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On the So-called Portrait of George Buchanan by Titian

THE relation between the Earl of Buchan and the brothers Foulis throws some light on the gallery of portraits and other paintings formed by the Earl.

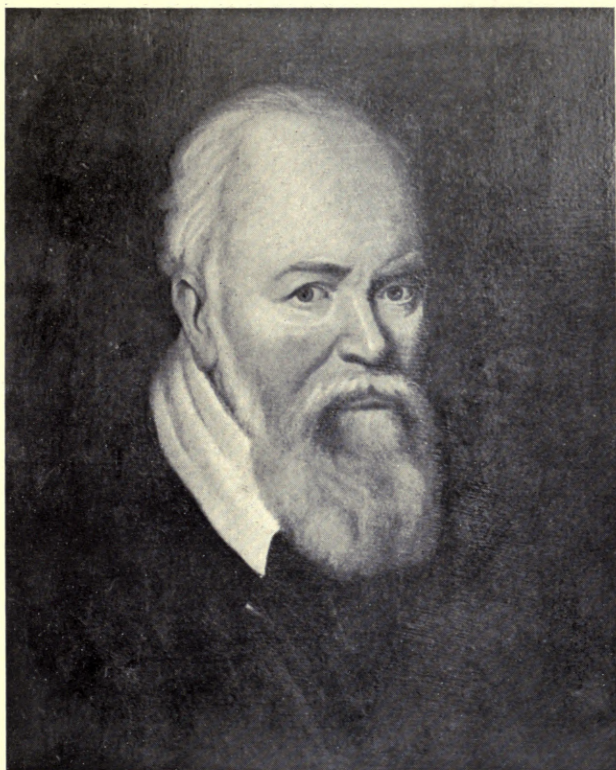
Lord Buchan was born in 1742. He received his early education from James Buchanan, who believed himself to be a relation of George Buchanan. His teacher, doubtless, laid the foundations for the great admiration Lord Buchan entertained of George Buchanan. In his later life, when naming the eleven great men of Britain, he placed Buchanan alongside of Bacon, Newton, and Milton.

He studied at Glasgow University, and while there he became a pupil in the Academy of Art, which had been established by R. and A. Foulis, the famous printers. When they conceived the idea of founding such an academy, Robert, the elder brother, visited the Continent in 1751 to collect works of art for the gallery and to secure teachers for the academy. In 1753 he returned to Glasgow with his treasures. Lord Buchan published in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Scottish Antiquarian Society* an etching which he executed while he was a pupil in the academy. He went to London in 1765 to study diplomacy under Lord Chatham, and in the same year became a Fellow of the Royal Society, signing the Register as David [Lord] Cardross. His interest in Buchanan no doubt made him interested in his portrait, believed to be genuine, which hung in the Society's rooms. The death of Lord Buchan's father in 1767 brought him back to Scotland.

The Art Academy of the printers was a financial failure. The owners attempted to dispose of their pictures, but with little success. The difficulties that beset the famous printers are well known. Captain Topham, in his *Letters from Edinburgh*, says, in a letter written 23rd February, 1775, that when he went to Glasgow to visit the famous printers, 'I had heard of their Printing, but never of their Academy. It was in vain that I asked for books; I had always a picture thrust into my hand; and like Boniface, though they had nothing in print worth notice, they said they could show me a delicate engraving.' 'They bought paintings which nobody else would buy again,' and, he adds, they run 'after paltry copies of good paintings, which they had been informed were originals.' Andrew Foulis died in September, 1775, and Robert in the following year disposed of what remained of the treasures of his Gallery by public auction in London. It is said that, after paying expenses, he realised only a few shillings from the sale. He died very suddenly at Edinburgh on his way home.

During the seven or eight years after his return to Scotland before the London sale took place, Lord Buchan was no doubt importuned by the owners of the Art Academy to help them in their difficulties, and I suggest that he then acquired from them the portrait that he determined to be that of George Buchanan and to have been painted by Titian. Drummond (*Portraits of Knox and Buchanan*, 1875, p. 20) says the Earl 'had got together an extraordinary collection of historical portraits, good, bad, and indifferent.' The Earl contributed to Dr. Anderson's monthly journal, *The Bee*, papers recording personal matters under very transparent disguises. In his letter from Albonicus to Hortus, written in imitation of the ancients, and dated Tweedside, July 25, 1791 (*The Bee*, vol. iv., p. 165), he describes the ruins of Dryburgh, and, in some detail, his own villa. 'This room,' he says, 'if I am able, I mean to stucco, and dedicate to the portraits and contemplation of the illustrious Scots, and to give the name to it of *The Temple of Caledonian Fame*. I see by your strenuous efforts to apply your superabundant fortune to the succour of struggling merit in Scotland, that you are desirous of increasing my collection of pictures. May my countrymen strive to enter in at the strait gate of this venerable apartment! Marcus Aurelius and Seneca are on the outside of the building. None can enter that are not truly Scots.

Veni Robur Scotiæ anemosa pectore Robur,
Veni Robur Scotiæ inerctum pectore Robur!'



PRESIDENT JEANNIN

*From the painting belonging to the Earl of Buchan, which he believed to be a portrait of
George Buchanan by Titian*

The property of St. Andrews University

It is not so difficult to understand how Lord Buchan recognised the unnamed portrait in his Temple to be a likeness of George Buchanan as how he discovered it to be the work of Titian. He was acquainted with the portrait at the Royal Society, and the engravings from it in the editions of Buchanan’s *History*. The general aspect of the face, the beard, and the collar agreed so fairly well with what was accepted as a genuine likeness of the historian that it was a fair conclusion that his unnamed painting was the portrait of the same person in a different position by another painter.

The source of the error was the determination by Thomas Povey, F.R.S., that his portrait of a George Buchanan was that of the historian, and this error was strengthened and perpetuated by his presentation of the painting to the Royal Society, who accepted it on the testimony of their Fellow, and gave it a place among the famous portraits on their walls. The first portrait to be identified from this painting belonged to Dr. Richard Mead, who was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1703; it is now at Dunrobin Castle. This was engraved by Houbraken towards the middle of the eighteenth century. The Earl of Buchan made a further discovery that an unnamed portrait in Hamilton Palace was that of the historian when he was a young man. This was engraved for Pinkerton’s *Scottish Gallery*, 1799. The engraving in the seventh edition of the *History* (1799) is from a copy of the Hamilton Palace portrait, made for Professor Anderson, and now in the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College.

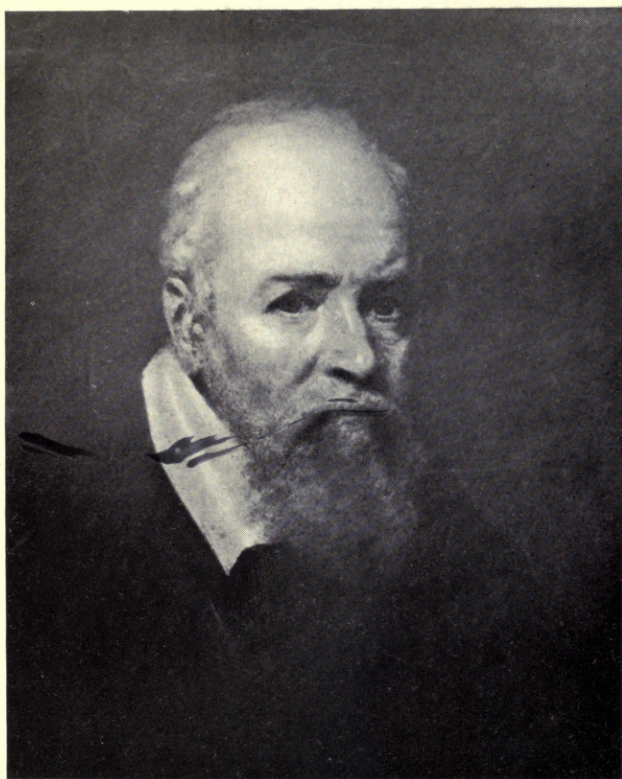
From a drawing by Lord Buchan of his Titian painting, Woolnoth made an engraving, which was published in Tilloch’s *London Philosophical Journal*, October, 1810. Drummond, in his *Portraits of Knox and Buchanan*, says that Lord Buchan, ‘calling with an impression to astonish a friend, who at the time was sitting in his library, asked him if he had ever seen that print before; but going to his book-shelves took down a volume, and opening it, asked his Lordship if he had ever seen that before. His expression may be better imagined than described, for here was a large and most characteristic engraving of the same portrait, which was that of Peter Jeannin, Finance Minister to Henry IV. in *Les Hommes Illustres*, etc., par C. Perrault, Paris, 1696-1700.’

Nothing is heard of this portrait till 1814. We learn, from a valuable communication to *The Glasgow Herald* of 12th Dec.,

1908, by Mr. J. E. Ewing, of Baillie's Institution, that Sir Henry Raeburn, on 7th February, 1814, wrote to the Earl of Buchan for 'permission to copy your portrait of Geo. Buchanan for the representative of that family.' The letter is endorsed by the Earl, '1814, Feb. 7. Fine arts. Henry Raeburn, Esqre, desires to copy the Portrait of Buchanan for the family of Drammikill. The picture is now at Mrs. Fletcher's, in North Castle Street, and is to remain with Mr. Raeburn till I come to Edinburgh or send for it. B.[uchan].' The Titian portrait was committed to the care of Sir Henry Raeburn, and was copied. Mr. Ewing's suggestion is, I have no doubt, correct that the representative of the family was Robert Buchanan of Ross Priory. The painting is still in that house, and is the property of Sir Alexander W. Leith-Buchanan, Bart. Later in the year Lord Buchan wrote to the treasurer of the Buchanan Society, Glasgow, a letter, which was read to the directors of the Society on 18th October, 1814. The letter stated: 'that his Lordship had an original painting of the celebrated George Buchanan, the Scottish Historian, and politely offered to allow any artist to take a copy of it for the use of the Society.' Sir Henry Raeburn was commissioned to make the copy, which was delivered to the Society in December of the same year, and is still in their possession.

The Titian painting was in the possession of Sir Henry Raeburn during the year 1814. Lord Buchan appears never to have sent for it. The present Earl informs me that 'the portrait of Buchanan attributed to Titian is no longer in my possession, nor can I give you its history.' Sir Henry Raeburn died in 1823, Lord Buchan in 1829. There is no trace as to where it was till 1884, when it was purchased from a picture dealer in Edinburgh by the University of St. Andrews as a genuine portrait of the historian by the famous Italian master. The present representatives of the firm who sold it to the University cannot trace any entry in their books referring to the transaction. After the purchase it was sent by the University to the Exhibition of Scottish National Portraits held at Edinburgh in 1884 as the portrait of George Buchanan painted by Titian.

An important contribution to the final determination of the person represented in the Buchan portrait has come into my hands, by the favour of Sir William Bilsland, Bart. When Lord Provost of Glasgow he visited Lyons and Dijon along with his colleagues on the invitation of the Municipalities of those cities. At Dijon they were taken round the Public



PRESIDENT JEANNIN

Raeburn's copy of 'George Buchanan by Titian'

The property of the Buchanan Society Glasgow

Gallery by the Deputy Mayor. Sir William saw there a portrait which he recognised as that of George Buchanan, but on closer inspection he found it to be the portrait of Jeannin, president of the local parliament at Dijon. It was labelled 'Portrait de President Jeannin,¹ 1540-1623, Ecole Française,' and had across the top of the painting 'LE PRESIDENT IANIN' in old capital letters. He made a note of this and after returning home wrote for the photograph of the painting which is here reproduced. That this portrait, the one at St. Andrews, and that in possession of the Buchanan Society are portraits of the same individual there can be no doubt. A comparison of these three here reproduced shows that the copyist of the St. Andrews portrait failed to reproduce the broad forehead of the original, and Raeburn followed the copy. Other differences will present themselves on a close scrutiny; the most obvious is the treatment of the collar. In the original this is almost equal in width throughout, and lies flat, with a straight front edge. In the St. Andrews copy there is a distinct decrease in the width at the back, and a curve on the front edge, both these characters are intensified in the Raeburn copy. In the original there is a depression from the dark wrinkle on the back of the collar to the front, while in the St. Andrews copy there is an elevation continued to the curve on the front edge, and Raeburn has intensified this in harmony with the greater curve in the front.

The engraving by Woolnoth is an important witness as to the

¹ It may interest the reader to know something of President Jeannin. He was born in 1540, and lived till 1623. He studied law and became a successful advocate. He was elected by the States to take charge of the affairs of Burgundy. The order for the massacre of the Huguenots on St. Barthelemew's day, 1572, he refused to execute. A few days afterwards the order was withdrawn. As an earnest Roman Catholic he joined the Holy League, believing that its only purpose was to advance religion. When he found that its objects were to secure the individual supremacy of the Pope, and to prevent the succession of the King of Navarre, the heir to the French throne, he separated himself from the League and became the chief instrument of its overthrow. Henry III. appointed him the First President of the Burgundy Parliament which held its meetings at Dijon. He was held in the highest esteem by the King, who afterwards added him to his Council. When Henry of Navarre ascended the throne, Jeannin was appointed his treasurer. He concluded a defensive alliance between France and the Netherlands in 1606, and in the year following he obliged Spain to recognise the independence of these provinces, and to conclude with them a treaty for twelve years. Cardinal Richelieu declared that he found the best instruction in the memoirs and negotiations of this great man, and that they formed his chief reading in his retirement at Avignon.

original Titian. The engraving was made, as has been stated, for Lord Buchan from his painting. It is a hard but true reproduction in all the specified details of the St. Andrews portrait.

It appears to me that one cannot hesitate to declare that the first copy of President Jeannin's portrait is that in St. Andrews University, and that this is the portrait that belonged to the Earl of Buchan, which was copied by Raeburn for the family of Drummikill and for the Buchanan Society.

WILLIAM CARRUTHERS.

Scotland in the Eighteenth Century¹

WHAT precise period are we to understand by the eighteenth century in Scotland? The French reckon their eighteenth century from the death of Louis XIV. in 1715 to their great Revolution in 1789; while in England 1689 and 1789—the dates of the two Revolutions—are generally accepted as the limits of the period. All such delimitations of human history must, of course, be more or less arbitrary, and are liable to be altered as the world changes its point of view. For example, the Middle Age, as we now define it, is not what was understood by the eighteenth century; as our knowledge widens and at the same time becomes more exact, there is a tendency to break up historical periods just as the astronomer with finer instruments breaks up the nebulae into individual heavenly bodies. Still it remains the fact that there are periods of history distinguishable from each other by certain broad characteristics that cannot be mistaken. We see these characteristics in the representative men of the time—in their prevailing mood and temper, in the subjects which interested them, in their manner of handling them. We have but to imagine any great man transplanted from one age to another to realise what is meant by the spirit of the age to which he belonged. Had Milton lived in the nineteenth century instead of in the seventeenth, could he have used the language he did in his controversies with Salmasius? Had David Hume been born in 1811 instead of in 1711, how different would his judgments have been on many things—on the historical import of religion among others. There *is*, then, such a thing as the ‘spirit of an age,’ and it may even be said that it is the historian’s prime business to discover in what that spirit essentially consists. What are the representative facts, the leading tendencies, the main preoccupations, that mark off one age from another? In clearly discerning these and setting them forth in their mutual relations, the historian is helping us to understand

¹ Lecture delivered in the University of Edinburgh, (Oct. 1908).

at least one integral part in the history of the race. Is it not, indeed, the goal—probably the unattainable goal—of historical research to compass such a survey of man's history from the beginning as will enable us to detect and apprehend the successive 'notes' that have gone to fill out what the poet has called 'the great chorus of humanity'?

In the case of Scotland there are good reasons for fixing the years 1689 and 1789 as the limits of its eighteenth century. At either end of the period delimited by these years there was a new departure in the national life that sharply marks it off from what went before and what came after. The expulsion of the Stewarts in 1689 definitely closes an age which had its beginning so far back as the Reformation of religion in 1560. The dominant characteristic of that age had been the conflict between the Crown and the most strenuous section of the people regarding the type of religion that was to express the national ideal. The governing events of the time were all determined by religious and ecclesiastical considerations, equally on the part of nation and ruler. It was religion that dethroned Mary and Charles I., religion that mainly influenced the policy of Charles II., and religion that cast out the Stewart dynasty in the person of James VII.

The year 1789 equally opens a new chapter in our national history. The extraordinary industrial development of Scotland throughout the eighteenth century had its due effect in quickening the mind of the people at large. In most of the important towns and in many of the villages there sprang up a class of artisans, mainly weavers, who early began to display the characteristics of their class. They were not content to accept the opinions they had received from their fathers, and they discussed questions of politics and religion in a fashion that was fitted to disquiet the classes, who, with their vested interest in things as they were, regarded with alarm any suggestion that they might be changed or improved. When the ideas of the French Revolution reached Scotland, therefore, there was a numerous class among the people prepared to receive them, and the result was the beginning of that ferment which is signalled by the State Trials of Muir and other political reformers, by the Radical War of 1819, and eventually by the Reform Bill of 1832. In 1789, as in 1689, therefore, the nation made a new start in its history, and so the intervening period may fitly be treated as an epoch marked by characteristics specifically its own.

There is one outstanding characteristic which sharply distinguishes the eighteenth century in Scotland from the century and a half that preceded it—the predominance of secular over religious and ecclesiastical interests. At the Revolution of 1689 the policy of statesmen in establishing Presbyterianism instead of Episcopacy was dictated by no regard to supernatural sanctions, but simply by considerations of expediency. The disastrous Darien Scheme strikingly shows to what extent the Scottish people had now become imbued with the commercial spirit. From every class in the country many came forward to invest their last penny in the doomed enterprise. Not since the uprising which produced the Covenants had the nation been so moved as by the prospect of the material advantages that were to accrue from the visionary scheme of the settlement on the pestilential shores of Darien. At the period when the Covenants came to birth such a dream of purely material advantage would have been impossible as men's spirits were then pitched, and the change that had come over the nation's ideals was a signal proof that Scotland, like other countries, had entered a new stage of her development. In the case of the Union of 1707 we have another testimony to the ascendancy of secular considerations in the conduct of public affairs. The weightiest reason that influenced the Scottish statesmen who advocated union was that Scotland would become a partner in England's trade, and would thus find herself on the high road to commercial greatness and prosperity.

The hopes of statesmen for a golden harvest that was immediately to follow the Union were, as we know, doomed for a time to bitter disappointment. The immediate fruits of the Union, it seemed, were only diminished trade and increasing friction with the sister country. Nevertheless, neither the disaster of Darien nor the apparent failure of the Union diverted the nation from the new paths on which it had entered. In spite of impediments, partly due to disadvantages at home and partly to the unequal yoke with England, trade, commerce, and manufactures became more and more the absorbing interest of a rapidly growing number of the population. By the year 1730 that material prosperity had fairly begun which by the close of the century was to transform Scotland into a commercial and industrial nation, and one of the competitors for the markets of the world. During the first half of the century the two most sensational public events were the Risings of 1715 and 1745.

There were many causes that doomed both of these attempts to failure ; but, as economic writers now tell us, it was commerce and the modern spirit that were the most formidable obstacles to the restoration of the Stewarts. The fundamental conception on which the Stewart rule had been based—the divine right of kings, with its implication that, in spiritual and temporal things alike, subjects must accept the guidance of their rulers—was at once alien to the modes of thought that now prevailed and antagonistic to the free development of the national will and character. So it was that, in spite of widespread dissatisfaction with the Union, neither in 1715 nor in 1745 did the mass of the Lowland population show any disposition to make terms with the representatives of their ancient kings.

It is only what we should have expected that the secular spirit, as it manifested itself in material interests, should have had its own influence in the sphere of thought and speculation. And such was indeed the case in notable degree. In the intellectual tendencies of the first half of the eighteenth century we have unmistakable indications that the intelligence of the nation was breaking with its past, and was opening to ideas which must carry it far from its ancient moorings. In literature, in speculation, in religion itself, there began a play of thought which was unknown in the period previous to the Revolution. Take, for example, the poems of Allan Ramsay (1686-1758), the most prominent literary figure of the time. The theme of his poems is the purely natural man, devoid of all movements of soul or mind inspired by the Christian theology. He treats of men and women—their loves, their pleasures, their backslidings, their adventures, their misfortunes—as any Pagan poet might treat them. True, he was far from being acceptable to a large section of the community whose conceptions of life were bounded by the religious creed which they had inherited from their fathers. But the significance of Ramsay is that he appeared at the time he did, and that his writings appealed to an educated class which in the latter half of the century was to give its prevailing tone to Scottish society. The coterie—for as yet it was little more than a coterie—which surrounded Ramsay and applauded his genius—would have been impossible at an earlier time ; and in this fact alone we have the sufficient proof that he belongs to another epoch than that of the seventeenth century.

Religion itself was not left untouched by the spirit of the time. It was now that the type of religion began to assert itself which,

under the name of Moderatism, was to attain its full fruition in the latter half of the century. In its essential spirit Moderatism was an attempt to adapt Christianity at once to the tone of existing society and to the current thought of the time. The name Moderatism was peculiar to Scotland, but the thing existed elsewhere under other designations. It was Bangorianism or Latitudinarianism in England, the *Aufklärung* or *Enlightenment* in Germany, and Newtonianism in France. Moderatism in Scotland was no doubt partly due to reaction against the Covenant theology, but that reaction is itself traceable to currents of thought of which Moderatism was only another manifestation. Throughout the seventeenth century speculation in Europe had raised questions which touched the very foundations of the Christian revelation. During that century the Copernican theory, which deposes the earth from its central place in the universe, had taken full possession of the minds of thinkers and fundamentally influenced their speculations. Could Christianity, as it had hitherto been understood, hold its own in this overturning of the accepted order of nature? Thus it became incumbent on the champions of Christianity to discover new defences which they might set up against the attacks of its enemies. And they had a double task before them if their defence was to be successful: they had to justify Christianity both as a theology and as a religion. The line they took with reference to the Christian theology was to adapt it to ordinary human reason as the arbiter of all beliefs which the human mind was bound to accept; and in this attempt it was necessary to reduce the Christian mysteries to a minimum and to give the first place to the ethical system which they extracted from the Christian books. In the case of the Christian religion, as prescribing a code of conduct for its believers, the line taken was also that of accommodation. The standard of Christian living must be such as was compatible with the pleasures of the world, asceticism and spiritual excitement being assumed to be the most dangerous enemies of a reasonable faith.

Such were the tendencies of religious thought which began to manifest themselves in Scotland during the first half of the eighteenth century, but which did not attain their full development till past its middle. As we know, the result was a cleavage in the national religion which may be said to exist to the present day, and which is one of the central facts of the age we are considering. There were many interested in religion, both divines and laymen, for whom the Moderate attitude towards Christianity

implied the surrender of all that constituted its essence as a divine revelation. Finding their sole foundation in the doctrinal system they had inherited from the Reformation, these persons maintained that to give up one mystery was to give up all, and that to make terms with the world as the Moderates proposed was to pervert religion into lifeless morality. Between these two religious types there could be no compromise, and the conflict that arose between them is one of the dominant facts of the century. On the one hand the Moderates, on the other, the party known to their opponents as the 'Highflyers' or the popular party, appealed to the nation as the true custodiers of the faith. As every Scotsman is aware, the struggle between them mainly turned on one question, the question of the rights of congregations to have a voice in the election of their own ministers. But this question has its historical significance only in the fact already stated—the essential opposition between the two parties in their conceptions of what Christianity is, and of the methods and agencies by which its gospel should be proclaimed. The struggle was bitter and protracted, and engaged the minds and hearts of many in every class of the people, but the fact to be noted in the present connection is that the controversy did not, like religious controversies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, involve political revolution. The State was no longer dominated by theological considerations; and the disputes of divines, however they might excite the passions of the people, had no influence on public policy. In this one fact, then, we have a notable illustration of the distinctive differences between the eighteenth century and the age that preceded it.

The first half of the century thus saw a new departure in literature and religion, and it also saw a new departure in a sphere in which Scotland was to make a great name in the world—the sphere of speculative thought. From 1720 onwards, Ramsay of Ochtertyre tells us, metaphysical speculation began to take the place of theological and political controversy, and clubs were formed for the discussion of questions which it would have been perilous to raise not many years before. It was as late as 1697 that the divinity student, Thomas Aikenhead, with the approval of the majority of the Edinburgh ministers, was executed for airing certain views on the Trinity. But the questions now raised went far beyond the speculations of Aikenhead: the existence of God, the trustworthiness of human reason, the immortality of the soul; these and other kindred questions were debated with a

freedom and publicity which less than half a century before would have been summarily solved for the adventurous disputants. A portentous birth was the outcome of these speculations. In 1739 appeared the *Treatise of Human Nature* by David Hume, himself a member of one of these debating clubs. The book, its author tells us, fell 'deadborn from the press'; yet, as we know, the ideas it threw out were to determine the subsequent course of philosophic thought. The logical conclusion of the *Treatise* has been described as 'intellectual suicide,' a strange conclusion, as might appear, to have been reached in Scotland, which for nearly two centuries had been the peculiar home of dogmatic assertion on ultimate questions; yet, as we have seen, Hume only systematised and gave precision to modes of thinking which were current in Scotland in the earlier half of the eighteenth century.

Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* was the first in a succession of works—each epoch-making in its own department—which were to give Scotland a unique position in the intellectual commonwealth of the nations. The list is certainly an imposing one, and, within the same period, without a parallel in any other country. Besides the philosophical writings of Hume that followed the *Treatise*, there were Reid's *Inquiry into the Human Mind*, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, the Histories of Hume and Principal Robertson, and the book that drew the gaze of Europe to Scotland beyond every other—Macpherson's *Ossian*. Add to these productions in philosophy and literature the scientific discoveries of Black, Leslie, Hutton, Cullen, and John Hunter, and we have a tale of intellectual effort the more surprising when we remember that the total population of Scotland did not then amount to the number of two millions. 'It is an admirable result of the progress of the human spirit,' wrote Voltaire, 'that at the present time it is from Scotland we receive rules of taste in all the arts—from the epic poem to gardening.' The words were meant ironically, but they point to what was an indisputable fact, the intellectual activity of Scotsmen in every important sphere of thought and their original contribution in each of them.

It was the latter half of the eighteenth century that saw this flowering of the national spirit; and, when we speak of the eighteenth century in Scotland, it is this latter half we must have mainly in view. To this period, therefore, what follows will be directed.

It was in the period of repose that followed the '45 that Scot-

land, for the first time in her history, found the opportunity for the free expansion of all her resources. No convulsive struggle now distracted her; intercourse with England, in spite of lingering prejudices, became more frequent and cordial; the example and stimulus of other nations reached her more directly; and it was her good fortune to produce at this very time a succession of master-minds in the most important departments of human thought.

Turning first to her growth in material prosperity, we find the period marked by an increase in her various industries, by an extension of her trade, and by the construction of public works, unexampled at any previous time. Take, for example, the case of the linen manufacture. For the year 1727-8 the total value of the linen made in Scotland was £103,000; for the year 1770-1 the value was over £600,000. As the result of the war with the American Colonies arose the cotton manufacture—the raw stuff being imported from the West India Islands. Most important, however, in the industrial development of the country was the utilisation for the first time of her stores of coal and iron. In 1760 were started the Carron Iron Works, which the traveller Pennant, who visited them in 1769, describes as ‘the greatest of the kind in Europe,’ and where he found 1200 men employed. In agriculture there was equally rapid development. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the methods of tillage were those of the Middle Ages; at its close Englishmen came to Scotland to receive lessons from her farmers. During the same period, also, the construction of public works was undertaken, which at any previous time could not have been conceived. After a labour of twenty-two years the Forth and Clyde Canal was completed in 1790 at a cost of £300,000. The deepening of the river Clyde at Glasgow, considered a stupendous work at the time, the construction of the Tay Bridge at Perth, and of the North and South Bridges in Edinburgh were other public works of which a previous age could not have dreamed.

Such was the growth of material prosperity in the period following the '45; but what of the development of opinion? After the death of President Forbes in 1746, says Ramsay, ‘a new tide of opinions set in strong,’ and he tells us what this ‘new tide of opinions’ meant. ‘At that time,’ he says, ‘Deism, apparelled sometimes in one fashion and sometimes in another, was making rapid progress in Scotland,’ and the statement is amply borne out by other testimony. The evidence

is, in fact, convincing that during the period of which we are speaking the prevailing type of thought—most strongly marked in Edinburgh—was a pagan naturalism, for which Christianity was a temporary aberration of the human mind. The fashionable mental attitude received curious illustration on the publication of Beattie's *Essay on Truth*, expressly written to combat the positions of Hume. In view of the prevailing philosophical opinion no Edinburgh publisher would venture to give it to the world; and it was only by a 'pious fraud' that it issued from an Edinburgh press. 'Absolute dogmatic atheism is the present tone,' wrote Dr. John Gregory, Professor of the Practice of Physic in the University of Edinburgh. In England there was a general opinion that Scotland was given up to infidelity; and in that country Beattie's reply to Hume was received with far greater enthusiasm than in his own. In the House of Commons Thomas Townshend, afterwards Viscount Sydney, made eulogistic reference to Beattie's book, and took the opportunity to say that 'the Scots were not all freethinkers.'

It was amid these tendencies of thought that arose in the Church what was called the 'New Moderatism,' to distinguish it from the less pronounced type which had appeared in the earlier part of the century. In the year 1751, Carlyle of Inveresk tells us in his *Autobiography*, 'the foundation was laid for the restoration of the discipline of the Church.' For Carlyle and those associated with him, the restoration of the Church's discipline meant a due subordination of its different Courts, involving the supreme jurisdiction of the General Assembly in all matters under dispute. The consummation of this 'discipline,' as we know, was the suppression of the claims of congregations to have a voice in the election of their ministers and the resolute enforcement of the rights of patrons to presentation. With the long controversy regarding this question which arose between the two parties in the Church, and which had its memorable issue in the Disruption of 1843, we are not now concerned. It is with Moderatism as a type of thought, as an attempt by a section of the Church to adapt Christianity to existing society that we are now considering it. What we see is that Moderatism was in its season a perfectly natural growth. We have noted what was the general tendency of the educated opinion of the day—a tendency which carried men far away from dogmatic theology and Puritanism of life. In the view of the Moderates the problem of the Church was to present Christianity under such an aspect as would con-

ciliate the freethinkers and such as demanded a wider latitude of life than was permissible under the inherited creed. If this end was to be attained, it could be attained only in one way—by accommodation, accommodation in the Church's teaching and accommodation in its standard of Christian life. In the case of three representative Moderates we may note the different degrees of compromise which the body was prepared to make to attain its end. The three are Carlyle of Inveresk, 'Jupiter Carlyle,' who has already been named, Dr. Hugh Blair, and William Robertson, Principal of the University of Edinburgh. All these men, be it noted, were not only representative Moderates, but representative men of their age; and it is under this aspect that we are now concerned with them.

Carlyle has left an *Autobiography* which, as a picture of Scottish educated society of his time, is an invaluable historical document. If ever man was born to move with ease, grace, and acceptance in a thoroughly mundane society it was this minister of the parish of Inveresk. His magnificent personal appearance (Scott calls him the grandest demi-God he had ever seen), his courtly manners, and his splendid vitality made him a notable figure wherever he appeared. Scott says that he had not a spark of poetry in him,¹ but the statement must be taken with some qualification. When Wordsworth's poems first appeared, Carlyle read them with a keenness of appreciation which proves that even in old age he possessed a freshness of heart and mind which was denied to the brilliant Jeffrey, for whom the Wordsworthian manner was only imbecile affectation. Carlyle's chiefest joy in life was to mount his horse, and with some like-minded companions ride up to London and taste the pleasures of that city, cultivating to the extent of his ability the society of persons distinguished by rank or fame. When he visited some hospitable house, his main interest was the quality of its mutton and claret, the goodness or badness of which he is always careful to record. This was the type of man whom the eighteenth century made the pastor of a rural congregation. He has himself told us how he was regarded by that congregation when the patron presented him. They considered him, he says, 'too full of levity and too much addicted to the company of his superiors.' David Hume once had the privilege of hearing him preach, and after the sermon twitted him with treating his hearers to 'heathen morality' and to a *réchauffé* of Cicero's Academics.

¹ He 'was no more a poet than his precentor.'

Carlyle represented the extreme lengths to which Moderatism was prepared to go in accommodating Christianity to the times. Of a higher type as a Christian divine was Dr. Hugh Blair, the most famous preacher of his day in Scotland. Dr. Blair's fame was not limited to Scotland: in England his sermons were widely read, and, translated into several European languages, were the admiration and envy of continental divines. It has long been the fashion to smile at the type of devotion which found edification in these sermons of Blair's. In literature, both secular and religious we now demand something more intense than did the eighteenth century: quite recently Gray's *Elegy* was described as a flat and commonplace production. It is well to remember, however, that readers so unlike as Dr. Johnson, Jane Austen, Madame Necker, and George III, all found spiritual stimulus in Blair and spoke of him with gratitude and admiration. It must, therefore, be put to the credit of Moderatism that it produced a preacher who found acceptance with certain of the choicest spirits of his generation.

But the brightest ornament of the Moderates was not Blair but William Robertson, who for twenty years was their sagacious leader, and to whom more than to any other they owed their victory over the popular party in the General Assembly and in the Church at large. In Robertson we see Moderatism at its best—its interest in secular studies, its respect for order and decorum, its type of religion in which emotion was subordinated to reason. In his youth Robertson chose as his motto, '*Vita sine literis mors est*,' and, as his voluminous Histories prove, he was faithful to it from the beginning to the end of his career. It is an admirable motto for a man of letters, but we may ask what would St. Paul have said of the preacher who took such a motto as his watchword in his care of souls? Here we are far indeed from the *unum necessarium* which Christianity originally presented as its unconditional demand from all who would call themselves by its name.

The same temper of mind and the same intellectual conditions that brought forth Moderatism also gave birth to another product, more distinctively Scottish, and of wider and more enduring influence. It was the same second half of the eighteenth century that saw the appearance of what is specifically known as the 'Scottish Philosophy,' which till near the middle of the nineteenth was to be the dominant system of thought

in Scotland, and was to find wide acceptance in France, and, though not to the same extent, even in Germany. All the intellectual products of any age necessarily partake of the same spirit and throw mutual light on each other. There is thus a kinship between Moderatism and the Scottish philosophy which is apparent on the surface. It was one who began his career as a Moderate minister, Dr. Thomas Reid, who was the father of that philosophy, and whose writings embody its teaching. He was himself an 'intruded' minister; and it is on record that on his first appearance in his parish of New Machar he was ducked in a horse-pond, and that when he preached his first sermon he had to be defended by a drawn sword. The scope and tendency of his philosophy were essentially identical with that of the religious party with which he was associated. The aim of Moderatism was to commend religion by presenting it in such a guise that it would neither offend by its mysteries nor repel by its standard of conduct. Similarly the aim of the Scottish philosophy was to reconcile speculation with religion by an appeal to what it claimed to be the final test of universal experience. It was the boast of both to appeal to the common sense of mankind, and we have a singularly interesting testimony that, in the case of the philosophy, the boast was made good. In a characteristic and remarkable passage Goethe has summed up what gave the teaching of Reid its value in the eyes of thinking men.

'The reason,' he says, 'why foreigners—Britons, Americans, Frenchmen, and Italians—can gain no profit from our new (German) philosophy is simply that it does not directly lay hold on life. They can see no practical advantage to be derived from it; and so it is that men turn more or less to the teaching of the Scottish School as it is expounded by Reid and Dugald Stewart. This teaching is intelligible to the ordinary understanding, and this it is that wins it favour. It seeks to reconcile sensationalism and spiritualism, to effect the union of the ideal and the real, and thus to create a more satisfactory foundation for human thought and action. The fact that it undertakes this work and promises to accomplish it, obtains for it disciples and votaries.'

From what has been said, the truth of a statement by the late Professor Masson must abundantly have appeared: the latter half of the eighteenth century, he said, was the period of 'Scotland's most energetic, peculiar, and most various life.' It is certainly

the period when, by the testimony of foreign observers, she made her largest contribution to the world alike in the sphere of speculative and practical ideas. Let me briefly summarise what that contribution was in the domains of science, of philosophy, and literature.

In science there are the names that have already been mentioned, those of Cullen, Hunter, Leslie, Black, Hutton; and another illustrious name has to be added, that of James Watt. In their various departments, be it noted, all these men were pioneers: Cullen and Hunter in pathology, Black and Leslie in chemistry, Hutton in geology, and Watt in engineering. And in connection with science an interesting fact deserves to be noted: when the Newtonian system was still rejected in Oxford and Cambridge, it was taught by David Gregory in the University of Edinburgh—an interesting testimony to the openness of mind which was indeed the characteristic of the best Scottish intellects of the time. In speculative thought we have seen that Scotland was the purveyor to Europe. The current of metaphysical philosophy received a new direction from the speculations of Hume, and the specifically Scottish philosophy reigned for more than half a century in the schools of Europe. In the new science of political economy Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* still remains the central work. In the domain of history proper, Hume and Robertson each produced composite wholes such as had not previously appeared in any modern literature, Hume's being perhaps the acutest intellect ever applied to the events of history, while Robertson's practical sagacity and width of survey have rarely been surpassed. In the literature of imagination there were at least two Scottish writers whose work had a potent influence on the literature of other countries. The literary historians of France and Germany both assign a direct and powerful influence to the author of the *Seasons* on the poetry of their respective countries. Thomson's work belongs to the first half of the century, but of far more resounding fame and quickening effect was the *Ossian* of James Macpherson, which appeared in 1762-3. Macpherson now stands in a somewhat dubious light; nevertheless, it is an indisputable fact that his *Ossian* struck a note which vibrated throughout Europe, and did more than any other intellectual product to draw the general gaze to the country which gave it birth. The works that have been named were all epoch-making in their respective subjects; but, as Voltaire's ironical words imply, there was a crowd of books written, which,

though they did not attain to this distinction, yet exercised a wide influence in their day. What especially strikes us is the number of Scottish books of the period that were translated into the continental languages. The works of Lord Kames, the *Sermons* of Hugh Blair, Beattie's *Essay on Truth*, to mention only a few, all made the tour of Europe, significant evidence of the amount of truth that lay behind Voltaire's sarcasm. In view of her achievements in so many fields, therefore, it can hardly be gainsaid that the latter half of the eighteenth century was for Scotland 'the period of her most energetic, peculiar, and most various life.'

P. HUME BROWN.

An Elegy and a Ballad

THE following elegy on Colonel Gardner is printed from a broadside in my possession which is copiously decorated with death's-heads, cross-bones, and the like. It bears no printer's name, but from its appearance and style seems to be contemporary.

The ballad on Lord Lovat's execution is derived from a copy in Douce's collection in the Bodleian Library.

C. H. FIRTH.

AN ELEGY

On the Memory of the Honourable Colonel James Gardner, who was cruelly murdered by the Antichristian Mob near Tranent, Sept. 21, 1745.

Who can but ly in sable Weed,
As fill'd with Grief and Wo,
That knows our worthy Gardner's dead,
And past from us below.

As Gardner cuts the tender Plant
Even with his pruning Knife,
So Death spares not the greatest Saint,
But him bereaves of Life.

For here below too mean a Place
Was for his lofty Soul,
While here he staid an Heir of Grace,
Does now in Glory roul.

Although the Messenger named Death
Came in a bloody Way,
And him bereft of common Breath,
While on the Field he lay.

From Rome a Limb of Antichrist,
Join'd with a Hellish Band
Of Highland Thieves, came here in haste,
God's Laws for to withstand.

To introduce the Man of Sin
 It sure was their intent,
 'Gainst God their Battle did begin
 Hard by the Town Tranent.

Our Men in Armour did appear,
 As being fill'd with Hope
 Of Victory, and free of Fear,
 Till sold by Traitor Cope.

When Soldiers fand, that to their Hand,
 For Slaughter they're design'd,
 And sold unto the Hellish Band,
 To kill as they inclin'd.

Dragoons they fled with greatest Speed,
 Him left to stand alone,
 And in his Time of greatest Need
 With him sure was not one.

These cruel, base and bloody Men
 Did on his Body seise;
 His Life did not suffice alone,
 Could not their Lust appease.

His Body's laid in Blood and Gore,
 A Sacrifice to be,
 For Bloody Monsters to devour
 And on the Prey to flee.

This dear Saint's Blood sure cries aloud,
 And will bring Vengeance down
 On Steuart's Cause, and on their Laws,
 And them with Vengeance Crown.

What's done unto this Saint Of God,
 God reckons done to Him:
 They'll surely find it heavy Load,
 For He'll requite their Sin.

O Charles! cursed cruel Wretch,
 Remind what thou hast done;
 Unless that I from Hell do fetch,
 A Match for thee is none.

O bloody Beast! bewail the Death
 Of him that thou hast slain;
 Thou'rt threatned with a Weight of Wrath,
 That's hast'ning on amain.

For Person, Parts, or Piety,
 Sure few can now compare;

In Battles knew not how to flee
For Honours had his Share.

His Person stately and divine,
Of a majestick Air,
A Terror stroke on all about,
That loud and wicked were.

His King-like Carriage sure foretold
His higher Views than's here,
He ne'er would thole the Laws controul'd,
That cost his Lord so dear.

A Soldier brave, did well behave,
Both to his God and King,
He both did serve, and did not swerve,
And now he sure does reign.

He passed hath from State of Wars
Unto his Master's Joy,
Altho' in Battle he got Scars,
They now him nought annoy.

The Soldiers rude, as trembling stood,
Afraid to curse or swear;
Such Penalties on such he laid,
As made them Vice forbear.

He ruled well his House at Home,
Offenders stood in Awe,
His Children in his Presence came,
Rul'd with paternal Law.

A loving Husband always deem'd,
By all that sure him knew,
Was always sweet and grave esteem'd,
A Love from all he drew.

For Union he did always long,
'Mong Sons of Zion's King,
And liked Love among the Throng,
That sure with him shall reign.

And now his Song exceedeth far,
Their Songs while here below,
Where high he sings without a Mar,
God's Praises forth does show.

He does extol without controul,
And trumpet forth his Praise
Does sweetly roul, and without Toil
Doth high his Glory raise.

Altho' his Blood does cry aloud
 For Vengeance to come down,
 And sure it shall, as is God's Will,
 Yet He'll the Martyr crown.

They surely shall have Blood to drink,
 Who dares to draw a Sword,
 To fight, oppose, and so to think,
 'Gainst Him that's God the Lord.

Tho' he in Battle lost his Life,
 His Victory's complete,
 He's surely ended all his Strife,
 His Joy now is sweet (*sic*).

He'll rise again, see Christ his King,
 See Angels round the Throne,
 The Glory's Train that Christ shall bring,
 And he shall join the Throng.

Douce, *Ballads*, iii. 55 verso.

Lord Lovet's Reception by the Spectators, as He passed through the City, on Thursday, March the 19th, 1747, to receive his Sentence.

Tune of, 'I wish I had never been married, been married.'

As through the City Lord Lovet did pass,
 the People in Hundreds did follow,
 And cried you Old Fox you are catch'd safe at last,
 while some hiss'd and others did hollow:
 To Westminster Hall you are going to be tryed,
 by the Peers of the Realm who your cause will decide,
 And bring you in Guilty to humble your Pride,
 And now you old Fox do you love it, do you love it,
 and now you old Fox do you love it.

Your cause was so bad, and was proved so plain,
 this wicked Rebellion you aided;
 To prove your innocency was but in vain,
 for you by no means could Evade it;
 You underhand acted we plainly can see,
 or you'd ne'er have been found in the old hollow Tree,
 But on Tower Hill a Head shorter you'll be;
 and now you old Fox, etc.

The Lords could perceive your artful sly Tricks,
 altho' you began to dissemble,
 High Treason upon you most plainly is fix'd,
 their Sentence did make you to tremble;

You fairly was Tried and fairly was cast,
to answer for all your vile Tricks that are past,
For Justice indeed has o'ertook you at last,
and now you old Fox, etc.

Altho' you for so many Years did Escape,
a Hatchet, a Gun or a Halter,
From Scotland they have Conducted you safe,
and Tower Hill soon will you alter;
Where you on a Scaffold must quickly appear,
when Jack Ketch with Hatchet and Block will appear,¹
With numerous Spectators, who at you will stare,
and now you old Fox, etc.

To tell all the Vilianous actions he's done,
sure any one's patience would tire,
He such a vile Course has for many Years run,
as makes ev'rybody admire;
It soon will be over you sure may depend,
you behaved so well you have scarce got a Friend,
Jack Ketch with pleasure will on you attend,
and now you old Fox, etc.

Your Tenants no more will lie under your lash,
or now be expos'd to your Fury,
Your Neighbours may now at home keep their own cash,
For you made yourself both Judge and Jury,
Their Houses you plundered their Cattle you Stole,
their Persons imprison'd and sent into Goal,
but the headsman will soon pay you for't in the whole,
and now you old Fox, etc.

Your torturing Engine being now laid aside,
Your Tenants enjoy their own freedom,
No more shall they Victors become of your Pride,
nor You any longer would need them;
In the Highlands You will be miss'd I believe,
because from your Neighbours you used to Thieve,²
Their is few or none at your misfortunes will Grieve,
and now you old Fox, etc.

Some say that Tyburn's long wanted his due,
but Tower Hill fairly has got it,
blest with such a vile Villian as You,
it seems almost for to shock it;
Jack Ketch see your Hatchet is sharp e'er you go,
To cut off the Head of old England's Foe,
Like a Workman be sure to strike it off at one blow,
Then farewell to wicked old Lovet, old Lovet,
Then farewell to wicked old Lovet.

[2 cuts, Head of Lovat and Scaffold.]

¹ So in the text. Probably the author wrote 'will be there.'

A Scot in France in 1751

THE old MS. Journal¹ in faded handwriting which I hold in my hand, cannot be better introduced than by the writer's own words at their commencement: 'I set out from London, September 16th 1751, on my journey thro France, taking leave of Britain, and everything British for some time.' The writer was a young Scottish gentleman, William Cuninghame, a son of the house of Enterkine, in Ayrshire, whose bookplate adorns the handsome vellum-bound folio in which his travels are written. He was an engineer and on his way to assist his regiment in Minorca.

From his Journal we know him to have been a man of wide knowledge and excellent education, and a travelled man, for had he not been in France already, in 1736? We learn from Horace Walpole's letters that he 'greatly distinguished himself at Minorca,' and we know that he died a colonel at Guadaloupe in 1759. Colonel Cuninghame left a full journal not only of his travels in France, but also of the military operations in which he took part at Minorca; but it is only the pacific first part that I deal with here.

The journal of a traveller in the eighteenth century is always of some interest, and especially so when the writer, as in this case, was a prudent Scot, well born, of an observant nature, cultured habits, Hanoverian sympathies, and a philosophic mind. 'In travelling,' he writes, 'one finds great inconvenience carrying along useless luggage. These properly are the superfluous customs and little attachments we carry from one country to another, as one has contracted by a longer or shorter residence; which when we get to another ought to be laid aside as having no foundation, but on the whim and caprice of the nation to which they belong. And unless we possess such maxims and manners as are generally esteemed right, we ought never to introduce them into any foreign country or nation.' With this

¹ In the possession of Mrs. Rainsford-Hannay, *née* Forbes.

wise maxim he set out, but, like Job, it was from his friends that he mainly suffered. 'Sometime before I set out two accidents happened that almost stopt my journey.' The first was a friend, who, to purchase a post, used his credit. 'Trusting to his honour and friendship I thought nothing more of the sum than that he would replace it on the misgiving of the purchase, when, contrary to my expectation or indeed to my great surprise, the money was taken up and spent without my knowledge till a few days before I left town.' The next was 'a man of quality [who] came to ask me if I could relieve him in the greatest necessity. I excused myself. On which he prest me to apply to some of my Friends. This I was foolish enough, in spite of long experience, to give into, and borrowed a sum for him in his urgent necessity, and tho' I told him every day of my intention to begone, and had not wherewithall to defray my own expenses he left me in the lurch to make the best of his bankrupt debt. These two Anecdotes I keep in view as Beacons to steer by.' He started, however, and was glad of it, as 'on going a journey it is much gained to get one stage clear of London,' even though one, like himself, arrived at Dartford only to find a stupid and drunken landlord and consequent bad entertainment. 'We had escaped Highwaymen from London but got into a nest of pilferers here tho' in the best Inn at Dartfoord.' Next day the journey was passed 'agreeably tho' not entertainingly' posting through the rich land of Kent. 'We dined at Canterbury, where we could scarcely get past the chaises in the entry to the low parlours that were crowded with French players, valet(s) de Chambres, Barbers and Taylors, their dress denoting their trade. . . . I found all expected to make their fortune at London, from which opinion I did not discourage them, knowing the extravagant value put on these pert strollers.'

At Dover he met more, 'some just come over and others returning,' and also some English on their way back from France. 'They had brought over a good deal of the French impertinence without much of the solid or true lustre that travelling gives the mind.' Among the fellow travellers was the astronomer, M. Monier, whom Cuninghame had met in Scotland with Lord Morton, when he had been sent over by the Academie des Sciences to make observations on the eclipse of the sun in 1748. A rich London lady and gentleman were more amusing, however. 'The Captain of the Packet who

had connived at their smuggling French Commodities was invited to dine with us, and by the frequent whispers t'wixt him and the fair one, with the character she gave him of being one of the honestest best sort of men that used the passage, it was easy to see the French dress for her next winter's appearance depended on his fidelity.'

The wine of the Inn was bad, so 'it was necessary to treat the lady to a little Burgundy. "*Verses un Ver,*" says she, "it is so difficult to get off a language one is accustomed to." We have all met this lady! In this case she came from Boulogne, where she had most likely been at least a few weeks.

'Freed from one plague,' continues the Journalist on the departure of these travellers, 'many others succeeded.' The Ambassador (Lord Albemarle) was going over. 'All his suite crowded the Inn. Parlours, Kitchen, and every place was filled with couriers, cooks and Valet(s) de Chambres eating, drinking, dressing themselves or their meat, and such a noise all night long that his Excellency complained next morning of wanting rest. Tho' everybody else who lodged there had more reason to complain of the insolence of office.' Our author, with another gentleman (whose relatives had been ruined in the Rising of 1745), hired a ship to take them to Boulogne for three guineas, all included. 'The ship masters don't care to go to Boulogne as they can't so readily find passengers as at Calais. But if the wind serves it is as easy going to Boulogne and saves 3 posts and $\frac{1}{2}$ travelling,' so that was a real gain in spite of the very bad landing. Of the inhabitants of Boulogne, that refuge of English innocence, we have the following description: 'People of all characters, except good ones, resort here from Britain, that is if you allow those who are outlaws of their country to go in the reckoning. Criminals of all Denominations are to be found here, and mix without ceremony or shame in all company in the place. Some good sort of people of our Country carry on the trade of wine here and are the only exceptions.' This exception no doubt refers, among others, to Mr. Charles Smith of Boulogne, who was not only a Scottish Wine Merchant but had also been secretly a Jacobite Agent.

Cuninghame and his companion now hired a post-chaise to take them to Paris. 'We went by turns in the chaise and rode. . . . This method is a relaxation to both,' and he describes the posts as better served than in England, and the horses more cared for although not 'near so quick.' They went

through the county of Picardy which was then, as now, flourishing. 'It is not productive of wines, yet is abundant in what turns to better account. There manufactories are numerous. Abbeville and Amiens have great trade in the Woollen being supplied with much of that commodity from Ireland. . . . It is as much planted as makes the views agreeable (and) not too much to interrupt these or too little to make the country look naked, but is not sufficiently watered.' So much for Picardy. The Inns, however, he thought inferior to those of England, at least those on the great post-roads. At Clermont, where it is noted that the Duc de Fitz-James, a son of the British Duc de Berwick, had a fine place, they met an English exile of different politics—a Jacobite refugee—and then pushed on to Chantilly, which our writer had been immensely impressed with on his first visit, and which still seemed 'a fine old castle.' He animadverts, 'How necessary it is for right judging to view things stricter and at different times. For this reason every one who wishes to form a proper judgement should make a double tour of travels at some distance of years.' He went over the pictures—the battles of the great Condé—and the gardens, which, he says, 'are full of minch py (mince pie) work and waterspouts. Everything in the old style.' The manège and stabling were 'more magnificent than anything at Versailles,' but, as the Prince de Condé was only fourteen years old, the policies were more neglected than was usual. On visiting the stables he says, 'I happened to have my gloves on, which the groom told me was never allowed in the Prince's stables, that (reason) or any other, I suppose, to make a forfeit.' He computed the Duc de Bourbon's estate as about eighteen leagues square, and believed him to be 'the most considerable subject in Europe,' but adds, 'Vanity subjects mankind to many inconveniences. I know none of the kind liable to (distress) more than that of bringing a high-road close to one's gate. Yet this prevails in France, and is so at Chantilly, one of the greatest thoroughfares in the Kingdom.'

A slight *contre-temps* now stopped our travellers, for, though twelve horses or so were in the posting stable, and they were desirous of some steeds to take them on to Paris, they were told by the post-master that ten of them were reserved for the use of M. le Comte de Charolais, a Prince of the Blood. Cuninghame's comment on this is 'Happy Britain, first come, first served!' but after two hours his companion astutely stated

that he must get on as he had business that night at Paris with the British Ambassador! This ruse succeeded, and they got on to within two stages from Paris but slept in a wretched Inn. 'It was however the Posthouse, and best Inn of the village. How surprised I should have been to see so bad an alehouse so near London, for nothing could bespeak more misery.' This was near St. Denis, and it is noted that the roads about Paris were 'all well planted avenues.'

Paris was then, even more than now, the Mecca of the Pilgrim. From the time of Louis XIV. it had given the *ton* to every Court whether of friendly or hostile nations. Cuninghame thus writes of it, 'Paris is the place in Europe where society is most universal, and on the best footing. I mean that of entertaining and amusements. It is a little world where you can have people of all countrys to converse with, and all things to purchase that other countrys produce.' He thought that it stood on little more ground than the half of London, and was the happier 'with half this space and I believe, modestly judging, the fourth of the riches. 10,000 Livres yearly does very well for a house and little equipage at Paris, when 2,000 sterling will fall short at London.'

Remise coaches were very nearly as costly as coaches in London at twelve livres per diem. The first places at the plays cost six livres, but every other expense, he says, was 'considerable lower.' The ordinaries for eating all over Paris were then, as now, 'of great use to a stranger.' 'In the first-rate ones you eat for 35 or 40 sous, wine included. One is never at a loss for company. It is an introduction to a general acquaintance (and), so far as it goes, is amusing and often useful.' He adds that the exclusive English profited less by it than any other strangers, preferring to have their meals sent in from a *traiteur* 'who is well acquainted with the weight of their purses and makes them pay accordingly.' Then, as always, the Parisians were clever salesmen. And they had the custom of surrounding each post-chaise as it stopped, and proffering their wares, 'so that in a few hours you are as well fitted out in equipage and everything at Paris as in other places in as many days.'

The *Valet de louage* he thought the perfection of a servant—in his own way—'in effect to lie, pimp, and pilfer. That is, they make free with everything at home, and run snacks with everybody you employ abroad.'

The French, the writer found, 'with all their politeness,

exceedingly curious,' and that among them Fashion had a stronger following than in England. 'Dress, manners, morals and belief are all subjected to Fashion. Right and wrong depends chiefly on him that takes the lead'—and this was in the wicked times of Louis XV.—'I mean only as to those who are entirely men of mode and these are allowed to be more numerous here than in any place of the world.' 'Different Nations excel in different things; I think we may easily allow the French what relates to dress since we are generally allowed to exceed them in more essential points'; but in spite of this complacency, he was forced to admit that they had in his time 'gained most courts of Europe to their side and established this accepted authority in what is called the gentle company of these Countrys.' We have also an interesting summary of the position of the British tourists of the eighteenth century, not altogether in their favour. Their money, which they spent freely in Paris, gained them 'the greatest attention and readiest service from all who can make profit of them.' They did not 'study the language and manners so much as they might. One that is flush of money imagines (that) every pleasure should meet him, at least, that he has every one in his power without giving himself the trouble of acquiring by study and pains.' Do we not find these charges still made against *Perfide Albion* even in these days of *l'entente cordiale*? He continues, 'From this arises the abuse of money and all pleasures; luxury and excess; debauchery and every vice.' He had another criticism to make on the English which we still hear whispered occasionally. 'Those of the same nation naturally flock together. The English are remarkable for it here and are observed to have more connection and stricter friendships with their countrymen than ever they have afterwards. . . . It is even remarked, and I believe not unjustly, (that) they forget these attachments whenever they go home.'

Our traveller did not feel at home with these British tourists. 'They profited,' he says, 'very little by being at Paris. The sum of it was this. They spoke very bad French, swore a great deal at their coachman, footman, and people of the house. . . . They drove to the Tennis Court in the morning, dres't, dined; then to the English or Irish haunts in the Coffee-houses about the Pont Neuf. Afterwards from playhouse to playhouse (as at London) then to supper, at 10, either at the Ordinary or oftener at home where they told me they got a bit they could eat, dres't after the English way. Then send

for girls, or away to Madame Paris';' whose Hôtel du Roule readers of French *Mémoires* know from Casanova's description. He was not happy with his compatriots. 'I asked some of these gentlemen to go and see the Curiositys of the place, but they went to see the famous Woman player at Tennis,' (the British sportsman all over!) 'and left me to see the fine collection of pictures made by the late Duke of Orleans,' then housed in the Palais Royale. Though our author would have liked to see the sights of Paris again, time pressed. While in France he wished also to 'see the face of the Country adorned with what is most agreeable to the eyes and taste'—the vintage. So, having received Lord Albemarle's despatches for Commodore Keppel, who commanded the Mediterranean Squadron, he set out for the South of France, first halting at Fontainebleau, 'nine posts from Paris, where the Court then was'; and was like everyone else charmed with 'the Forrest,' if not with the furnishing of the palace, which was 'not at all so rich or so modern as in the other Palaces of France I have formerly seen.' The King, when they arrived had been out hunting the stag, but after dining and dressing, all the Court went to the Play. 'The Queen came into the State box, but His Majesty (as they told me) seldom or never did, but peeped throu a Lettice above. Everybody well dress'd is allowed to come in; strangers particularly have the preference.' Our author was impressed with the decoration of the stage and boxes, but shocked at the poorness of the piece, which was 'The Twenty-four Misfortunes of Harlequin,' only passable 'for a mob to laugh at'; not for a Court. 'Mr. Voltaire and others of the modern French poets,' he adds, 'have much censured the incorrectness of our stage, I believe with justice in some particulars. But if they were to look at home they might banish whole pieces. . . . They plead these are Italian pieces. I think it is more blameable to adopt the bad performances of other nations than to be prejudiced in favours of those of our own.'

Like Casanova his loyal eyes blinked when Louis XV. came on the scene. 'The Court appeared in the Rooms after the play, but not with the usual splendour, being then in mourning. The King seemed to me the best-looking man of his Court, of a healthy countenance; robust, but rather fat; with a great deal of Majesty,' no doubt 'a model of Deportment' in the contemporary opinion.

The presence of the Court had its disadvantages for travellers. 'The posts incoming and going are double. Other things are more, in this proportion. So we found at our Inn.' But Cuninghame's Scottish caution did not desert him, and he promptly compounded for half his bill for lodging, though he paid the 'extras' not to 'derogate too much from the profuse honour of our nation and the title of "Milor."' With a sigh, no doubt, he added the words, 'No people have more the art of talking strangers out of their money.'

For the journey to Burgundy the author's prudent 'companion' (his name is never divulged) had bought a post-chaise (of one seat) and they drove and rode, as before no doubt, on 'their Bidets good little Tits . . . (which) keep always at a canter. None of our Company had a fall all the while we travelled together.' The first halt was at the old and ruinous town of Sens. At the Inn a Highlander spoke to them. He had since the Rebellion 'been in France with his Master, who lived there with many others concerned in that unhappy affair, who had chosen this place for the cheapness of living, and the Civilitys they received from the Archbishop.'

Auxerre was the next stop, and the author's companion, 'who was a better judge of wines than I,' recommended the vintages. The police of the roads was well regulated and the travellers went in comfort. The next day's journey was through Viteaux to Dijon, the capital of Burgundy and 'Parliament seat of that Province'; but there was no Session and the town was consequently dull. Two posts further on was Nuys [Nuits], where the travellers rested some days in the house of M. Marées, a Wine Merchant 'of great repute'; and there they learned something about the high prices of wine which astonished them, the highest being '1200 Livres a pipe, that is about £30 a hogshead.' They visited Volne and Pomar as well as Bonne (Beaune), 'wall'd and famous for its wines,' and were impressed with the commerce of Chalons. It was 'surprising,' however, that 'there are not better Inns in so considerable a place.' They were in bad luck with their Inn, and, we hope, exceptionally so, 'for our further comfort the kitchen chimney took fire while our supper was dressing, and with great difficulty we got the mob kept out of the house by shutting the gates, while our Cook extinguished it' by the old salt cure.

At Chalons the travellers joined those who had come in the diligence from Paris and embarked for Lyons on the 'Coche

d'Eau,' one of the transport barges. The Parisian company who took the best places were noisy and troublesome, and our author 'declined accepting their kind invitation of preference to their room, and kept at a distance with my book.' They spent the night at Macon, and next day our hero paid for his admiration of beauty. 'Our landlady pas't us in review from her bar, and every one payd as he went out. She was very handsome and show'd a very fine neck to advantage with a loose robe which diverting my attention from counting my money, she made me pay for the sight, by taking one third more than from any of the Company.'

The travellers sailed down the Saone, through 'a very delightful country' to Lyons, where they were invaded by Frenchmen, until 'I believe our Company could have muster'd as many as the King of France sent with the Young Pretender for the recovery of the Crown he claimed. We had indeed two (or) three of his officers with us, dres't in feathers and stockings of various colours, who, to the disturbance and scandal of the whole Company, used the people who offered their service to carry their baggage . . . with the grossest language and abuse, insulting the people in the streets.' The travellers were glad to withdraw from their company and see the town.

'Every creature is busy and employed here,' wrote the diarist about Lyons. He thought the streets well adorned, the houses magnificent, and the people opulent. 'The Country about (is) bespangled with pretty little retreats, so that all the hills and country about Lyons seems one continued town.' The travellers saw the 'sights,' the Jesuits Library, the 'Academy for Exercises,' and the manufactories, where the gold thread and gold lace and the Lyons silks were made. Of 'gold drawing,' we are given a full description too long to quote here, but he entered also that 'The grounds about Lyons are as embroidered with houses as their silks are with gold and silver. The views from the hills round the town above the banks of the two rivers are delightfully pleasant.'

On account of the fear of robbers by road, Cuninghame and his friend proceeded by boat—the common passage-boat—down the Rhone to Avignon. Among their co-voyageurs were M. de Fien, interpreter to the King for Oriental languages, the Chevalier Labord, a sailor, and M. de Chateauneuf, a soldier, who related their travels and adventures by sea and land, and beguiled the voyage. The rest of the company were officers,

merchants, and priests, who chiefly narrated *contes grivois* and their own *amourettes* for the benefit of the rest until they arrived at Vienne having enjoyed 'a prodigious variety of romantic views all along the Rhone.'

It took three days to reach the papal city of Avignon, and the travellers arrived there in time for the feast of S. Louis,—which was celebrated by many Chevaliers of his Order,—and to attend an opera 'which lasted till near midnight, and sent us home fully disposed to rest.' The writer was informed that 'The Young Pretender kept family here, consisting of the proper officers for a Prince as if he actually resided here, tho' as they told me he had not been seen at Avignon for two years. The Pope's Vice Legate received him after his banishment from France¹ with much show and magnificence. He had come to town privately, but afterwards entered publicly, and had great entertainments and balls. Those strangers I talk't to of him seemed not to have the least idea where he was,' and this uncertainty lasted for a good many years, until his father's death in 1766, put an end to the Prince's incognito.

From Avignon the travellers went on their way to Aix-en-Provence, a tedious journey for which they went fortified with a breakfast of 'excellent sauciges, Ortolans and Cyprus wine.' Aix was much resorted to 'by people of all ranks in Provence for business and pleasure; by strangers, more particularly (by) the English.' It was an early health resort too, and they found it one of the best built towns in France. Here the chief man had seen something of Britain in the '45. 'The Marquis D'Aiguilles, who was vested with the sham character of Ambassador to the Young Pretender during the Rebellion in Scotland, is now President to the Parliament here. He was taken prisoner at Culloden in the character of a Captain of Foot, afterwards went to Carlisle and Penrith as Commissary for the French prisoners then with us, and married a Parson's daughter of that Country, whom he carried over to this place.'

Marseilles was the last French town of Cuninghame's Odyssey, for it was from that port that he had to sail to Minorca. He wrote, 'Marseilles may be justly esteemed the richest, fairest and most trading town in France. The mart of the Mediterranean and the Center of the West India Commerce. The new town . . . is large, with straight fine streets all built of free stone. The old town has very high

¹Dec. 27, 1748.

buildings (and) narrow streets and only inhabited by the lower class of people. So straight are these streets that coaches cannot go. I suppose it is of late that any equipages have been kept here for in the spacious new buildings the ladys all go in chairs.'

Here, having to wait for his boat, the writer whom we have followed for so long, found himself among a coterie of compatriots 'enjoying the rational pleasure of a domestick travelling life, improving themselves and doing all the good in their power' and with this society he spent from October the 24th to the 15th of December (old style), on which day he set sail for the island of Minorca.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

Ecclesiastical Persecution in the Seventeenth Century

THE following extracts are from a Narrative written by the Rev. Robert Landess of Robroyston, which has been preserved among the family papers of Major John Henry Lamont of Lamont, the XXI. chief of the Clan Lamont. The first thirty-eight pages are unfortunately wanting, but the extant portion, extending from 1660 to 1703, consists principally of an account of the author's settlement and experiences as a Presbyterian minister at Ballymoney, in Ireland, his differences with the Irish presbyteries over his subsequent return to Glasgow, and of his ministerial work in Glasgow and the Parish of Blantyre, in Lanarkshire. The portion of the Narrative here printed is interesting as a contemporary record of ecclesiastical persecution and of domestic life in Scotland in the latter half of the seventeenth century and covers the ten years between 1662 and 1672.

Owing to the loss of the earlier portion of the Narrative information as to the author's family is probably now irrecoverable, but from internal evidence it appears that Mr. Landess was born in January, 1630, and was a man of some means. He obtained his degree in Arts at the University of Glasgow where he held a bursary in 1658, and was licensed as a preacher, as appears from the Narrative, by the Presbytery of Hamilton. After leaving Scotland in 1672 he had charge in County Antrim of a congregation at Ballymoney in the Presbytery of Rout (Kilrut) where he ministered for fourteen years, but owing to the state of his health and the impossibility of living upon the scanty offerings of a scattered and poor congregation, he returned to Scotland in 1686. In 1687 he appears as a member of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, and was called *ad interim* to officiate in one of the meeting houses in Glasgow, and had charge of the East Quarter till April, 1690, when, owing to the better supply of ministers after the re-establishment of Presbyterianism, he was at his own request relieved of his charge in the city. In July,

1690, he received a call from the Parish of Blantyre and was inducted on 12th August of that year. He demitted office on 29th December, 1702, on account of his age and failing health and died in 1705, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and was buried, according to a note on the cover of the Narrative, within the High Church of Glasgow. The writer, however, on an examination of the Register of Burials kept by the Town Clerk, does not find this borne out.

In 1692 Mr. Landess purchased the lands of Robroyston, the title being taken in name of himself and his second wife, Janet Baillie, and the longest liver of them in liferent, and his son Robert Landess in fee, and by various transmissions during the eighteenth century the lands of Robroyston came into the possession of the family of Archibald Lamont of Lamont, XVII. chief of the Clan, one of whose sons in 1779 married Katherine Landess, a great-grand-daughter of the author of the Narrative. The lands of Robroyston were recently purchased by the Corporation of Glasgow from the family of Major Lamont, to whom we are indebted for permission to publish these Extracts.

ROBERT LAMOND.

AT Whitsunday in ye yeir 1662 I found it not convenient to continue in Glasgow, and therfor I and my familie went to the Hags which belonged to Sr Georg Maxwell of Nether Pollok wher we hade severall conveniences both temporall and spiritual. In the Latter end of November 1662 Master Hugh Smith Minister at Eastwood and his familie came also to the place of ye Hags and after his comeing ther we hade the benefit of privat Meetings in ye night time for which Mercie I then hade & yet have cause to bless the Most Hie.

And at thet time when Mr. Smith and his familie came to ye Hags all these Ministers who wold not accept presentations from their patrons wer also charged to remove out of thair parishes by a proclamation that was published at Glasgow on the : 1 : day of the preceeding October. The yeir imediatlie after Mr. Hugh Smith came to dwell at the Hags there was no regular incumbent placed in Eastwood. The vacancie ther made way for the more private exerceis of religious worship in the place of Pollok and at the Oldhouse neir the Kirk of Eastwood wher Master Alexander Jamison (that was Minister at Govan) dwelt with his familie. Upon the 8 day of April 1663 my wife was delivered of a Son called George. I got him baptized on ye 12 day of ye forsaid month by Mr. James Wallace who was Minister at Inchinan. This child lived only ffourten weeks or therby and was buried at Govan. After this, the said Mr. Hugh Smith and I wer advertisd by some freinds that the Bishop of Glasgow hade gotten information of our haveing meetings privatlie and therfor we wer desird to be upon our

guard; this warning did necessitat us to retein sometymys from the Hags at night, to some nighbors houses neirby, that wer not suspected. After we hade used this method some time, he and I resolved to remove from the Hags and take our families farther from Glasgow.

In the Month of Feberuar 1664, He and I went to several places in the West, at length I agried with John Hamilton of Barr, for his house called ye Barr in the parish of Lochwinoch with the yairds, and the third part of ye Mayns belonging to it: and at the tyme of our agriement I lent him ffyften hundreds merks: the annual rent whereof was accepted by him as a part of his rent yeirlye during my tack of ye lands of Barr. Then I agried with Hugh Sempill who was tenent to ye tuo parts of Barr and he caried on ye plowing and laboring of ye land in my absence. At the Whitsunday in ye yeir 1664 I went with my familie to ye Barr; Wher Mr. Hugh Peebbs was Minister and not removed then from that parish becaus he was on of those ministers that had entred to his ministrie ther with a presentation from the patron befor the yeir 1649

Mr. Peebles continued at Lochwinoch and hade the exercise of his ministrie ther, to the great satisfaction of many in that countrie side, for the space of a yeir and more after I went to the Barr. But Satan and his agents envyed him and about the month of Agust 1655 prevailed so far, as to sumond him to compeir befor the counsell at Edenburgh, wher he was requird to take the Oath of Supremacie, which he refused & therfor was sentandc with confinement at Fforfar in the Shire of Angus wher he taried more than a yeirs space and hade the favor of many who lived in the nighbourhood, but he took not his familie ther.

Upon the 8 of December 1664 being Thursday my daughter Joan was borne and upon ye 18 day of the said month was baptizd at Dalry by Master Robert Bell Minister ther.

Upon the Sixt of Jun 1666 my daughter Mary was born: at this time Mr. Robert Aird, formerlie Minister in the Isle of Cumbray came to Lochwinoch: who declared to me and many others in that parish that my Lord Dundonald hade brought him ther by his moyoun without regard to the Bishops Licence or allowance and upon his entrie ther several ministers in that corner of ye countrie advised the people of that parish not to withdraw from his Ministrie in regard he was once lawfullie ordaind by the presbyterie of Irwin. Onlie we were desird to testifie our dissent at his intrusion in that parish which was done accordingle. And upon the 24 day of the forsaid month of Jun he baptized my daughter Mary and several others.

Within a short time after his entrie ther, he was verie active to have these that wer elders in that parish joyning with him but they refusing he became very rude in his words against them, and withall threatend to bring them to trouble, as also in his preaching he became heterodox: Wherupon the people generallie disownd him afterward.

Upon the 21 of Jullii 1667 at eight hors in the morning being the sabboth my son Robert was born and baptized at Dalry by Mr. Robert Bell on the IIth. day of Agust following. Upon the day of April

1670 my daughter Margret was born : and her mother continued verie weak and sicklie for the space 20 days and then departed this life. This last day of her natural life Mr. Hugh Peebles and his wife wer with her a considerable space. In whose hearing she gave a plain discoverie of her Minde in words : saying : these four and twentie yeirs I have been ayiming at seeking of the Most Hie God in Christ Jesus, I cannot now say that I have assuranc of being with him for ever : however my soul inclyns to cleave to him and trust in him. With these words her breath failld in the view of several freinds beside these above named and the thrie children Joan, Mary and Robert looking on, which peircd my heart in a great measure ; not only then, but afterward. The chyld Margret was put to a nurss and being verie weaklie for the space of a month after her mothers decease, she also departed this life and was buried in ye church yaird of Lochwinoch neir her mother's grave. I hade now at this time the forsd thrie children kept alyve ; but when I thought upon the loss that the children wer at in the want of thair kynd mother, a mother that was serious in holding up thair cases to him who formd them in the womb, a mother that wold have been examplarie to them in a special maner ; a mother that wold have been verie active in reproveing them for any escap that she came to perceive in them, if she hade been kept alyve with them, These and the like thoughts overwhelmed me many a time in such a degrie that I could hardlie sitt with them in the house wher we dwelt ; nor could I continue any space at a distance from them.

Within the space of a month after the child's death ; Tuo troupers came and took me allong with them to ye Kirktown of Lochwinoch : and after we wer sitten down together in an ale house ther they told me that thair Captan hade sent them to bring me to Paisley becaus I was disorderlie in my cariage and therby discouraged Mr. Robert Aird. Then I desird them to send for Master Aird that they might hear him and me discourse together about that matter. Then they sent for him and when he enterd the rowm wher wee wer and saw me in thair company he wold not come neir them. Upon this I said to the troupers You sie, I am willing that you should hear him and me, but he refuseth to come wher I am.

In the meantime I prevailed with them to take some refreshment befor we went any further : And when we hade dynnd, they desird me to promise that I should come to thair Captan at Paisley when he requyrd. This I did promise and after I hade payd about four pound Scots, for what was eaten and drunken at that meeting they went away verie peaceable and thair Captan never calld for me.

When I returnd to ye children and servants in the afternoon I came to be a litle melancholious and thoughtie as formerlie, which continued with me Ay, and whil I was taken with a partie of horsemen in the month of Agust 1670. The maner was this. Thrie horsmen came to ye Barr wher I dwelt and requyrd me to goe allong with them to thair Captan at Castl Sempill. Then I took my horse, and

I was not well sett in the saddle upon him untill I found a remarkable removal of my anxious thoughts concerning my young motherless children. Then I was in some measur helped to beleive that the ever blissed Lord wold own them and make up the absence of mother and father unto them in his own way. Within a little tyme another pairtie of horse comes up to us who hade taken a neir neighbor of myne called Robert Orr of Milnbank. These horsemen caried him and me to thair Captan at Castlsempill and when we came neir to ye house of Castlsempil a great many papists wer looking out at the windows upon us, for that house was a receptacle for all that wer popish.

My Lord Sempill pretended to plead with the popish Captan in our favors, that he might suffer us to stay at home, offering himself as cationer that we should appear if ever we wer requyrd by the Counsell at Edenburgh. But all that we could obtain was only a libertie to return to ye Barr that we might have a shift of clean linings and from that the pairtie of horsemen wer orderd to take us allong to Edenburgh and deliver us to ye Duke of Lauderdaill.

Accordinglie we wer taken to Glasgow that night and on the morrow to Edenburgh. When we came to Edenburgh we wer made prisoners in the cannongate tolbooth. Upon the morrow at ten hours we wer conveend befor the Duke of Lauderdaill and ye Lords of the secret councill, each of us by our selfs and not together. When I was brought befor them they askt me several trifling questions as first. Wher Was I licentiat to preach. 2dlie, What movd me to goe to Robert Orr's house and preach when I should have gone to the church wher the publik worshipe of God was performed.

These and the like questions being put to me: I told them that I was licent to preach by the presbyrie of Hamilton: As also I told them that I went to Robert Orr's house becaus he was desireous to have me and I hade not full freedom in my mynd to goe and hear Mr. Aird then, for when I heard him last, he was verie heterodox in his doctrin, which I am readie to give an account of it.

Then my Lord Dundonald interrupted me and so I forbare to speak any further of it. Then I was desidrd to remove a litle and when I was called upon the clerk did read the draught of a bond which was worded thus: I Mr. Robert Landess do hereby binde & oblige me to attend the publik worship of god in the parish church of my residence. When I heard this read I was mynded to subscribe it, and withall to have left the parish of Lochwinoch and gone & dwelt in some other parish wher some indulged ministers preacht at that time. But the clerk hade no sooner read over that draught in the hearing of all present then my Lord Dundonald said to the Duke of Lauderdaill My Lord this bond is not full enough for by it he should be obliged not to keep conventicles. Then I was desidrd to remove a litle and when I was calld in the draught of ye bond was worded thus I Mr. Robert Landess do hereby bind & oblige my self not to keep conventicles but shall frequent the publik worship of god in the parish church of my residence.

The Duke of Lauderdale desired me to subscribe this bond. Then I said My Lord, May it please your grace to hear me give my reasons why I cannot subscribe this bond as it is now worded. 1 First because I do not know what our civil law calls a conventicle 2 Secondly because there is no law (so far as I know) which obligeth us to forbear conventicles.

Then My Lord Dundonald said, My Lord, I will informe him: and then he repeated the act against conventicles that was then agreed upon by that Session of parliament that was then sitting but it was not published. After that my Lord had given an account of that Act I directed my answer to my Lord Lauderdale and said My Lord I do not suspect my Lord Dundonald's memorie but before I can rationally subscribe any bond against conventicles I must see the Act itself and have some time to consider not onlie the words of the Act but also the preface and scope thereof.

Then I was desired to remove a litle and when I was called in the Duke of Lauderdale required me to subscribe the bond: Then I said My Lord if it please your grace I humbly beg to be excused for I cannot subscribe this bond until I be further satisfied in my mind about it. Then the Duke of Lauderdale said This cursed crew of ye presbyterians will not accept of any favor from his Majesty though graciously dispense unto them.

Immediately he told me in name of ye council that they required me to petition the Parliament this afternoon for access to subscribe the bond as it is now worded; and if not my sentence is perpetual imprisonment and no person to have access unto me. When I was coming away the clerk gave me the draught of the bond, and the sojourners that waited at ye outer court conveyed me to the tolbooth; After that my fellow prisoner Robert Orr was examined and sent alongs with me.

When he and I returned to the prison, these that were prisoners there for being at conventicles they asked what was said to us: Then I gave them the draught of the bond which they required me to subscribe and told them that it contained the sum of all that was said to me but what was said to my neighbor I did not then know. However I purposed to forbear the subscribing of that bond.

At three hours in the afternoon Robert Orr and the four that were prisoners for being at conventicles were taken in to the parliament and a sentence of Banishment was pronounced against them and others that were prisoners in the High town tolbooth.

When the Jailor of ye canongate tolbooth heard that they were so sentenced and remitted to the Jailor of the High town tolbooth until such time as a ship should be ready to carry them away,—The Jailor of the High town tolbooth not being acquainted with these prisoners that were brought from the canongate tolbooth, he did not own them; and when the prisoners that formerly belonged to the canongate tolbooth saw that none meddled with them, they retired each of them to their particular acquaintances that night: Onlie the said Robert Orr he came

of his own accord to the Cannongat tolbooth wher I remaind, And after he hade told me what past that afternoon and particularlie how the four that wer prisoners in the cannongat with him and me hade escaped, he told me also that he might have made his escap but he choysd rather to undergoe the sentance of Banishment in his own person than that his wife & bairns should by a sentance of forfaultrie (that my Lord Dundonald could easielie have obtained upon his Land in Lochwinoch) be brought to povertie. After that I was sentand with perpetual imprisonment Sir Georg Maxwell came to me in the prison and told me that he wold deal with the Duke of Lennox who was then in Edenburgh to interpose his moyen with the Earle of Tuedall who was to be president of the Secret Councell when the Duke of Lauderdale was gone to England which wold be shortlie; and therfor Sir Georg desird me to wait patientlie in prison, for he was very hopefull of my liberation within few weeks.

After this I continued prisoner tuo months in which space the ever blessed Lord of Heaven & earth made me to meet with many mercies.

1. As first I was made willing to wait for the Lords time and way of giving me an outgate.

2. I was acquainted by a freind that my motherless children and the servants that wer with them wer all in health and in good case.

3. That several nighbors in Lochwinoch and their wyvs wer verie carefull and kindlie towards my families welfare in my absence.

4. My fellow prisoner Robert Orr was christianlie cheerfull and patient all the tyme.

5. The under Jailour was verie strict at first, and to gayn his favor I told him that if he wold suffer us and the rest of the prisoners to have fellowship together at convenient hours I wold propose the expediencie of haveing some innocent recreation amongst us; and whatever sort of recreation or pastime we agreed upon amongst ourselfs I doubt not but all of us will consent unto ye laying down of some litle money and who ever gains anything they shall be obliged to give it to him, or lay it out for drink to be made use of befor we part on from another, wherof he should have his share. This motion was so acceptable to him that he gave me the command of all the keys within the outter door. By this mean we hade access to meet together everie weekday from on ye clock till neir thrie in ye afternoon as also we hade access on ye saboth day to meet together in the forenoon from Ten to Tuelve and in ye afternon from tuo to four or fyve. And withall he gave us a signe wherby we should know when to reter to our several rowms when he was coming in to the tolbooth, and this was, his causing the chayn that was upon the outter door to reel loudlie; This friedom that all the prisoners hade here at this time was a mercie to us all in comon and to everie on of us in particular for which I then hade and yet have cause to bliss the Lord that made me and ye rest to find favor with the Jailour so unexpectedlie.

6. Sixtlie amongst the rest of ye comon mercies that I met w^h at this time and in this case this was on viz. Ther was a certan person

that lived in Paisley who was indue a litle money to me for the space seven yeirs and more so that I was almost hopeless of getting it without persueing at Law for it: yet when I was in prison I wrot to that person, and ther upon it was verie carefullie sent to me.

7. Many at that time hade nothing wherupon to live in prison but what they received in charitie from others, yet the liberal giveing Lord of Heaven and earth kept me from being burthensome to any, for which I desire to bliss his blissed name.

The Earle of Tuedall came to Edenburgh and being President in the counsell James Stewart (as I was afterward informd) gave in a petition in my name on the first councill day, and the Archbishop Sharp was present: The President gott an order granted for my releise out of prison without requireing anything of me. At the end of two months after Sir Georg Maxwells visiting me as said is, came this order to ye cannongate tolbooth and ther ye young man that brought it gott access to me with it at eleven hours in ye forenoon. Upon the sight of ye order We sent for the cheife Jailour and haveing payd him for my dyet and half a merk for everie night that I hade been in prison, I askt if I might goe furth. He answered I behovd to pay half a mark for the night that was to come befor I went out. Then I desird the young man that brought the order to bring the bailli of ye cannongate and when the bailli heard the jailour seek payment for the night to come he boasted ye jailour and desird me to goe allong with him to dinner which accordingle I did. In the evening of that day I came again to the tolbooth and took my leav of all the prisoners ther, and so parted with them.

At this time my fellow prisoners wife came to visit him who was continued ther neerby a fourtnight after I was sett at libertie But she returnd home within a litle space and I hade access to ride befor her upon her horse. But befor I left the toun I took occasion to visit all the prisoners in the Hie toun tolbooth As also I wrot a letter to Master Andrew Mortoun who was then prisoner in the castl of Stirling and gave a true account of my liberation to him; wherupon he wrot to a freind in Edenburgh who gave in a petition to ye councill in his behalfe and obtaind an order for Master Mortons freedom. Within the space of a fourtnight Robert Orr my fellow prisoner was sett at libertie upon his giveing bond to appear when called and so his trouble of that natur came to an end: for he was never required to appear after that.

When I returnd to Lochwinoch I was informd Barr hade given his Brother in Law William Cuningham a tack of what I possest of ye lands of Barr: Wherupon I went to Barr and inquired if he hade done so. Then he told that William Cuningham persuaded him that I wold never return to ye Barr. Upon this I askt if he wold pay me my money: his answer was that William Cuningham was to pay me at the term of Martimess then nixtcome. Within a litle tyme I mett with the said William and askt him if he wold buy the crop and beasts that I hade ther: he told me he wold upon reasonable rates. Then we sett a time for meeting upon the bargan and after he

hade seen all he and I agried: and within a few days he payd me the thousand pounds that Barr was owing to me and also what he hade promist for the crop and beasts which I hade sold to him.

A litle time after I hade been at home with my children and servants, I came to understand that the tuo maid servants did not agrie betwixt themselves: Therfor I parted with on of them and made readie for removeing my children and on servant woman to wait upon them at the term of Mertimess then nixt ensueing. At Martimas 1670 I got my thrie motherless children setled in a chamber which belonged to Walter Scot in Renfrew Hopeing that his wife being my sister wold oversie them carefullie Ffor then I was thinking of going abroad: and therfor spok to my sister and her husband desireing them to concern themselves in providing necessars for them and told them I wold give them wherupon to doe it. Moreover I orderd such a certain sowm of money to everie child and if the Lord removed any of them by death then that child's portion should belong equallie to the tuo that remaind alive, and if tuo of them wer removed then all should belong to ye liveing child; and if it should happen that all the thrie wer removed by death then and in that case anything that was should belong to ye said Walter Scot and his wife thair aires or assignes. But my sister and her husband wold not take the oversight of them at all and therfor I was necessitat to tarie with them now and then as I hade access. But then I could not well resolve wher to take up my residence with the children, for in Renfrew I could not tarie with them without observation from those who wer no freinds to presbyterians at that time. In the meantime I behoved to be in Glasgow to try for a sure hand that wold be trustie to whom I might lend the money I hade by me at that time and when I was in Glasgow I spok to John Balmanno who told me that he wold give me his bond for the hundreth pound sterlin that I hade to lend out: When I heard this I was verie well pleasd and upon giveing him the money I gott his bond for it.

Then John Balmanno spok of Jonet Baillie and advisd me to sett about the mindeing of this motion which he hade made to me, for he assurd me that she was a verie fitt wife to any man in my circumstances. This that he said encouraged me to think upon it and the nixt night to goe and visit her, being my old acquaintance. After that I hade been with her a litle space I took occasion to propose the motion and desird her to think upon it untill I came again. About the space of eight days after this I went again, and then I desird to know how she relisht that, which I spok to her when I was last with her: then she said that she could not give me any answer untill she acquanted some of her freinds: With this we agried that she should acquaint her freinds and I told her that I resolv'd to sie her the nixt week, and then I hop'd she wold be pleasd to lett me know What I might exspect.

The nixt week I went to her;—Then she told me that her freinds wer content with the motion itself, but they feard she wold find it a difficultie how to carie towards my children. Unto this I answerd

that my children are young and easilie guided now and if they wer kept alyve untill they come to ye yeirs of discretion I hoped the Lord wold inclyn them to carie dutiefullie towards her. Then she and I agried that we should have freinds meeting togiether the nixt week which accordinglie was brought about and our mariag contract subscribed and in the third week of December 1670 we wer maried.

Within a few days after our mariag we went to Renfrew and brought the children and servant woman that attended them to have thair abode with us in Glasgow. But finding that I could not get liveing ther peaceable I went in Januar 1671 and took a countrie house w^h some land belonging to it in the Lochrige within the parish of Kilburni wher Mr. William Tullidass was minister and at the term of Whitsunday following ther came als many horse and men from Lochwinnoch to Glasgow as caried all our houshold plenishing with the children to the Lochrige verie convenientlie.

At Lochrige my wife and I with the children continued togiether the spac of a yeir, But in the sumer of ye yeir 1672 I gott an invitation from the peopl of Ballimonie with the consent of the presbyterian ministers in that part of Irland which obliged me to give them a visit. Wherupon I went to Irland with my wife's full consent and she with the children and servant stayd at the Lochrige.

Chronicle of Lanercost¹

AT this same date King Edward gave his daughter, the Lady Joan of Acre, in marriage to Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, with great celebration, that the bond of love should be more strongly knit. Also in the same year the king gave his second daughter Margaret to John, son and heir of the Duke of Brabant.

In the same year John Romayn was created Archbishop of York, a man of mean birth but sufficiently distinguished in science; in fact he was an eminent authority in dialectics and theology.²

The clipping of coins which was detected at this time rendered the new coinage necessary, which is now current; but forasmuch as the Jews were afterwards found to be the perpetrators of clipping both the old coins and the new, besides being authors of all kinds of crime—usury, rapine, sacrilege, theft (which is excessively common among them), and corrupters of the Christian faith—they were all proscribed in accordance with the advice of Parliament, unless they either professed the faith of the Church or supported themselves exclusively by manual labour. Besides, there was a day appointed for their clearing out of the realm,³ so that those [who should be found] within the bounds of England after the day of S. John the Baptist⁴ should suffer penalty.

On the feast of S. Bartholomew,⁵ Patrick Earl of Dunbar, departed this life at Whittingehame, a man whom we have seen to be addicted to many vices, but who was mercifully forgiven by God on his deathbed. His body rests in the church of Dunbar, lying buried on the northern side.

Also, Duncan Earl of Fife, was cruelly slain on the Saturday

¹ See *Scottish Historical Review*, vi. 13, 174, 281.

² Already recorded *ad ann.* 1286, whereas the consecration took place in 1285. This is another indication, were one required, of the chronicle having been compiled from several different sources.

³ *Limitate eliminationis.*

⁴ 24th June, 1290.

⁵ 24th August.

preceding the Nativity of the Virgin.¹ He was the chief Guardian of Scotland for the time. As a young man he was cruel and greedy beyond all that we commonly have seen, abstaining from no injustice whereby he could minister to his avarice. And when curses without number had accumulated upon him, and enmities provoked by his deeds had been deservedly roused against him, he was slaughtered on horseback by his own men and kinsfolk as he was travelling along the king's highway to Parliament, and was buried in Cupar Abbey.² He had recently married the Lady Joan, daughter of the Count of Gloucester, who being with child at the time of her husband's murder, afterwards bore a son who still lives, bearing his father's name by hereditary right.

About the same time something marvellous happened in England near Richmond,³ in a village which is called Dalton.⁴ Whereas this place lies close up to the forest, and pasture abounds there for cattle, a certain man of advanced age, John Francis by name, being too careless in his [conduct], had fallen into serious neglect of the faith. For when his neighbours sought the precincts of the church for the sacred office of the Lord's day, and refreshed the spirit of devotion by the sacrament, this brutish man was in the habit of hurrying off to inspect his beasts, turning his back upon the church and traversing hill and dale. So, having wandered into the wilds one Lord's day, he penetrated to a remote spot full of the powers of the air, who were all of small stature like dwarfs, with hideous faces, falsely imitating in the garb of an abbot the sacred vestments of the church, and following one superior to the rest, as though he were invested with sacerdotal authority. They summoned the astonished and deluded layman, insisting that he should hear the Lord's day service. They began with laughter in place of song, and with a wretched murmur instead of a chant, together with a clever subtlety of a kind to uproot the faith of a layman. At last it came to the time, as it seemed, for the aspersion of water, when the leader went round and besprinkled all his comrades in iniquity as a punish-

¹ 10th September.

² He was murdered at Petpollock, 25th September, 1288, by Sir Patrick Abernethy and Sir Walter Percy, but Sir Hugh Abernethy was the real instigator. Moray of Bothwell took him and Percy. Sir Hugh was imprisoned for life in Douglas Castle, Percy was executed, and Sir Patrick Abernethy escaped to France.

³ In Yorkshire.

⁴ In Topcliff parish near Thirsk.

ment for their guilt. But coming to the living man last in order to besprinkle him, he assailed the fool, not with spray but with blows, so that to this day he [Francis] knoweth not whether he was struck by drops of water or by stones; but this was afterwards ascertained on the testimony of many persons that he was bruised over his whole body by the blows of volleys of stones, so thoroughly was he found to have been pelted by such a hurtful shower. Further, when he beheld these seducing spirits rising bodily as if about to fly away, he seemed to feel a force compelling him to fly away with them as they departed. But by means of grace he recovered himself, and, terrified by his imminent peril, he recalled to memory by degrees as he was able the passion which the Lord endured; and, as often as he began to fly, recalling to memory Christ's passion, he clung to the earth, and, grasping the turf and lying prone on the ground, strengthened his faith until the spirits of iniquity had all departed. And so, when he had reached home, lain down in bed and described the event to friends who visited him, during eight days following he strove to fly, until by truthful confession he set right the infidelity of his mind. For, as he confessed, suddenly and at certain times, when these spirits presented themselves to him in the air, he stretched himself upwards as if he were about to fly, had he not been held down by the main force of his servants.

On the top of other ills, in this year the city of Tripoli in Syria, which was girt about with three walls, was lost by reason of the sins of Christians. The Saracens took possession thereof, together with many tenements of the Templars and Hospitallers, many knights being killed there. I leave to be remembered by posterity two notable things in the course of this affair.

On one of those days, while the citizens, besieged by the enemy, were deliberating how they might escape slaughter, there was present among them a Minorite Friar, an Englishman by birth, well known for his courage. Perceiving that their minds were in panic, he ascended a high place, and, setting forth the word of God, he endeavoured to kindle their hearts with boldness to attack and firmness to endure; but the populace on the other hand, demoralised by despair, greeted him with derision, saying, 'Thou who boldly advisest us to be brave, wilt flee like a dastard when thou beholdest a spear. For see, the enemy have made an assault: they are storming

the walls ; show what you can do in such a strait, while we look on !'

Fired by faith he straightway seized the greater cross, which is wont to be displayed freely before the people, and, gripping it in his arms, placed it on his shoulder, and going before the armed ranks bade them stoutly follow him though he was unarmed ; and he led the way most impetuously to the breach where the enemy had broken in. But the purblind Gentiles, beholding a ragged man carrying a crossed beam against them, contemptuously cut him down. First they struck off his left arm, which notwithstanding he quickly changed the cross to the other shoulder, [whereupon] they cut off his remaining arm, and throwing his body to the ground, trampled it to pieces under the hoofs of their horses. Thus did he who had vowed to bear the cross of Christ, who thirsted after the the cross in his pilgrimage, and preached the cross in time of siege, earn a triumph through the cross in martyrdom. Many of the faithful, inspired by his example, and preferring to die bravely rather than cravenly, went out voluntarily against the enemy, and, committing to the Lord the issue of the matter, were either slain or taken, becoming a sacrifice for Christ.

Now there was in that city a convent of nuns, into which, as into other places, the enemy forced their way, carrying off everything they found there, [and] either killing or violating God's handmaidens. But there was a matron of the nuns, charming in person, still more distinguished by faith and bearing, who, when captured, fell by lot to the share of a certain Emir ;¹ and because of her beauty, and in the hope that she would change her religion, she was kept alive. And when that Gentile, attracted by her beauty, meditated betrothing to himself the bride of Christ, and to this end reiterated kisses and embraces, this wise virgin called to mind that carnal love was brief and brittle ; and in order to beguile the attention of her lover, and that she might escape through martyrdom to her true spouse, she sweetly said to the lover—'If I am to have you as my dear husband, I wish to secure you against the peril of death. I know the words of a potent charm of power, which, if you will learn from me and repeat faithfully when in difficulty, you will be preserved from all harm.'

The ignorant man approved of the proposal, desiring eagerly to be instructed by her skill ; whereupon Luceta, for that was

¹ *Cujusdam admirandi.*

the virgin's name, replied: 'That you may test for certain the virtue of the charm I spoke of, I will begin to chant before you the sacred words; and you, having drawn your sword, will attempt, if you can, to cut my throat.' When he heard this, he shuddered, declaring that he would on no account do such a thing. In reply, she said: 'Yes, but you can safely do it, if you love me, and thereby you will have proof of my teaching.' Therefore, impelled by the tenderness of his love, for he did not wish to displease her, he obeyed her by drawing his sword, and when she, bending her head, began to repeat in a low voice—'Ave Maria!' he struck his sword into her neck, cutting off her head and throwing her body to the ground. Thus was Luceta, a daughter of the light, joined to the ministry of the heavenly lights and to the brightness of the eternal light to which she had devoted herself. Thereupon, in consequence, this barbarian would fain have stabbed himself for grief, when he beheld his love so cheated and what cruelty he had wrought. One who well knew the virgin's face and conversation afterwards consigned her to the tomb, [namely,] my Lord Hugh, Bishop of Biblis,¹ of the Order of Minorite Friars, whose episcopal see and city were destroyed in that devastation, and we beheld the worthy bishop himself remaining two years in England under favour of King Edward. These things have I briefly noted about Tripoli as I received them.

As to the rest, the friar above-mentioned, who has encouraged many others to martyrdom by his example, had been for a considerable time warden of a monastery in Oxford. Being distressed once by the scarcity of food among the brethren, when the service of vespers was being offered one [evening] before the image of the cross he commended the sons² under his charge to the Father of Mercies. In that very night there appeared to a countryman of that district in his sleep a terrible apparition, reproving him thus with piercing words for his hardness: 'Thou foolish and stingy man! thou never ceasest to be vigilant in piling up thy heaps of pence, and carest not to afford help to my servants who are vigilant in prayer in that place [and are] in want. Arise quickly, on peril of your head, and see that they receive relief according to my commands!'

The country farmer rose without delay, and taking his way

¹ *Episcopus Bibliensis.*

² *Filios, i.e.* the friars.

through the dark shades of night, he stood at dawn knocking at the gate of the friars. When the janitor, not without amazement, asked what he wanted, he stated that he wished to speak with the master of the place. The other, supposing him to be a master of the schools, replied: 'I dare not knock at his private door¹ so early in the morning, when he is applying himself to study what he has to read.' But the layman said: 'I demand [to see] him who has authority of ruling in this house.' When [the warden] was brought to him, he [the farmer] begged him civilly that he would deign to show him the church and the altars. When he entered he began straightway to behave like a scrutator in going round, muttering to himself. 'It is not thou,' quoth he, 'nor thou.' Coming at last before the crucifix, to which the warden committed him [the farmer] and his. 'Of a truth,' exclaimed the man, 'thou art he who hast appeared to me this night and shown me what I ought to do!' The meaning of the above-mentioned revelation being thus made manifest—'If there is anything,' said he turning to the warden, 'which I can do to assist thy Mother, make it known to me at once.' 'Surely,' replied the other, 'we have a payment of ten marks due to creditors in the town, if you deign, sir, to come to our help in this.' 'Gladly,' exclaimed the farmer, 'will I pay the whole at once.' The friars, wondering at the countryman's spirit, praised God as their provider.

The Bishop of Biblis afore-mentioned, a person of honourable life and a man skilled in many things, imparted in conversation many edifying things while he lived in our province. He used to say that he had known a German knight who, having entered the Holy Land upon a pilgrimage, forasmuch as he was ignorant of the position of the holy places where the Saviour of the world went about working out our salvation in the heart of the land, sent for a native of that country and took him into his following for hire; from whom he extracted an oath that he should serve him faithfully and conduct him in his search for the sacred footsteps of Christ round all the places wherein, on the authority of the Holy Gospel, human devotion might show forth any praise of the Lord's work. The bargain having been struck, the servant fulfilled it without guile, the knight setting forward with a light heart. Examining here and there the venerable memorials of the acts of Christ, they arrived after many days, according to historical order, to the place of the Lord's ascension, where his

¹ *Ostiolum*.

footsteps still remain impressed upon the dust.¹ Then did the servant claim to be discharged of his oath, saying: 'See, my lord, hitherto I have pointed out to your pious desire the stations of Christ upon earth; what remaineth beyond I cannot do, seeing that here he took flight into heaven.' When he heard this the knight burst into tears, with groaning of the heart, and prostrated himself on the ground, placing his mouth in the dust that he might obtain hope from the Eternal Love. Rising erect at length and gazing to heaven with streaming eyes: 'O God,' said he, 'Thou didst undergo in this land a pilgrimage of labour and sorrow for my salvation, and I, coming hither out of love for Thee, have followed the ways of Thy holy journey up to this place; even as I believe that Thou didst here leave the world and go to the Father, so command that here my soul may be received into peace.' Thus saying, he paid the debt of nature and went to rest in Christ.

The aforesaid bishop related another thing, how that between the place of Olivet (where the Lord replied to the chiding Jews: 'If these should hold their peace, the very stones will cry out') and the gate of Jerusalem (which he entered for his passion, seated upon an ass), you could not lift a pebble and break it without finding within it the likeness of a human tongue, that, as is evident, the Creator's word may be fulfilled.

It pleases me to add in this place what ought to have found a convenient place in the beginning of this eighth part, forasmuch as it happened at that time, although I did not receive timely notice of this matter. Now there lived in the city of Milan a celebrated man named Francis, abounding in riches, intent upon usury, and, which is worst of all things, contumaciously disdaining to pay tithes to God and the Church. The rector of the parish, taking no notice for a while in hopes of amendment, at length became so incensed by this [conduct] that he pronounced sentence [of excommunication] against him, and demanded without delay papal letters confirmatory of the published sentence. But while the rebel was biting his lips and uttering threats, one of these days, he invited the parson of the church, half in spite and half in jest, to dine with him. The other declined this, unless he would comply with the commands of the Church. 'Suspend the sword of sentence for the nonce,' said he [Francis], 'and come, so that I may be able to confer

¹Mandeville (*ob.* 1372) states that in his time the imprint of the left foot still remained on the stone.

reasonably with you.' When they had sat down to a splendid banquet, having the servants in attendance to wait upon them, the man of wavering faith said: 'Sir rector, why should I care for the vexation of your sentence, seeing that I possess all that you behold, and soundness of heart to boot? But if you would compel me to believe that your malediction can avail to do me hurt, curse that white bread placed before you, that I may see what virtue may be in your authority.' Whereupon, while the man of the Church was disquieted in conscience as being unworthy because of his own character, and the other as a reprobate insisted, lest the faith should suffer reproach, he stretched forth his hand, trusting in the goodness of God, and said boldly, 'On behalf of Almighty God and by authority of the most high Pontiff, I place thee, oh bread, prepared for the use of that rebel, under the ban of anathema!' No sooner was this spoken than the bread displayed a smoky hue and the cracks of staleness. When the impenitent¹ man saw this, he exclaimed in terror: 'Since you have shown sufficiently what you can effect by cursing, I now beg that you will show me what power you have in absolving.' Then the ecclesiastic, made more confident through the grace granted to him, by the same power restored the bread to its original appearance. The layman, in consequence, immediately feeling sorrow and devotion said: 'How long is it, sir father, that I have defrauded God and the Church, yea, and my own soul also, of what was due in tithes?'—'.'² said the other. 'Then,' said he [Francis], 'I offer satisfaction for my rebellion; moreover I entreat for solemn absolution in presence of the clergy, and I now endow the church over which you preside with an annual rent of twenty marks.' This said, they both rise from table and hasten to the parish church; and the bells being rung,³ clergy and people hurry in, and, when the occasion has been explained, the priors of the Church perform the desired absolution. At that very hour, certain clerics, who afterwards informed me of the circumstances, travelling from Scotland to Bologna, entered the city. Dismounting from their horses they hastened thither⁴ still fasting, to witness and marvel [at the event].

In the same year died Alan de Mora, about Eastertide, and Sir John of Galloway, formerly Prior of Lanercost.⁵

¹ *Imperitus* in Stevenson's text, probably a misreading for *impenitens*.

² Blank in original.

³ *Personatis campanis*.

⁴ To the church.

⁵ Resigned with a pension 1283, *ob.* 1289.

In the same year died Dervorgilla¹ de Balliol, about whom H. said:

Thy peace, oh King of Kings! may we implore
 For noble Dervorguilla, now no more?
 Give her among the sacred seers a place,
 Uniting Martha's faith with Mary's grace.
 This stone protects her and her husband's heart,
 So closely knit not even death could part.²

These verses are inscribed upon her tomb. In the same year [1293] died John of Kirkby. In the twenty-first year of the king's reign, about the feast of S. Michael,³ the king's daughter, Eleanor, was given in marriage to Henry, Comte de Bar, by whom he had a son, Edward, and a daughter whom Earl John de Warenne took to wife.

In the same year there was granted to King Edward of England a half of their goods by the clergy, a sixth by the citizens, and a tenth part by the rest of the people as a subsidy for his war in Gascony.

In this year there was a great scarcity of victual in England, and the suffering poor were dying of hunger.

In the twenty-fourth year of this king's reign (1296), his daughter Elizabeth was married to John, son of the Count of Holland, at whose death Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, married her.

At the same time Pope Boniface bestowed the archbishopric of Dublin upon William de Hopume, giving him indulgence to be consecrated by any Catholic bishop wheresoever he chose. This William was Provincial Prior of the Order of Friars-Preachers and a Master in Theology; he was jocund in speech, mild in conversation, sincerely religious, and acceptable in the eyes of all men. Having travelled with the king to Flanders, he there received the rite of consecration from my Lord

¹ Daughter and co-heiress of Alan, Lord of Galloway, married John de Balliol the Elder, and was mother of John Balliol, King of Scots. She built Sweetheart Abbey (*Abbasia Dulcis Cordis*) in her husband's memory, causing his heart to be embalmed and placed in a 'cophyne' of ebony and silver which she kept constantly beside her. When she died in 1290 it was buried beside her according to her instructions.

² *In Dervorvilla moritur sensata Sibilla,
 Cum Marthaque pia contemplativa Maria.
 Da Dervorvillæ requie, Rex summe, potiri
 Quam tegit iste lapis cor pariterque viri.*

³ 29th September.

Antony of Durham, by whose mediation on the part of the English and the Duke of Brittany's on the part of the French, a truce was arranged between the kings.

[The chronology of these later paragraphs has been dislocated in compilation.]

(To be continued.)