the sandy beaches of the island and the neighbouring sea. After heavy storms, large pieces of peat are cast ashore. These are known as moine thilgte (i.e. cast

peat), and are dried and used as fuel.

According to the Barra people, there is an Island away to the north-west of themselves, at present submerged, but to reappear in the time of 'Roderick of the three Rodericks' (ri linn Ruaraidh nan trī Ruaraidhean), a chief of the M'Neills of Barra. Others say, the man prophesying with a shoulderblade said, that in the time of the last of seven Rodericks, every one of whom was to have a black spot on his shoulder (ball dubh air a shlinnein), and of the miller with three thumbs (muilleir nan trī ōrdag), Rôca Barra would appear, or (as the expression may also be explained) a heavy burden was to come on Barra (thig Rôc air Barra). The name of the imaginary island is Roca Barra, and it is alleged to be the property of the ancient family of the MacNeills of Barra. It was sunk by an earthquake at the time a great part of Tiree sank, and its inhabitants every year put past the rent in the eye of a lime-kiln (sūil āth) till a chief of the MacNeills comes to claim it. The Island is not large, but is very beautiful, and, according to the Barra people, is the real 'Green Island' of old tales. Barra itself has been sold by the M'Neills, and the fourth Roderick in a direct line has been chief, but Roca Barra has not yet been seen.

It was said in Tiree the Green Island was attached to itself, as Roca Barra was to Barra. There was even a popular saying,

¹ It is quite true, that it takes a longer time to go to the fishing banks on the west of the Island than to return again, but the reason is, that the 'set' or swell of the sea is always from the west.

that it was mentioned in the charters of the Island. The following will suffice as specimens of the tales told of it and Roca Barra:

A stranger came to Mull and asked to be ferried across to the Green Island. The boatmen said they did not know where that place was. He said it was near Tiree, and he himself would guide them to it. On arriving at the place, he took them up to his house for refreshments. The only person in was an old woman, who was busy eating. In reply to the inquiries of the man, with whom the boatmen had come, she said her appetite was failing, but she could still take 'seven little cod, and seven large cod, one from off the embers, a drink of juice, and three bannocks.' The Mullmen were seen safe on board this boat, and when they looked about, after setting sail, no island was to be seen, nor has the Green Island been seen since.

A native of the Green Island stayed long in Barra, married, and had a large family. Whenever he brought home peats, he was in the habit of leaving a creelful on Ben Tangavel, the highest hill in the place, till the heap at last was very large. When very old, he asked to be taken out fishing. He told those who remained at home the night was to be very dark, and if the boat was not home before nightfall they were to set fire to the pile of peats on the hill. He made his companions row far out to sea, farther than they had ever been before. They began to fish, and caught immensely large fish. At last the boat was observed to be on dry ground that formed the shore of an island. At the old man's desire, the fishermen left her, and accompanied him through the island. They found only one house, and an old woman within. In a while the old man told them it was time to return. He went with them to the boat. When they went on board, a heavy mist came on, the bank on which the boat rested disappeared, and the old man along with it. The boat returned home, guided by the blazing fire on Ben Tangavel.

A Tiree version of the same story runs thus: An old blind man asked to be taken out to fish on the banks to the north-west of the island. The fishers had previously met with little success. He said this was owing to their not finding the right place. After going a long distance, he asked them

¹ Seachd truisg bheaga, 's seachd truisg mhora, fear far na grīosaich, deoch an t-sūgh, 's trī bonnaich.

how they saw Tiree, and, not satisfied with their answers, made them still row on. At last, when they said they saw Tiree like two islands, he told them to cast anchor and begin to fish. He asked for the first fish caught, and on feeling it over with his hands said, they were not yet in the right place. Refreshed by the rest, the men rowed further out to sea, till at last they could row no further. Again the same thing occurred, and thrice the anchor was cast and raised. Then the old man asked if anything was in sight. The men said they saw an island. He told them to row towards it, and not to take their eyes off till they landed. They did this, and on reaching jumped out and made fast the boat. The old man was left in charge, and the rest went up through the island. They fell in with no one, but an old woman in a solitary house. She had a creelful of potatoes (puntat' air craoileig) before her, and was busy eating. She said never a word, and paid no attention to the intruders, but continued eating. When they returned to the boat, the old man asked them what they had seen. They told, and he said, 'Aye, Big Sense has got her appetite yet.' By his advice they made ready to return, and went into the boat, leaving the old man on the shore. They bent down to get ready the oars, and when they looked about again the island had disappeared, and the old man along with it. Neither have since been seen. Had the old man, or anything belonging to the island, been taken away, or had the men even kept their eyes upon it, the mysterious island would not have disappeared.

A native of Barra was one day fishing in the Western Ocean, and feeling a weight (trom) on his line, pulled it in and found a man entangled upon it. He took the strange fish home, and kept him for seven years. During that time his captive never said a word, but on three different occasions was heard to laugh. He ate whatever was set before him, but was never heard to speak. The occasions on which he laughed were, on hearing the servant man abusing a pair of new shoes, on seeing his host pulling some barley beards off his wife's clothes, and on seeing a young woman weeping bitterly. At the end of the seven years, a beautiful day occurred in the middle of tempestuous winter weather. Such days may be calculated on in the Hebrides, and are taken advantage of for thatching houses, straw being at the time in

greatest abundance. The man from the submarine land remarked, that this was a very fine day for thatching the houses in the place he came from. The conversation being followed up, his host promised to let him down where he had been fished up and restore him to his own country, if he would tell the cause of his laughter on the three occasions mentioned. On the first occasion, when he heard the servant man abusing the new shoes for being too thin, he laughed to think that the man would never wear them. It was a case of

'New shoes little valued,
And no one knowing who was to wear them.'1

The servant man died soon after, and another wore the shoes. On the second occasion he saw his host's wife coming in with barley beards on the back of her clothes. He laughed to see her husband pulling them off, as her too great intimacy with the servant-man in the barn was the cause of their being there. He laughed at the young woman weeping, because he knew she was weeping for her laughter of last year. Others say one of the occasions of the laughter was hearing people rating the two dogs belonging to the house, in ignorance that the animals were barking at robbers coming to plunder the house.

Exactly the same story is told in Tiree of a man fished up near Biesta, on the north-west of the island. The tradition has now almost become extinct, but old men averred, in proof of its truth, that the fishing placed called 'The Place of the House' (āite 'n tighe) near Port Biesta derives its name from the mysterious man having been fished there. His name was MacKelloch (MacCeallaich), and in his own country he was a Prior or sort of judge. This became known when he was lowered down, according to promise. The people below were heard heartily welcoming him, and saying, 'Have you come, Prior? Your life and health, Prior,' etc. (an d' thāineadh tu, Bhritheir? Do bheatha 's do shlāinte, a Bhritheir). He is also called the Fair-haired Prior (am Britheir Bān).

It is said that in Hamilton Moore's Book of Navigation the latitude and longitude of Roca is given. Tradition says a ship once called there, and its crew was very hospitably entertained by the islanders. When leaving the sailors were

¹ Brog thana 's i gun mheas Gun fhios co chaitheas i.

accompanied to the shore and made to leave their shoes. Whenever they left the shore the island disappeared. If they had kept their shoes, and anything belonging to the island, even a particle of its dust, had adhered to them, Roca Barra would be still visible.

A native of Barra found a dun cow (mart odhar) on the shore, and on being taken home it remained with him like one of his other cows. Its calves were kept, till at last the man's stock consisted nearly all of that breed. When the dun cow was getting old, and, as he thought, not profitable to keep any longer, he spoke of killing it. Unfortunately this was done in the hearing of the cow itself. Before next morning the cow and all its progeny disappeared. No one saw or heard them going, or could say where they had gone. It was supposed the cow came originally from Roca Barra.

On another occasion a reddish and speckled calf (laogh breac ruadh) was found on the shore. It became a most excellent milch-cow, but whenever its calving time came it disappeared mysteriously for a time, and none of its calves were ever seen. It always, however, came back itself. It also was believed to

have come from the Green Island.

In the following ballad an account (though only in outline) is given of the expedition of Sir Olave O'Corn to some island in the remote west to fetch a wife for the King of Britain. In the prose tales, Sir Olave is said to have been a sister's son of Kinarthur MacIvor, a king in Ireland, and to have gone to the Remote Island for a wife to the King of Ireland. The ballad is probably not old. This copy was got from three different individuals, who did not get their version from a common source, at least within the present generation. The name of the hero is given by some as Sir Callovaich.

SIR OLAVE O'CORN.

The King of Britain dreamt in his sleep
Of the fairest woman beneath the sun;
Sir Olave spoke generously,
I will go to seek the wife;
Myself, my servant, and my dog,
We will go, we three alone.
For five weeks and nine months
We were wearied traversing the ocean,
Before we saw land or soil
Or place where ship could rest.

In the outskirt of the rough ocean, Was seen a fresh grey-blue building, Glass windows on its gable, More numerous were dogs there than deer; On a day when sailing close by it, A chain was seen descending. I caught it without awe or fear, And swiftly up I made my way. A woman of fresh white teeth was seen, Sitting inside in the tower, A mirror of glass on her two knees, And I blessed her fair face. 'Youth, who hast come across the sea, Wretched is thy welcome to my house! When the master of the house is come, He asks not whether thou art strong or weak.' 'As to thy lament, kind dame, Alike to me are his love and hate.' Sir Olave was placed in hiding, And the big man came in, Darling, delight, and love, Great is my care for thee; Rest thy head on my knee, And I will play to thee on the harp.' The harping of the fair young woman, Of bluest eye and whitest tooth! They stole the sword from his belt, And unawares took off his head. And rather would he fall by her, Than in combat with an equal foe.

Another tale, connected with some unknown remote western land, is that of Screuchag (i.e. a shrill-voiced female), who was speechless for seven years. It seems to have been at one time well known in Argyllshire, though now rare. Verses of it have been got in Tiree, at Loch Awe side, and from a native of Morven. The expressions in the original are remarkably smooth and graceful, and it would confer a boon on students of Gaelic if the composition, of which the following verses are but fragments were rescued from oblivion.

The Tiree story is, that a man found a young and beautiful woman sleeping on a hillock. When wakened she would not speak. He took her home, and, though apparently deaf and dumb, married her. He had three children by her. For seven years she never uttered a word. At the end of that time his mother said she would make her speak. On the

occasion of a cow being killed, she put her on the other side of a fire placed on the floor, with a 'grey candle' (coinneal ghlas), i.e. a candle in which the cloth that serves for a wick is wrapped round the tallow. The house was filled with smoke, and the candle was dripping on her hands. At last she spoke, and her mother-in-law followed up the conversation:

- 'By my dignity, black candle, Though my hand is black beneath thy smoke, Methinks that was not my wonted work, In the great house of my father or mother.
- 'Cheerful lark, wonderful bird,
 That came from the land of wild birds,
 Thou hast called with stately cry
 At the end of thy seventh year.
- 'I know how it fared with you
 When you chanced to be in your father's house;
 A lean cow, blind of an eye, and with three teats,
 A blind man and four of a company.

'That is a lie, For like we were there, Silken banners raised on high, A silken shirt on every man, And the brown wine gurgling there. A hundred young dames, of loftiest looks, Were there with brown steeds and their bridles; Seven team were ploughing, Making bread for my father's house, There were yew wands and neck wands, And ornaments of gold and silver, And nine chains of twisted gold, In the house of my magnanimous big king, In the house of King Sionnach; In the big house of lofty battlements, On its roof-tree lies no root; Not of holly is it, Nor of ivy, Nor the alder, Full of knobs, But the wild fig, spear-like, full of sap, (?) With hosts around, and lofty smoke. A mounted youth, of whitest limbs, At speed over land and over waves, And a brown maid with narrow eyebrows Making sweet music in a rounded hillock.'

It is, perhaps, mere conjecture to look in these idle tales for a foundation of fact, or any reference to the distant lands of the Western Hemisphere. At the same time, the manner in which popular tales originate makes such a supposition tenable. Frequently tales owe their origin and tenor to some real occurrence, though just as frequently they are overlaid and coloured by the unrestrained imagination to such an extent that the original truth is lost sight of, and for historical uses they are best treated as fictions. Independent records, the Icelandic sagas, create a probability that in this case the tales may have a slight historical value.

İceland was first discovered by the Norwegians in A.D. 860, and was colonized by them in 874. About a century afterwards, in A.D. 982, Greenland was discovered by the Norsemen from Iceland, and for upwards of four centuries a Christian community from Iceland occupied its far distant shores. How that community disappeared, or why the colony was abandoned, whether from some natural catastrophe and changes of climate, the ravages of the Black Death that swept Europe in 1348, or the violence of the numerous pirates that at the time in-

fested the north, is not known.

When the Norsemen made their way to Iceland, they found there Irish books, wooden crosses, bells, etc. St. Brendan, first abbot of Clonfert, Galway, Ireland, in his marvellous voyage of seven years in search of the island which contained the identical paradise of Adam and Eve, about A.D. 560, came, after being driven many days to the northward by a strong south wind, to a land full of demons, armed with red-hot hooks and hammers, and where there was a hill all on fire, and a foul smoke coming from thence, etc. The adventures of the saint are of a class with those of Sinbad the Sailor, and the only conclusion that can be drawn from them is that the voyagers fell in with incidents which suggested the marvels of which they gave an account. Iceland is the only land to the north in which they could have seen a burning mountain. Dicuil, an Irish monk of the ninth century, mentions in a geographical treatise he wrote, that Iceland had been discovered by his countrymen, as ancient Icelandic documents state that Christian men, called by the Northmen Papae, were on the island before Modern writers suppose them to have been fishermen from the north of Ireland and the western islands of Scotland.

In the Laxdaela Saga, a composition supposed to have been written in the thirteenth century, we are told that in the middle of the tenth century Höskuld, an Icelander, went to Norway for timber, and there bought from a Russian trader a young and very pretty girl, who was to all appearance deaf and dumb. He took her home with him, and he had a son by her, whom he called Olaf. For a long time she maintained her assumed character of being deaf and dumb. One day Höskuld found her talking to her son. She then told that her name was Melkorka, and that her father was an Irish

king, Mirkjartan.1

The Lochlunnaich, or Scandinavian sea-rovers, began at a very early period to infest the western islands of Scotland and the coasts of Ireland, and during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries their vessels swept the seas as far, it is said, as the coasts of Italy. In the ninth century they were in possession of Dublin, Limerick, Waterford, and various sea-coast towns in Ireland. In 880, Rollo, the future founder of the Norman Empire in France, following the footsteps of many of the Norwegian nobility who left their native country when Harold Harfagr made himself master of the whole of Norway, retired with his fleet among the Hebrides. Being there warmly welcomed by his fellow-exiles, he thence started on the expedition that terminated in making him master of Normandy. His name Rollo, or Raoul, is the same as the Gaelic Ronald (Raonull, colloquially Rao'ull), which is a common name among a sept of the Macdonalds, Ronald MacRonald being as common as Donald Macdonald, Gillan Maclean, or Gregor MacGregor. An ancient Gaelic name for the Isle of Skye is Innse-Gall, 'the stranger's place of shelter,' a name likely derived from these far-off days.2

¹ Blackwell's Mallet's North. Antiq. p. 313.

² Innse-Gall is usually translated 'the Isles of the Strangers,' and is made to include the whole Hebrides. Innis (the sing. of Innse) is rendered in dictionaries 'an island, a sheltered place for cattle,' but in no poem, proverb, or name of place is it found meaning simply 'an island.' The places in the name of which it occurs are in many cases not islands at all, but sheltered places in woods or valleys, where cattle were collected in the evening to be milked and to rest for the night. The islets in the name of which it occurs, like Inch Kenneth near Mull, are in sheltered places, and hence Inch is common in the names of islets in inland lakes. In the saying, 'a cold shelter is the cairn' (Is fuar an innis an carn), the cairn means the tops of the hills where a person under hiding seeks security from his pursuers. That Skye was the original Innse-Gall is conclusively

In 984, a century before its discovery by Columbus, the voyages of the Norsemen extended to America. In an old Icelandic geographical treatise it is said that to the south of inhabited Greenland, beyond the land of the Skraellings (Esquimaux) and Markland (Nova Scotia?) and Vinland the Good (New England and Massachusetts?), lay Hvitramannaland, i.e. Whiteman's land, 'whither vessels formerly sailed from Ireland.' There is a tendency to scout any statement of this kind, which was unknown to, or unnoticed by Latin writers and civilized Europe as undeserving of attention, but it may be looked upon as certain that the Norsemen were acquainted with the northern part of the American continent before the voyage of Columbus. 'Neither is it at all improbable that trading voyages may have occasionally been made from Limerick to some part of the American continent.'2

From all this the widespread wanderings of the tribes in the north-west of Europe in early ages, and the communication between Iceland and the Western Islands and Ireland, it may be argued that the 'Green Island in the uttermost bounds of the world' is Greenland, that the island where Sir Olave got a wife for the King of Britain is Iceland, and that the young woman, who so long held her tongue, and by her inarticulate cries earned for herself the name of Screuchag (shrill-voiced female), was Melkorka, the daughter of an Irish king. The mysterious manner in which the Christian population of Greenland disappeared finds its counterpart in the Green Island disappearing by the force of enchantments, and the fact of the population being Christian and the man from the submarine land being a Prior. The incident of Melkorka is too romantic

shown by the Ossianic ballad of *Brugh Farala*, which describes the burning of Farala, a brugh or mansion, in which Fionn and the Fians lodged on the mainland, it is said in Ardnamurchan. It begins:

'A day Fionn went with his Fians
To the green straths of Innse-Gall,
They let slip their dogs along the hill sides
Among the glens that nearest lay.
Earthly coloured mist arose,
Brugh Farala was flaming high,
Each vaulted on his spear-shaft head,
And MacRethinn was left on the sound.'

Hence the name of Ryle rhea (Caol Redhinn), the sound between Skye and the mainland.

¹ Ibid. p. 265.

to have occurred twice, and is possibly only a popular story, localized both in the west of Scotland and in Iceland. As an actual fact, the Icelandic story is probable enough. At the same time, it will not excite the wonder of the storyologist, as those who study such lore have called themselves, if a similar story should be found in the East. If accounts of the mythic Green Island went from Scotland to Iceland, we have a clue to the reason of the name Greenland being given to that forbidding region. A resemblance of names is, however, a portion of what Hume calls 'the dark industry of antiquaries,' to which little weight can be attached.

The Bishops of Glasgow

From the Restoration of the See by Earl David to the Reformation: Notes chiefly Chronological ¹

A.D. 1316-A.D. 1446

DURING the struggle for Scottish independence in the days of Bruce, the action of successive Popes was consistently in favour of the kings of England. But sometimes requests were made which the Popes did not consent to grant. Thus the efforts of Edward I. to induce the Pope to substitute another for Robert Wischard, bishop of Glasgow, were unavailing. On 4 Oct. 1306 Edward wrote to Clement V. beseeching him to make his (the king's) clerk, Master Geoffrey de Moubray, bishop of Glasgow in place of 'the traitor' Robert Wyschard. We hear no more of it. The letter is printed in full in Prynne's History (p. 1157).

In a writ of Robert I., dated 26 April, 1309 (R.G. i. 220), Master Stephen de Donydouer, canon of Glasgow and chamberlain of the king, makes his appearance (with Bernard, the chancellor) as vicar and locum tenens of Robert, bishop of Glasgow, then suffering chains, imprisonment, and persecutions 'borne patiently for the rights of the Church and of our realm of Scotland.' He appears as bishop-elect some seven years

later.

XV. STEPHEN DE DONYDOUER was probably elected in December, 1316, or early in 1317. He was elected concorditer, and went to the Apostolic See to obtain confirmation. The Pope despatched him to Scotland, without confirmation, in prosecutione quorumdam negotiorum. On his journey he died at Paris (T. No. 424). On 13 July, 1317, Edward II. thanks the Pope for having refused to accept, as bishop of Glasgow, Stephen de Donydor, a Scot (Rymer, iii. 654). Stephen's death must have been at latest early in August, 1317, for on 18 Aug. 1317, on the death of Master Stephen, the Pope reserves to his own provision the See of Glasgow (C.P.R. ii. 132).

¹ Continued from S.H.R. vol. v. p. 88. Sir Archibald C. Lawrie has communicated to me reasons (and they seem to me weighty reasons) for questioning the accuracy of the statement (p. 79) said to be derived from the charter chest of Fletcher of Salton. It is intended to examine and reconsider this point, and such others as may arise, at the close of this series of papers.

After the death of Donydouer we find Keith much confused. He introduces a John Wiseheart, for whom at this time there is, so far as I know, no evidence. He appears later. Cosmo Innes (R.G. i. p. xxxvi) is no less puzzled. But more recently published documents clear the matter up, and they reveal the appointment by the Pope (John XXII.), before 17 July, 1318 (T. No. 424), at the request of the king of England (C.P.R. ii. 426), of

XVI. JOHN (DE EGGLESCLIFFE), penitentiary of the Pope, of the Order of Preaching Friars. Appointed and consecrated, at command of the Pope, by Nicholas [Alberti, a Dominican], bishop of Ostia, at Avignon before 17 July, 1318 (T. No. 424). The letter printed by T. states that, on the death of Stephen de Dundore, the chapter of Glasgow, 'perchance ignorant' of the Pope having reserved the appointment to himself, had elected John de Lindesay canon of that church. The Pope declared such election, as being contrary to his reservation, null and void. John de Lindesay had himself gone for confirmation to the Apostolic See. The Pope, after declaring the election null, 'to avoid too long a vacancy of the see,' provided John, his penitentiary (i.e. Egglescliffe), to the bishopric. It is interesting to note that the customary concurrent Letters were addressed, not to the king of Scots, but to Edward, king of England. King Robert complained that an English Preaching Friar had been placed by the Pope in the see of Glasgow, for the Pope replies to his objections on 16 Aug. 1319 (C.P.R. ii. 427; compare 428). The Pope's letter is addressed to 'Robert calling himself king of Scotland.' In Scotland this appointment seems to have been disregarded; for the see is spoken of as void, 3 Feb. 1318-19, Paisley, 238; July, 1321, Melrose, No. 387; 1 Christmas, 1321, Arbroath, i. 214; and 31 Dec. 1321, Dunfermlin, 245.

The new bishop, who is doubtless Egglescliffe (not Wyschard, as Mr. Bain supposes; see Index to vol. iii. of his Calendar), writes (through the king of England) to the Pope, saying that he gets nothing from his bishopric, and hoping that the Pope will overlook the non-payment of the servitia due to the Pope and the cardinals. This is at the end of March, 1323, and before the bulls of his translation could have reached him (B.C. iii. No. 608). He had represented to the Pope that he was unable, ex certis causis, to govern and instruct the flock committed to his

care (T. No. 448).

Before 15 March, 1323, he was translated by the Pope to the see of Connor in Ireland (*ibid.*). But he was not to remain there long, for he seems to have been translated to Llandaff on 20 June, 1323 (C.P.R. ii. 232). Gams assigns the translation of John de Egglescliffe to Connor to the year 1322, but this is obviously an error.

There is a parish called Eaglescliffe in the county of Durham.

An indulgence granted by John, relying on the merits of the blessed Virgin, St. Dominic, and 'St. Kentigern, bishop, our patron,' on 6 Jan.

¹ The chapter of Glasgow express themselves cautiously: 'Cum non sit episcopus ad quem possit haberi recursus.'



SEAL OF BISHOP EGGLESCLIFFE

(Slightly larger than the original)
From the Brackley Charters in the muniment room of
Magdalen College, Oxford

1320-21, is in 'the third year of our pontificate' (Brackley Charters of

Magdalen College, Oxford).

Egglescliffe's seal (pointed oval) represents, under tabernacle work, a bishop fully vested, with mitre, and pastoral staff in his left hand, the right hand being raised in benediction. On the dexter side is a shield bearing the three lions (or leopards) of England; on the sinister side a shield bearing an eagle (?). The legend is s. FR[ATR]IS IOHANNIS DEI GRA[TIA] GLASGUENSIS EPISCOPI.

Chalmers (Caledonia, iii. 619) cites the Harleian Manuscripts for John elect of Glasgow being present at King Robert's Parliament at Scone

3 Dec. 1318. This, of course, was John de Lindesay.

XVII. JOHN DE LINDESAY, canon of Glasgow. For his election (quashed) about the year 1317, see last entry. He was now provided by



SEAL OF JOHN DE LINDESAY, A.D. 1323-1335.

the Pope to the see, void by the translation of John de Egglescliffe to Connor, on 15 March, 1323 (T. No. 448). He was consecrated (at Avignon?) at command of the Pope, by Vitalis [de Furno], bishop of Albano, before 10 Oct. 1323, when he was commanded to betake himself to his diocese (T. No. 451). We find John, bishop of Glasgow, at the General Council at Scone on Thursday before the Annunciation (25 March), 1324 (i.e. 1324-25), where he defended himself for conferring at the king's command a prebend reserved by the Pope (R.G. No. 270); 22 Nov. 1325 (Cambusk., 200). John, bishop of Glasgow, was in Parliament at Scone in 1326 (A.P. i. 483). That he was 'de Lindesay' we gather from a charter of his successor, Bishop William (Raa), where he speaks of his predecessor, 'John de Lindesy, bishop of Glasgow' (Kelso, No. 501), doubtless to distinguish him from John Wyschard, the immediate successor of Lindesay. He is in Edward Balliol's Parliament of 1333 (A.P. i. 542), and he, with the bishops of Dunkeld and Aberdeen, witness a grant of King Edward Balliol to Edward III. of England, 12 Feb. 1334 (Rymer).

There is a charter of John, bishop of Glasgow, in Kelso (No. 468),

which must be John de Lindesay's.

His seal (pointed oval) exhibits a bishop, under a canopy of tabernacle work, with at the sides two shields; over the dexter shield a salmon, over the sinister a bird. The dexter shield bears the arms of De Coucy; the sinister shield bears an oral vair surmounted by a bend (Lindsay). It is figured in Laing and R.G. See Macdonald's Scottish Armorial Seals, No. 1669. The connexion of the family of De Coucy with that of Lindesay will be found in the Scots Peerage (Balfour Paul), vol. iii., article Crawford; but who the bishop was is not apparent. There is mention of this seal being lost, and of the two shields, one bearing the arms of the nobleman 'Willelmi de Coucyaco,' and the other bearing the bishop's arms (R.G. No. 271).

John de Lindesay died about 15 August, 1335 (not in 1337 as stated in Lanercost, 291). The see was treated as void 8 Feb. 1335-6 (R.G. No. 286), where John is 'nuper episcopus Glasguensis.' With this before him it is strange that Cosmo Innes should in the Preface (R.G. p. xxxvii) assign his death to 1337, following the inaccurate reasonings of Hailes (Annals, s.a. 1337). It is absolutely certain that Lindesay did not die in August, 1337, for his successor, John Wiseheart, was consecrated before 16 Feb. 1336-7. That John, 'nuper Glasguensis episcopus,' was John de Lindesay there can be no doubt, for he is represented in the charter (R.G. No. 286) as confirming a grant made by 'Edward (Balliol), king of

Scots,' to Holmcultram.

There is an account of the death of Lindesay in Walsingham (Hist. Reg. Angl. s.a. 1335). Two ships from Flanders, with many Scots on board, were taken by the English, under the command of the Earls of Salisbury and Huntingdon. Among the prisoners were several men of distinction (including the bishop of Glasgow) and several noble ladies. The bishop was mortally wounded in the head, and died. Lanercost gives a more sentimental account, stating that the bishop and some of the noble ladies were so affected by grief that they refused to eat or drink, and died before the ships made the land. Their bodies were buried at Wytsande in England. I do not know what place is intended, but there is a Whitsand Bay in the south-east of Cornwall. This place, however, is very remote from the course which would have been taken by ships sailing from Flanders to Scotland (unless indeed the Scottish port intended as the place of landing was on the west coast), and perhaps some other place is meant.

As we have seen, the see was void 8 Feb. 1335-6, and it continued void

till Feb. 1337. See next entry.

XVIII. JOHN WYSCHARD (Wiseheart, Wyscard, Wishard), Archdeacon of Glasgow [John Wyschard was archdeacon of Glasgow in 1321 and 1325, R.G. 228, 233, 235, and probably much earlier], who had been elected (the see being void by the death of John), per viam compromissi, resorted for confirmation to the Apostolic See. The election was confirmed, and, by order of Benedict XII., John was consecrated, apparently at Avignon, by Annibald [de Ceccano], bishop of Tusculum,

probably a few days before 16 Feb. 1336-37 (T. No. 540). Concurrent letters to David King of Scots.

John Wyschard's episcopate was brief. The see was void 11 May

1338 (Melrose, No. 450) by the death of John (see next entry).

The succession of three bishops bearing the same name, John, makes the testing clauses of charters, and such like evidence, of little value in determining the identification of each. Keith, Cosmo Innes, and Grub were each suffering from the disadvantage of having written before the appearance of Theiner and C.P.R.

If this John Wyschard is to be identified with the John Wiseheart, 'quondum archidiaconum Glasguensem,' who was a prisoner of the king of England at Conway, Chester, and the Tower of London in 1310 (Rymer), he must have been an old man when he was appointed bishop

in Feb. 1337.

XIX. WILLIAM (RAE, RAA), precentor of Glasgow, elected concorditer, per viam compromissi (the names of the compromissarii, five in number, are given) on the death of John. Confirmation of his election by Benedict XII. 22 Feb. 1339 (Eubel gives 20 Feb. 1339), who had caused him to be consecrated by Annibald [de Ceccano], bishop of Tusculum (T. No. 543), apparently at Avignon. William's episcopal rule was long. He died 27 Jan. 1367 (Martyrology,

as corrected by Cosmo Innes, R.G., p. 615), i.e. 27 Jan. 1366-67: see

next entry.

Little is known about Rae. He was in Parliament 17 Sept. 1341 (A.P. i. 512) and in Council 26 Sept. 1357 (ib. 515). William is bishop 15 June, 1362 (R.G. 265), when a dispute between him and the chapter of Glasgow was submitted to arbitration; and 17 May, 1363 (Melrose, 435). He received from Clement VI. in June, 1350, an indult to choose his confessor, who shall give him, being penitent, plenary indulgence at the hour of death (C.P.R. iii. 369). In 1351 the bishop of Glasgow refused to induct Richard de Swynhope, whom the king of England had presented to the prebend of Auld Roxburgh (B.C. iii. No. 1558).

The name Rae is given on the authority of documents which were

in the Scots College at Paris when Keith wrote his Catalogue.

XX. WALTER WARDLAW, archdeacon of Lothian, canon of Glasgow, Master in Theology, in priest's orders, on 14 April, 1367, is advanced by Pope Urban V. to the see of Glasgow (T. No. 675, so also E.). The see, now void by the death of William, had been reserved by the Pope, but an election (concorditer) of Wardlaw had taken place, and the election having been declared null, as being contrary to the reservation, the Pope provides Walter to Glasgow 'by Apostolic Authority.' Nothing is said of his consecration.

When, where, and by whom was Wardlaw consecrated?

¹ The name 'Peter, bishop of Glasgow,' to whom the Pope addresses a letter on 5 Kal. Jan. 1339, must be an error (C.P.R. ii. 546).

Walter, bishop of Glasgow, is with David II. at Stirling 4 July,

1367 (A.P. i. 172), presumably consecrated.

During the episcopate of Wardlaw, Scotland had to take sides in the question of the Great Schism, and it threw in its lot with those in after times reckoned the Anti-popes. It was by Pope (Anti-pope) Clement VII. that Wardlaw was made a cardinal priest (without title) 23 Dec. 1383 (Eubel, i. 27). Holinshed (quoting from Onuphrius) had given this date correctly. Scotichronicon (xiv. 49) in giving the year 1385 is in error. He is granted the next year (24 Nov. 1384) the powers of a legate a latere in Scotland and Ireland (C.P.R. iv. 251). At this date (the rule had ceased before Beaton was made cardinal) it was the rule that bishops on being made cardinals should vacate their



SEAL OF WALTER WARDLAW, A.D. 1367-87.

bishoprics. Walter therefore ceased to be 'bishop of Glasgow,' but he was granted by the Pope the administration of the diocese (24 Nov. 1384), C.P.R. iv. 250. He does not after his appointment as cardinal style himself 'bishop of Glasgow,' but he still uses his old seal, and sometimes states expressly that he uses the seal he had used when he

was bishop (Dunfermline, 414).

It may be remarked that cardinals without title (that is, not bearing the name of some church at Rome to which they were technically attached), though comparatively rare, were not infrequent in the medieval period. A list of such will be found in Eubel (i. 51). Alphonse Chacon (Ciaconius), in his great work, Vitae et res gestae Pontificum et Cardinalium, shows his entire ignorance as to Wardlaw by making him bishop of 'Glasconia sedes episcopalis in Anglia, vulgo Glastenbury' (Tom. ii. 680).

We find the 'cardinal of Scotland' petitioning the Pope for the archdeaconry of Argyll, on its voidance by the consecration of John,

bishop elect of Argyll, and the petition was granted by Clement VII. on 30 May, 1387 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 568). Wardlaw died in 1387 (Sc. xiv. 50), yet it would appear after 30 May, for on 26 Oct. the Pope grants the petition of Alexander Wardlaw, nephew of the late Walter, cardinal of Scotland, for the archdeaconry of Argyll, void by the death of the said cardinal (C.P.R. Pet. i. 568). Wardlaw's death may perhaps be placed early in September. It was not known at Avignon on 3 Oct. 1387 (C.P.R. iv. 255).

Wardlaw was an ambassador to England in June, 1369 (B.C. iv.). He was one of the plenipotentiaries for negotiating a truce with England

in 1384 (Rymer).

A few particulars as to Wardlaw derivable from C.P.R. Pet. i. may be added here. In 1349 Master Walter de Wardlaw (presumably the future bishop) appears in the roll of the University of Paris as one of the Masters of the English nation, petitioning for a dignity or office in the church of Aberdeen, notwithstanding that he has a canonry and prebend in Glasgow, and the church of Dunenach in the diocese of St. Andrews (p. 175). In 1359, 12 May, he is S.T.P. and rector of Erol, and is confirmed in the archdeaconry of Lothian, conferred on him by the ordinary (p. 325; compare p. 339). In 1378 he petitions for benefices for three nephews (548). He is in the same year designated as 'papal chaplain' (p. 550).

Wardlaw was archdeacon of Lothian and secretary of King David II. I Jan. 1363 (Reg. Mag. Sigil. p. 203). He was perhaps archdeacon of Lothian as early as 1359 (see Chalmers, Caledonia, iii. 620). We

find him archdeacon in 1362 (R.G. No. 301).

After the death of Wardlaw there are large lacunae in the Papal Registers, and for a time we are thrown back upon other sources for information, excepting a few notices in the volume of *Petitions*.

Wardlaw's seal exhibits a shield bearing arms: on a fess between three mascles as many crosses couped (Macdonald's Armorial Seals, No. 2840). The shield has supporters which Mr. Macdonald, with hesitancy, calls lions.

XXI. MATTHEW DE GLENDONWYN (Glendoning). Pope Boniface IX. provided (1 March, 1391) JOHN FRAMISDEN, a Friar Minor (see Nicolas, Proceedings of the Privy Council, i. 95, and C.P.R. iv. 383); but the Anti-pope had anticipated this action, for it appears that Glendonwyn had succeeded shortly after the death of the cardinal. We find a Roll of his petitions granted on 30 Dec. 1387 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 569). He must have been consecrated after 26 May, 1387; for 26 May, 1399, is in the 12th year of his consecration (Lib. de Melros, 510); and 10 May, 1391, is in the 4th year of his consecration (R.G. 293); and, assuming that Wardlaw died in September, still later in the year or early in 1388. He was holding the church of Cavers, in the diocese of Glasgow, at the time of his consecration (C.P.R. Pet. i. 573).¹

¹Glendonwyn was not free from the nepotism so common in the ecclesiastical world of his day. In 1395 he petitions on behalf of his nephew,

He died, according to the Martyrology of Glasgow (R.G. ii. 615),

on 10 May, 1408. See Paisley, 337.

Matthew is a witness to a charter of Robert II. at Edinburgh 10 April, 1389 (Diplomata Scotiæ, pl. 56). He pronounces a decree arbitral in a dispute between the monastery of Paisley and the Rector of Cambuslang 17 Sept. 1394 (Paisl. 108). He confirmed an agreement 17 Oct. 1406 (Kelso 414). He is present in Robert III.'s Parliament at Scone, 7 March, 1390-91; and again on 8 March, 1393-94 (A.P. i. 216, 218). He was conservator of the marches, July, 1390 (B.C. iv. No. 416); and a commissioner of peace with England, May, 1399 (ib. No. 519).

On 21 May, 1401, with the consent of the dean and chapter, he imposes a tax on the prebends of the cathedral (given in detail) to supply the deficiency of the ornamenta, more particularly copes, chasubles,

dalmatics, etc. (R.G. i. No. 320).

He is a frequent witness of deeds under the Great Seal.

For his history before his elevation to the episcopate we know that he had from the king of England a safe conduct 29 Oct. 1377 (Rot. Scot. ii. 4). On the 7 April, 1386, Master Matthew de Glendonwyn acts as ambassador and receives a safe conduct to Berwick-on-Tweed together with Adam de Glendonwyn 'chivaler' (ib. 81).

XXII. WILLIAM LAWEDRE (Lawdere, Lauder). Archdeacon of Lothian. Doctor utriusque Juris (E.). His appointment by the Pope (Anti-pope) Benedict XIII. was on 9 July, 1408 (E.). He probably went in person to the Apostolic See, and probably received consecration there. At all events we find that the king of England grants William Lawdre, bishop of Glasgow, a safe conduct to return from France to Scotland through England, on 24 Oct. 1408 (Rot. Scot. ii. 189). He had probably not returned to Scotland till after Martinmas (see below). The 19 May, 1415, was in the seventh year of his consecration (R.G. ii. 314), which shows that he was consecrated between 9 July, 1408, and 19 May, 1409. As regards the Temporality, the see was vacant both at Whitsunday and Martinmas 1408; but before 20 May, 1409, the bishop had been admitted to the Temporality, and by royal favour was granted half the fermes due at Martinmas 1408 (Exch. Rolls, iv. 99). This suggests that his consecration had been in the summer, perhaps in July.

'Simon de Mandavilla M.A. of noble origin,' for the canonry and prebend of Dorysdere in the church of Glasgow (C.P.R. Pet. i. 584). In 1394 he petitions for dispensations for two nephews, William and Adam Glendonwyn, the former aged 15, the latter aged 14, to hold benefices when they reached the age of 18. Which petitions Benedict XIII. granted (p. 614).

¹He was son and heir of Robert de Lawedre and Anabella, his consort. For this and his foundations in the cathedral of Glasgow, see R.G. ii. 304-7. On a shield which appears in his episcopal seal is 'a griffin segreant' (Macdonald, Scottish Armorial Seals, No. 1552). These arms, Cosmo Innes says, shows that he was of the ancient family of the Lauders of the Merse.

Lauder was chancellor 8th Jan. 1421-2 (R.M.S. ii. 169), and so

continued apparently till his death.

William Lawedre was uterine brother of Alexander Lawedre, appointed bishop of Dunkeld in 1440, who died before his consecration (Sc. xv. 26). See Scottish Historical Review for July, 1904.



SEAL OF WILLIAM LAUDER, A.D. 1408-25.



SEAL OF JOHN CAMERON, A.D. 1426-46.

He was frequently employed in affairs of state (see B.C. iv.). William, bishop of Glasgow, tests a charter of James I. at Edinburgh 10 July, 1424; Laing Chart, No. 102. Lauder is alive on 27 May, 1425: R.G. 318. Lauder died 14 June, 1425 (R.G. ii. 616).

The see was still void 19 May, 1426 (ib. 319), that is, the information of the Pope's provision of Cameron had not yet reached Scotland: see next entry.

XXIII. JOHN CAMERONE (Cameroun, etc.). Canon of Glasgow; Licentiate in decrees (E.); Provost of Lincluden; Secretary to the King; Official of St. Andrews.

Elect, provided by Martin V. 22 April, 1426 (E.). The provision states that the see was void by the death of William; that it had been specially reserved by the Pope; that in ignorance of the reservation the chapter had elected John, a priest, a canon of Glasgow, who consented to the election, but who on learning of the reservation had caused the matter of the election to be set forth before the Pope in consistory (C.P.R. vii. 478).

¹ Thomas de Lawedre, vicar of Erskyn, in the diocese of Glasgow, son of an unmarried man and an unmarried woman, the bishop's nephew, is dispensed by Martin V. to hold four other benefices (C.P.R. vii. 248).

On 16 July, 1426, he was granted by the Pope a faculty to be consecrated by any Catholic bishop, assisted by two or three others. His consecrator was to send John's oath of fealty to the Pope (ib. 465).

We find him elect, confirmed of Glasgow 18 July, 1426, and as late

as 18 Feb. 1426-27 (R.M.S. ii. Nos. 54, 81, 83).

Cameron was Keeper of the Great Seal, 15 April to 2 May, 1426

(Exchequer Rolls, iv. 400, 428).

On 20 Sept. 1426 he made payment at the Apostolic See of one 'minutum servitium,' 113 gold florins and four shillings and sixpence, by the hand of another (B. 153). In paying his taxa he was allowed a 'dilatio'; and on 15 July, 1432 (the figures are printed 1423 by Brady, but that must be an error), he paid 100 florins, and on 15 Oct. of the same year 700 florins (B. 154).

Consecration. As bishop and chancellor he grants a charter I Nov. 1427, in the first year of his consecration (R.M.S. ii. No. 2477); and as (see above) he was only elect confirmed on 18 Feb. 1427, his conse-

cration must be placed between these two dates.

Martin V. on 6 May, 1430, states that because Cameron had before his promotion to Glasgow incurred disability more than once, and perpetrated such crimes as to have forfeited all right to the said promotion, and for action in Parliament after his promotion had been the author of statutes about collation to benefices, even reserved, which statutes were against ecclesiastical liberty and the rights of the Roman Church. and for having collated to benefices simoniacally, he (the Pope) had given a commission, viva voce, to two cardinals (named) to inform themselves. The cardinals judged him to be guilty, and cited him to the Apostolic See to hear and see his deprivation. Afterwards the orators of King James, sent for the purpose, set forth that many of the charges were untrue, and that if he had done amiss, Cameron was ready to make amends. At the king's request, on the promise of Cameron that he would help to obtain the abolition of the said statutes and behave laudably in the future, the Pope absolves him from excommunication and other sentences, annuls the citation to the Apostolic See, rehabilitates him, and dispenses him on account of irregularity contracted (C.P.R. vii. 18).

The action of the Scottish Parliament here referred to and the bold line of James I. will be elucidated by a reference to Joseph Robertson's masterly Preface to Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanae, pp. lxxxi, lxxxii. The passage cited above from the Calendar of Papal Registers would lead us to think that Robertson is incorrect in saying that the embassy to Rome of the king's orators (John, bishop of Brechin, and Alex. de Lawder, archdeacon of Dunkeld) commissioned on 6 Dec. 1429 was unsuccessful, But it would seem that Cameron got soon after into fresh difficulties.

with the Roman See.

The dispute with William Croyser, archdeacon of Teviotdale, acolyte of the Pope, is complicated; and the reader is referred to the Preface

¹ The subject of the early stages of the dispute can be gathered from the judgment of the dean and certain canons of Glasgow in favour of the bishop, 14 Jan. 1427-28 (R.G. No. 332).

of the Stat. Eccl. Scot. pp. lxxxiii-lxxxviii and Theiner (No. 745). It was not till 27 Dec. 1438 that Eugenius IV. commissioned Croyser to proceed to Scotland and absolve John, bishop of Glasgow, from all and singular the sentences of excommunication, suspension, and interdict,

which he had incurred (T. No. 747).

John served on embassies to England in 1429, 1430, and 1431. It was intended in 1432 that he should be one of the representatives of Scotland at the Council of Basle; but the design was abandoned, and in Nov. 1432 he had a passport through England on his way to Rome. But this journey was not undertaken till Oct. 1433. He is found in Bologna in July, 1436. He returned to Scotland before Sept. 1437, when he was appointed ambassador to England. In 1439 he ceased to be chancellor (J. Robertson in Preface to Stat. Eccl. Scot. p. lxxxii, note).

He died 24 Dec. (the night before Christmas) 1446 (R.G. 616) at his house of Lockwood, some seven miles from Glasgow (Spottiswoode, i. 223); at the castle of Glasgow (Roslin additions to Extracta, 238); 1446 that decessit in the castall of Glasgw Master Jhon Cameron bischop

of Glasgw apon Zule ewyne,' Ane schort memoriale, etc., p. 6.

Joseph Robertson dismisses with contempt the attempt to make the bishop a brother or cousin of the chief of clan Cameron. 'Contemporary records leave scarcely a doubt that he sprung from a burgher family of Edinburgh, deriving its name from the lands of Cameron in the neighbouring barony of Craigmillar' (Statuta Eccl. Scot. i. p. lxxxii).

Some references to charter evidence: It is probably the future bishop who appears as John Cameron, licentiate in degrees, and secretary of Archibald, earl of Wigton, 2 Dec. 1423 (R.M.S. ii. No. 13); provost of the collegiate church of Linclowdane and keeper of the privy seal,

25 Feb. 1425-26 (R.M.S. lib. ii. No. 23).

George Buchanan's account of Cameron's death-bed (Historia, xi. 25)

is based upon a probably untrustworthy tradition.

A shield on Cameron's seal bore arms: Three bars (Macdonald's Scottish Armorial Shields, p. 36). Attention may be called to an error in the assignment of the episcopal seals by the editor of the Bannatyne Club edition of R.G. The seal of John, pictured in Plate iii. No. 3 is not the seal of John Cameron, as stated, but of John Laing (1474-1483). Cameron's arms, a shield bearing three bars, with two salmons, having rings in their mouths, as supporters, was sculptured on the great tower of the episcopal palace. The shield was placed over a pastoral staff, and is surmounted by a mitre with the initials I.C. in Gothic letters. This sculpture, from a pen and ink sketch made in 1752, is pictured in Gordon's Scotichronicon, i. 501.

(To be continued.)

[The Seal of Bishop Egglescliffe from one of the Brackley Charters in the Muniment Room of Magdalen College, Oxford, is reproduced by permission of Mr. J. Maitland Thomson, LL.D. For the other illustrations the Editor is indebted to Mr. David Murray, LL.D., who owns the engravings which appeared in Gordon's 'Glasghu Facies.'

Ed. S.H.R.]