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The Beginnings of St. Andrews University

1410–1418.

I

THE cathedral town of St. Andrews became the home of the first Scottish University in 1410. St. Andrews was then, and has ever remained, an ideal place for a seat of learning. The town had been growing steadily for centuries, under the fostering care of a long succession of bishops; but its geographical position was an effectual barrier to its becoming the centre of a great population. In this respect time has wrought but little change. St. Andrews, although in touch with all the world, is still far from being one of the busy haunts of men. The two 'seas' which were once complained of as being to its disadvantage have now been bridged, but men and things are only the more swiftly carried past its doors. The gray old town remains standing isolated and remote. It is true that it increases in area and in the number of its inhabitants with the years, but its growth continued, until quite lately, to be relatively slow.

In plan and general outline St. Andrews has not altered much since the natal year of its University. The twentieth century finds it stretching itself towards the south and west, and covering its suburbs with villas and gardens. The fifteenth century found it confining itself within narrower limits, as if for greater warmth and safety, and with nearly all its principal buildings clinging close to the north and east. A large part of the ground now built

upon was then, and for centuries afterwards, ploughed land and pasturage. The billows had forbidden the encircling of the legendary shrine of St. Regulus with human dwellings, and so the cliffs above and beyond his sea-girt cave became crowned with piles of masonry. On the one side, towards the south-east, stood what had been a Culdee church and monastery, otherwise known as the Church of St. Mary of the Rock, and at one time a Chapel Royal. Not far off stood the church dedicated to St. Regulus himself, with its time-defying tower, which still looks down upon the ruins of once massive buildings greatly younger than itself. Close by were the extensive buildings and grounds of the Augustinian Priory, founded in 1144, with its magnificent cathedral church, begun about 1160 but not consecrated until 1318. On the other side, towards the north, the Castle or Palace of the Bishops, dating from about 1200, rose sheer from the water's edge. Nearer still, a few yards to the south, there was, it is believed, a chapel dedicated to St. Peter; while close by the cathedral stood the earliest parish church.

This group of ecclesiastical buildings crowned a rocky promontory—anciently known as Mucross—and looked straight out upon the cold North Sea. They formed the nucleus of a town which sprang up and prospered under their shadow. This nucleus at first bore the Celtic name of Kilrimont, but long before it had attained to any size the town had come to be known as St. Andrews. Hemmed in between a rivulet and the sea, it took shape accordingly. From near the main entrance to the cathedral three long, and for the most part spacious, streets extended in a westerly direction. These streets ran nearly parallel, except that they converged upon the cathedral, and their outer ends terminated in ports or gateways. They were known respectively as the Northgate, the Marketgate, and the Southgate, and here and there were joined by narrow lanes bearing even homelier names. Along the cliffs, between the Kirkhill and the Links, and passing the entrance to the castle, there ran a roadway, rather than a street, inasmuch as it was lined on either side by crofts instead of houses. This was known as the Castlegate, afterwards as the Swallowgate, and later still as the Scores.

The Southgate was the principal street—the 'via regia.' It was longer than the two other streets, and its east end was for many generations the fashionable quarter of the town. Here were to be found the lofty and substantial houses of churchmen, of the aristocracy, and of the wealthier merchant burgesses.

Elsewhere were the booths and dwellings of the craftsmen and traders, and the homesteads of the land-labourers, or crofters, who farmed the Priory acres. A few sailors and fishermen had settled near the castle; bakers, maltsters, and brewers were plentiful; but no single industry was engaged in on an extensive scale. Merchandise came and went for the most part by sea—the estuary of the Eden, four miles away, being the recognised port at which the petty customs of the burgh were levied. With the exception of the Dominican or Black-Friars' Monastery in the Southgate, no ecclesiastical building of any importance had as yet been erected in any of the streets or lanes; but the transference of the Parish Church of the Holy Trinity to the centre of the town followed immediately upon the founding of the University. The existence of 'Temple Tenements' in all three streets indicates the presence of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem; and there are charter references to 'inns' and other houses of considerable size, as well as to chapels, both in the Southgate and the Northgate.

There would also be municipal buildings of some sort, probably in the Marketgate, for St. Andrews had been a royal burgh since the time of King David II., and had a line of provosts going back to about 1135. But even in the fifteenth century its actual ruler was the bishop, and under him the prior and the archdeacon. The town laid claim to a saintly origin, and the whole atmosphere of the place was still essentially ecclesiastical. Churchmen of all grades were constantly to be seen on its streets. They were the only men who could pretend to possess even a little education, and so all posts of influence and emolument fell to their lot. Apart from supplying the daily needs of the community, there was little scope for trade or commerce. It was as the ecclesiastical capital of Scotland that St. Andrews flourished. Its resident clergy were numerous and influential, and there was a constant coming and going of dignitaries both of church and state. Being the seat of the principal official of the diocese, much legal business fell to be transacted within its walls.

Such learning as Scotland possessed from the twelfth to the fifteenth century was well represented at St. Andrews. Not a few of its bishops were men of refinement and intellectual culture, to whom the sons of kings and nobles were entrusted for their early training. Even before the foundation of the Priory and the building of the Cathedral, St. Andrews had become known as a centre of education. Thus, as early as 1120,

Eadmer, on his election to the bishopric, was welcomed by the scholars and people of St. Andrews.[1] About a century later, between 1211 and 1216, a dispute arose between the Prior and the 'Master of the schools of the city of St. Andrews and the poor scholars of the said city' regarding certain endowments pertaining to the schools—a dispute which was amicably settled under a reference to Pope Innocent III.[2] Again, the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland show that in 1384 and also in 1386, payments were made on behalf of James Stewart, son of King Robert II., and Gilbert of Hay, son of Thomas of Hay, who were then studying at St. Andrews—the one 'stante in studio apud Sanctum Andream,' the other 'existente in scolis ibidem.'[3] These schools were doubtless in some way connected with the Church; and, although nothing definite is known regarding the educational arrangements of the Priory, it is reasonable to assume that they included a training school for novices, and probably for others. So late indeed as January 18, 1467, reference is made in the University records to a grammar school (*schola grammaticalis*) within the monastery, which the Faculty of Arts was anxious to suppress.[4] Martine, writing in 1683, asserts that 'upon the west of the [Cathedral] Church there stood a Lycaeum, where the famous Scotus his quodlibets were taught.'[5] Of this building nothing now is known, except that massive foundations still exist upon its reputed site.

It is therefore not surprising that the closing year of the first decade of the fifteenth century witnessed the commencement of a *Studium Generale* in St. Andrews. The wonder rather is that this important event should have been deferred so long.[6] Two causes may be assigned for the foundation of a Scottish University at this particular period. The one is the strained relations that had for some time prevailed between Scotland and England; and the other is the great Schism which had existed in the Church since 1378. The former put many difficulties in the way of Scottish students attending the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge;

[1] 'Post haec ad ecclesiam Sancti Andreae venit, et, occurrente ei regina, susceptus a scholasticis et plebe pontificis loco successit.' *Historia Novorum in Anglia* (Rolls Series), p. 283.

[2] *Registrum Prioratus*, p. 316.

[3] *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. iii. pp. 121, 138.

[4] *MS. Acta Facultatis Artium.*

[5] *Reliquiae Divi Andreae*, p. 187.

[6] Major, who records the foundation of the University of St. Andrews in a single line, adds: 'Praelatorum Scotiae incuriam admiror, qui Universitatem ante hos dies nullam in regno habuerunt.' *Historia*, l. vi. c. 10.

and the latter not only led to their molestation there, but it limited the freedom of movement as well as the financial support which students generally had been wont to enjoy on the Continent. Of these two causes the latter was probably the more potent. For a good many years before 1410 there seems to have been comparatively little academical intercourse between Scotland and England. On the other hand Scottish students found their way in considerable numbers to the Universities of France and Italy. So long as France and Scotland owned allegiance to Clement VII. and his successor Benedict XIII., Scottish students laboured under no disadvantages. But the case was quite different when France, and especially the University of Paris, took up a hostile attitude to Benedict XIII., and the crisis came when he was deposed, along with Gregory XII., by the Council of Pisa on June 5, 1409.[1] As Scotland disregarded the decision of the Council and continued to adhere to Benedict, Scottish students whether pursuing their studies in England, France, or Italy, would be deemed Schismatics, and the need for a university at home would at once become a matter of extreme urgency.[2]

The precise circumstances in which the University of St. Andrews arose have not been definitely stated by any of the early historians of Scotland, and its own extant records yield no information on the point. There is nothing to indicate that its institution was a long-premeditated act. The limited information available rather favours the view that it was called into existence to meet a sudden emergency. For although the University is in possession of a foundation charter embodied in

[1] Even before this futile attempt to heal the Schism, the feeling in France against Benedict was very bitter as may be seen from numerous contemporary documents. For example, on May 21, 1408, the University of Paris declared 'Petrum de Luna fore non tantum schismaticum pertinacemque habendum, verum etiam haereticum, perturbatorem pacis et sanctae unionis ecclesiae.' Whereupon, on June 5, Charles VI. ordained 'qu'aucune créance ni obéissance ne soit désormais accordée aux bulles et lettres de Pierre de Lune, pour dons de prélatures, dignités ou bénéfices.' Further, on March 20, 1409, Charles announced that he had reserved a thousand benefices to be disposed of in favour of members of the University of Paris as a reward for the great zeal with which they had laboured to re-establish the union of the Church, without asking or requiring any favours from Pope Benedict. Bulaeus, *Hist. Univ. Paris.*, vol. v. pp. 160, 167, 186; Jourdain, *Index Chartarum*, p. 223.

[2] Cosmo Innes recognised the consequences of the Schism as they affected Scotland and England, but it does not appear to have occurred to him that they were even more far reaching as regards Scotland and the Continent. *National Manuscripts of Scotland*, pt. ii. p. xv.

a confirmatory papal bull, the granting of this charter does not appear to have been the initial step in the founding of the University. It was more probably the immediate, or at all events the early, result of the University's actual existence. Such at least is the inference to be drawn from the oldest extant account of the beginnings of the University. Walter Bower, Abbot of Inchcolm, the continuator of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, who had excellent opportunities of knowing the exact circumstances, makes no mention of a foundation charter at all in the short chapter he devotes to the foundation of the University. He is even silent as to who the founder was. All he says is that in the year 1410, 'after the feast of Pentecost [May 11], a *Studium Generale Universitatis* began in the city of St. Andrew of Kylrymonth in Scotland, in the time of Henry of Wardlaw, bishop, and of James Biset, prior, of the said St. Andrew.'[1] The charter was not issued till more than a year and nine months later, viz. on February 28, 1412.

Subsequent documents show that four persons were closely associated in the foundation of the University. These were the King of Scotland, the Bishop of St. Andrews, the Prior of St. Andrews, and the Archdeacon of St. Andrews. Others no doubt lent their aid, but these are the men who are entitled to rank as its chief promoters. All four were men of learning and culture, to whom the founding of a university must have been a congenial enterprise. In a former number of the *Scottish Historical Review*[2] I have dealt with the share taken by King James I. in the founding of the University of St. Andrews, and there is no need to refer to the facts of his life here. In the present paper I therefore confine myself to brief notices of the Bishop, the Prior, and the Archdeacon.

Bishop Wardlaw is usually described as the younger son of Sir Andrew Wardlaw of Torry, Fifeshire ; but this is not borne out by the results of recent investigation. He was most probably a younger son of Henry Wardlaw of Wilton, in Roxburghshire, and grandson of Henry Wardlaw of Wilton, who, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, married a niece of Walter, Lord High Steward of Scotland. Early in the fifteenth century, the laird of Wilton married the eldest daughter and heiress of Sir James de

[1] *Scotichronicon*, l. xv. c. xxii.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 301. As this and the former article cover part of the same ground, it has not been possible to avoid a certain amount of repetition, but the one does not altogether supersede the other.

Valoniis, of Torry and Lochore, and from that time the Wardlaws were generally designated as 'of Torrie.' Bishop Wardlaw was a nephew of the celebrated Cardinal, Walter Wardlaw, Bishop of Glasgow. He was probably born about 1365, but neither the name of his mother nor the exact year of his birth has been discovered.[1]

As early as 1378, when he must have been quite young, his uncle petitioned Clement VII. on his behalf for a canonry of Glasgow, with expectation of a prebend.[2] On December 7, 1380, he was granted a safe conduct by King Richard II. of England, to enable him and his kinsman, Alexander Wardlaw, to attend either of the Universities of that country.[3] He is said to have chosen Oxford, but he cannot have remained there long, as his name appears in the list of Determinants of the University of Paris for the year 1383, along with that of Alexander.[4] By October 5, 1387, he was Licentiate in Arts, and had been studying Civil Law at Orleans for two years.[5] In a benefice roll dated August 9, 1393, addressed to Clement VII. by the University of Avignon, the name of Henry Wardlaw occurs among the graduates of noble birth.[6] In a similar roll addressed to Benedict XIII. by the same University in the following year (October 18-23, 1394) he is again entered among the 'nobiles,' and is described as 'Henry de Wardlaw, Licentiate in Arts, Precentor of the Church of Glasgow, born of noble parentage, who is nephew of dominus Walter of good memory, Cardinal of Scotland.'[7] In a petition of 1395 for another benefice (granted April 24), he is described as a student of Canon Law.[8] In subsequent years he is variously designated as Licentiate in Arts, and Bachelor and Doctor of Canon Law. During his protracted residence in France he obtained various lucrative ecclesiastical preferments in Scotland, most of which he appears to have held simultaneously.[9]

[1] In the matter of the Wardlaw genealogy I follow the guidance of Mr. J. C. Gibson, who has devoted much time and labour to the subject, and who was kind enough to revise and correct what I had previously written.

[2] *Calendar of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. p. 548.

[3] *Rotuli Scotiae*, vol. ii. p. 31.

[4] *Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. i. col. 648.

[5] *Calendar of Papal Letters*, vol. iv. p. 255.

[6] Fournier's *Statuts et Privilèges des universités françaises*, vol. ii. p. 331.

[7] Fournier's *Statuts*, vol. ii. p. 343. [8] *Cal. of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. p. 584.

[9] His name is of frequeut occurrence in the *Cal. of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. and in the *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vols. vii. viii.

The promotion of Henry Wardlaw to the bishopric of St. Andrews was a spontaneous act on the part of Benedict XIII., at whose Court he is supposed to have been at the time resident,[1] and by whom he was held in high esteem.[2] The see had been practically vacant since the death of Bishop Walter Trail in 1401, although no less than three elections had taken place. During the vacancy the Pope himself was in difficulties and had been besieged in his palace at Avignon, but he appears to have acted with great discrimination, and a wiser selection than Wardlaw could hardly have been made. He had much in common with his predecessor Bishop Trail, who had also been preferred to the see without election. His ideals were of the same lofty nature, his learning was equally varied, and his zeal for the purity of church life and for the correction of abuses was not less fervent. Bishop Wardlaw lived long enough to see the University firmly established. He died at a good old age on April 6, 1440.[3]

James Biset had been Prior of St. Andrews since 1394, and was Vicar General during the vacancy in the see between the death of Bishop Trail and the consecration of Bishop Wardlaw. Before his promotion he was one of the canons of the Priory. He was a Licentiate of Canon Law, probably of the University of Avignon,[4] and had lectured on that subject in the University of Paris for three years previous to 1391.[5] Like other churchmen studying abroad, he was provided to various benefices at home, including the Priory

[1] This supposition appears to rest on Bower's phrase: 'repatriavit à curia Avinione.' *Scotichronicon*, l. vi. c. xlvii.

[2] So far as I know, the exact date of Wardlaw's appointment to the bishopric of St. Andrews has not hitherto been given by any writer on Scottish history. The late Bishop Dowden, in his 'Notes on the succession of the bishops of St. Andrews' (*Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. v. p. 254) states that 'a *lacuna* in the archives at Rome prevents us from affixing a precise date to his provision.' Working on the basis of recorded consecration years, the bishop skilfully narrowed the issue to between May 20, 1403, and September 13, 1403. But there is no *lacuna* in the Vatican archives at that particular period, and the precise date of Wardlaw's provision (September 10, 1403) was given by Denifle, so long ago as 1894, in the *Auctarium*, vol. i. p. xxxv., and again in 1898 by Eubel in his *Hierarchia Catholica*, vol. i. p. 88. I lately procured a full transcript of this provision from the Papal registers and append it to this article.

[3] *Scotichronicon*, l. vi. c. xlvii.

[4] His name occurs in a benefice roll of that university dated Aug. 9, 1393, in which he is designated 'can. expr. prof. eccl. S. Andree, ord. S. Aug., in jure can. lic.' Fournier's *Statuts*, vol. ii. p. 332.

[5] *Cal. of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. p. 575.

of Loch Leven.[1] On July 6, 1395, the Prior was stated to be acting in the Roman Curia.[2] Bower, who up to 1418 was also a Canon at St. Andrews, is exceedingly lavish in his praise of Prior Biset, whom he declares to have been second to none of his predecessors, resembling a well-grafted shoot of a true vine that grew into a choice tree. He carried out extensive alterations and improvements on the monastic buildings and the Cathedral Church, and was exceptionally active in protecting the rights and privileges of the Priory. He was personally a good and great man, humble, grave, prudent, affable, more ready to forgive than to punish. He set a noble example to the brethren, many of whom, following in his footsteps, rose to dignified positions in the church. Nor is this to be wondered at, for he took care that two of his canons should be Masters in Theology, two Licentiates in Decrees, and five Bachelors in Decrees.[3] Biset, who is described by Martin V. as Papal Chaplain as well as Prior,[4] died on June 25, 1416.[5]

Thomas Stewart, the Archdeacon of St. Andrews, had been longer in office than either the bishop or the prior. Moreover, if he had cared to exert himself, he might have been bishop instead of Wardlaw, and so, perhaps, have altered the whole circumstances of the founding of the University. The archdeacon was one of King Robert II.'s somewhat numerous family of illegitimate sons. As such, he was well provided with church livings, which were used, in part, to enable him to prosecute his studies at Paris. On February 10, 1380, Clement VII., of his own motion, made provision to him of the archdeaconry of St. Andrews, void by the promotion of John de Peebles to the see of Dunkeld, together with the canonry and prebend of Stobo in the diocese of Glasgow, void by the death of James Stewart, his brother.[6] On September 4, 1389, at the request of his father, he obtained from Clement the deanery of Dunkeld, and a dispensation to hold both dignities as well as a canonry and prebend attached to the deanery.[7] Again, on May 10, 1393, Clement granted Thomas Stewart's own petition for a canonry of Brechin, with expectation of a prebend, notwithstanding that he already

[1] *Cal.*, as above, vol. i. pp. 575, 576. His right to hold one of his benefices was disputed by Richard Cady, Bachelor of Canon Law, priest of the diocese of Dunkeld, pp. 594, 597.

[2] *Registrum Prioratus*, p. 2.

[3] *Scotichronicon*, l. vi. cc. lv. lvi.

[4] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. vii. p. 63.

[5] *Scotichronicon*, l. vi. c. lvi.

[6] *Cal. of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. p. 551.

[7] *Cal.*, as above, vol. i. p. 574.

had prebends of Glasgow and Dunkeld.[1] During this period he seems to have been a student at Paris, although there is no mention of his name in the printed records. In the first year of Benedict XIII. (August 13, 1395) he was granted permission, while at the University, to visit his archdeaconry by deputy, and receive money procurations for five years, as also to lecture on, and teach, Civil Law for five years. He was then described as a Bachelor of Canon Law.[2] On November 30 of the same year, he was granted a safe conduct by King Richard II. of England for four months, along with six horsemen and attendants, but the purpose of the journey is not stated.[3] Between 1384 and 1402 the Exchequer Rolls record a number of remissions of custom in his favour.[4] On July 1, 1401, he was elected Bishop of St. Andrews, but being, in the words of Bower,[5] a man of most modest disposition and of dove-like simplicity, he renounced all claim to the bishopric when he found that formidable difficulties stood in the way of his procuring papal confirmation of the election. On June 5, 1405, he rented from the prior and canons the lands of Balgove and other adjoining acres near St. Andrews.[6] On October 4, 1422, he sanctioned the sale of certain lands in North Street by Thomas Stewart, scutifer, St. Andrews, to Prior James de Haldenston;[7] while on July 20, 1430, he acquired from Marjory Litstar a property in South Street lying between the land of John Ruglen on the east, and the common vennel which leads to the church of St. Leonard on the west.[8] The dates of his birth and death have not been ascertained but, in spite of statements to the contrary, he must have held the archdeaconry for at least fifty years. In virtue of his office he became one of the first conservators of the privileges of the University.

Perhaps at no other time was there more learning and less corruption among the clergy at St. Andrews than in the days of Bishop Wardlaw, Prior Biset, and Archdeacon Stewart. It was a time when the local circumstances were singularly well suited to meet the national need for a home university. The harmonious co-operation of the Bishop, Prior, and Archdeacon removed difficulties of various kinds which might otherwise have been insuperable.

[1] *Cal.*, as above, vol. i. p. 577.
[2] *Cal.*, as above, vol. i. p. 592.
[3] *Rotuli Scotiae*, vol. ii. p. 130.
[4] Vol. iii. pp. 122, 524, 551, 682.
[5] *Scotichronicon*, l. vi. c. xlvii.
[6] *Registrum Prioratus*, p. 422.
[7] *MS. Pittance Writs*, No. 18.
[8] *MS. Pittance Writs*, No. 25.

Fortunately, the names of the first teachers in the University have been preserved by Bower.[1] First of all, there was Master Laurence of Lindores, who expounded the fourth book of the Sentences of Peter Lombard. Then followed Master Richard Cornell, Archdeacon of Lothian; Dominus John Litstar, Canon of St. Andrews; Master John Scheves, Official of St. Andrews; and Master William Stephen, afterwards Bishop of Dunblane; all of whom lectured in the Faculty of Canon Law. Masters John Gill, William Fowlis, and William Croiser were the lecturers in Philosophy and Logic. Most of these names have been repeated by subsequent historians, including Hector Boece[2] and Archbishop Spottiswoode,[3] although with a somewhat different arrangement of their duties.[4] But whatever may have been the proper sphere of each Doctor and Master it seems clear that the University started with a staff of qualified teachers in the Faculties of Divinity, Law, and Arts.

Of the personal history of these pioneer Doctors and Masters at St. Andrews not much is known. They had all been educated in France, for the most part at Paris, and, as a matter of course, they were without exception Churchmen.

Perhaps the most distinguished of them all was Laurence of Lindores, who is characterised by Bower[5] as 'a great theologian and a man of venerable life'; and by a later historian as 'the most learned theologian of his day in Scotland.'[6] He was certainly the one who identified himself most closely with the University, in which he held a prominent position till the day of his death. But before the University was founded, Laurence was a well-known and dreaded ecclesiastic, and had secured for his name a permanent, if not an enviable, place in Scottish history.

It may be assumed that Laurence was a graduate in Arts of the University of Paris, as he incepted there on April 7, 1393.[7] On

[1] *Scotichronicon*, l. xv. c. xxii. [2] *Scotorum Historiae*, l. xvi.

[3] *History of the Church of Scotland*, ed. Russell, vol. i. p. 113.

[4] According to Bower's arrangement, Cornell lectured on the Decretals; Litstar on Canon Law in the morning (*de mane*); and Scheves and Stephen afterwards (*i.e. post prandium*). This Parisian custom is explained by Crevier thus: 'Ces lecteurs du matin, *legentes de mane*, remplissoient bien leur dénomination. C'étoient des bacheliers, dont les leçons devoient être faites et achevées avant le coup de Prime de Notre-Dame, qui étoit le signal des leçons des docteurs.' *Hist. de l'Univ. de Paris*, vol. iv. p. 177.

[5] *Scotichronicon*, l. xv. c. xxii. Other characterisations will be found in l. xv. c. xx. and l. xvi. cc. xx. xxiv.

[6] Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 206. [7] *Auctarium*, vol. i. col. 677.

May 5, of the same year, he was unanimously elected Proctor of the English Nation, but for reasons satisfactory to the Nation he was excused from accepting office.[1] While pursuing his studies in the Faculty of Theology at Paris he continued to act as one of the Regents in Arts in the University, and prepared quite a number of young Scotsmen for graduation between 1395 and 1401.[2] On November 19, 1395, Laurence and two other Masters were elected Provisors for the feast of St. Edmund, the patron saint of the Nation.[3] It is in connexion with a supplication made by him to the English Nation to be allowed to transmit a special benefice roll to Benedict XIII., on the part of masters belonging to Scotland, that his name appears for the last time in the printed records of the University of Paris. He wished this roll either to be sealed with the seal of the Nation, or to be inserted in the roll of another Nation. This was on August 7, 1403. The Nation declined to sanction the roll, as being prejudicial to its interests (apparently for reasons connected with the Schism), and this decision was supported by the University.[4] But the roll was probably otherwise transmitted, as there is still extant a short list of petitioners for benefices of that year, mostly Scotsmen, including Laurence, who was applying for a canonry of Aberdeen, and is designated 'Clerk of the diocese of St. Andrews, Master in Arts, and Bachelor in Theology.'[5]

On the accession of Benedict XIII., in 1394, Laurence had petitioned for and obtained the promise of at least three ecclesiastical benefices in Scotland, viz. one in the gift of the Bishop of St. Andrews (October 13); another in the gift of the Bishop of St. Andrews or of the Abbot and Convent of Arbroath (October 26), and the third in the gift of the Abbot and Convent of Lindores (October 29).[6] It was probably about this time that he obtained the church of Creich, in Fife, of which he is known to have been rector in 1408[7] and onwards. On March 26, 1414, Benedict XIII., on petition, appropriated this church to the Abbey of Lindores, whose buildings had been ruined and its revenues diminished by reason of its nearness to the sylvestrian Scots.[8]

[1] *Auctarium*, vol. i. col. 678.

[2] *Auctarium*, vol. i. cols. 703-837.

[3] *Auctarium*, vol. i. col. 714.

[4] *Auctarium*, vol. i. col. 864.

[5] *Auctarium*, vol. i. p. lxxv.; *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. iv. p. 109.

[6] *Cal. of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. pp. 620, 591, 583.

[7] *Reg. Monast. de Passelet*, pp. 338, 339.

[8] *Cal. of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. p. 601. 'Scoti sylvestres' is a phrase frequently used by Major in his *Historia* to distinguish the 'caterani,' or wild Scots, from

This arrangement was to take effect on the death of Laurence, and a perpetual vicar with a fit stipend was to be appointed.[1] But he must have resigned the church between July 9, 1432, when he was 'rector de Crech', and February 4, 1433, when he was 'olim rector de Crech.'[2]

Laurence has also been described as Abbot of Scone, Abbot of Lindores, and Official of Lindores, but there is a lack of evidence sufficient to prove that he held any one of these offices. The editor of the *Liber ecclesie de Scon*, in his notes on the abbots,[3] states that 'the next whom we find styled abbot of Scone, is Lawrence de Lindoris, in 1411, who was the first professor of Law at St. Andrews,' and he gives as his authorities 'Fordun and Dempster.' Fordun, or rather Bower, nowhere calls Laurence abbot of Scone; but Dempster does so,[4] and it is Dempster that the editor follows, even to the date, which he takes from a separate clause:—'Florebat anno MCCCCXI.' Dr. David Laing varies the above phraseology and writes 'Laurence of Lindores, Abbot of Scone, in 1411, was the first Professor of Law in the newly erected University of St. Andrews.'[5] Dr. Alexander Laing, misreading and misquoting this sentence, boldly affirms that Laurence was Abbot of Scone in 1411.[6] Mackenzie Walcott also ranks Laurence as an abbot of Scone, but he does not commit himself to a date.[7]

The succession of abbots of Scone at the beginning of the fifteenth century is unfortunately defective, and it is impossible to say, with certainty, that Laurence's name ought not to appear in the list. On the other hand, if he held that abbacy at all his tenure of it must have come to an end before April 25, 1418, on which day Adam de Crenach (or Crannach) was consecrated abbot by Bishop Wardlaw, at St. Andrews.[8] Hector Boece includes Laurence among those who received promotion at the hands of James I. after his return to Scotland in 1424. The king, he

the 'Scoti domiti,' or civilised Scots. Lindores Abbey, being on the fringe of Earnside forest, would be peculiarly liable to the visits of marauding Highlanders.

[1] It falls to be noted that as this appropriation did not take effect during the obedience of Scotland to Benedict, Bishop Wardlaw, at the instance of the king, and with counsel and assent of the chapter of St. Andrews, made the appropriation by his ordinary authority. On June 16, 1429, Martin V. gave a mandate to the Abbot of Dunfermline to make the appropriation by papal authority if he found the facts to be as stated. *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. viii. p. 143.

[2] *Acta Facultatis Artium.* [3] Preface, p. xii. [4] *Hist. Eccles. Gen. Scot.* p. 443.

[5] Laing's *Knox*, vol. i. p. 497. [6] Laing's *Lindores Abbey*, p. 103.

[7] *Ancient Church of Scotland*, p. 315. [8] *Scotichronicon*, l. xv. c. xxx.

says, made Laurence Abbot of Scone, but that adverse fates soon dragged him away.[1] Adam de Crenach, however, was still in office on July 11, 1426,[2] and when he resigned and became a canon, apparently in 1432, Eugenius IV., on October 29 of that year, made provision of the abbey to John of Inverkeithing, a canon of Holyrood, who died before obtaining possession. Thereafter, on September 23, 1439, this benefice, which had been specially reserved by Eugenius before the resignation of Adam, was granted *in commendam* for life to James Kennedy, Bishop of Dunkeld (afterwards of St. Andrews). At the same time, William Stury,[3] an Augustinian canon, who had held the abbacy since Adam's resignation, under a pretext of election by the convent and confirmation by the ordinary, was removed.[4] There was thus no room for Laurence after 1418.

As at Scone, the succession of abbots at Lindores is fragmentary. Dr. Alexander Laing does not claim Laurence as an abbot of Lindores, but he twice calls him 'official of Lindores.'[5] It is almost certain that he never was abbot, and there was no such person about the abbey as an 'official.' Probably all that Dr. Laing meant to imply by the term was that Laurence was an official or officer of some sort connected with the abbey. Mr. W. B. D. D. Turnbull, the editor of the *Liber Sancte Marie de Lundoris*, blames Dr. John Anderson, the writer of the new statistical account of the parish of Newburgh, for enrolling Laurence in the list of abbots of Lindores;[6] but that is scarcely fair, for all that Dr. Anderson does is to enrol him in his very brief list 'of the abbots and other dignified clergy connected with this monastery.'[7] It is Leighton, whom Turnbull dubs the 'echo' of Dr. Anderson and the 'fag' for Mr. Swan, who, on his own account, explicitly states that 'in the beginning of the fifteenth century, Laurence was abbot of Lindores.'[8] Laurence's name, like the names of so many of his contemporaries, was in all likelihood territorial, and did not necessarily connect him with the abbey. Still, seeing that

[1] *Scotorum Historiae*, l. xvi. [2] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. vii. p. 21.

[3] This is doubtless the 'dompnus Willelmus Stury,' who was chamberlain of the prior of St. Andrews in 1417. (*Exchequer Rolls*, vol. iv. p. 282.) The name is also written Sturi, and, in some manuscripts, Skurry. In 1429 he was a professor of theology in the University. He may also be the unnamed Abbot of Scone alluded to by Bower in his eulogy of Biset. (*Scotichronicon*, l. vi. c. lvi.)

[4] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. viii. pp. 270, 427.

[5] *Lindores Abbey*, pp. 103, 456. [6] Introduction, pp. vi. vii.

[7] *New Statistical Account*, Fifeshire, p. 66. [8] *History of Fife*, vol. ii. p. 166.

in all countries the great majority of Inquisitors belonged to the Dominican order, it is yet not unreasonable to suppose that Laurence was in some way associated with the Benedictine Abbey of Lindores.

After returning to his native country, probably about 1404, Laurence seems to have set himself with great zeal to the task of suppressing Lollardism. 'He gave peace to heretics and Lollards nowhere within the Kingdom,' says Bower.[1] In this invidious task he may have been encouraged by Robert, Duke of Albany, who had the reputation of being a firm catholic and a hater of Lollards and heretics.[2] It was at the instigation of Laurence, in his capacity as Inquisitor of heretical pravity, that, at Perth, in 1406 or 1407, the first martyr fire was kindled in Scotland.[3] Another followed in 1433, when Paul Craw was burned at St. Andrews, but on this occasion, if Boece's version of the story can be trusted,[4] Laurence had the vigorous assistance of John Fogo, Abbot of Melrose.[5] A heretic of a more academical type than either of these fell to be dealt with by Laurence and others (including William Stury, the irregular abbot of Scone, already referred to) on October 27, 1435. This was Robert Gardner, Bachelor in Decrees, a priest, who, in a public oration, delivered in the Schools of Theology at St. Andrews, had advanced ten propositions that were calculated to bring the teaching of the University into ridicule. But Gardner had no martyr blood in his veins, so he incontinently and humbly owned that his propositions were false, erroneous, and scandalous, as well as offensive to pious ears, and with his hand on the Holy Gospels, he swore never to sustain or defend them again either publicly or privately, by himself or by another. Having escaped the flames himself, he promised to destroy and annihilate his oration and every copy of it that he could obtain.[6]

[1] *Scotichronicon*, l. xvi. c. xx. [2] Wyntoun, *Cronykil*, b. ix. ch. xxvi.

[3] I have not been able to discover under what circumstances Laurence came to be appointed Inquisitor for Scotland. My correspondent in Rome informed me some years ago that at the period in question 'non è facile trovare atti che possano riguardare la Scozia.'

[4] *Scotorum Historiae*, l. xvii.

[5] Boece's additional statement that the king was so mightily pleased with Fogo's conduct in this business that he gave him the Abbey of Melrose is quite contrary to fact.

[6] The following are samples of Gardner's offensive propositions: Quid enim in grammatica reperiri poterit nisi Prisciani rudimenta? Quid enim in rhetorica nisi Tullii blandimenta? Quid in astrologia nisi coelorum influentiae poterit inveniri? *Acta Facultatis Artium*.

Laurence's activity and influence in the early years of the University must have been very great, although the record of them is somewhat meagre. He was the first Rector of the University, and as such had a large share in the drafting of its original statutes. He was again Rector in 1432, when he witnessed King James's charters confirming the privileges of the University, and he may have held that office in other years. He was Dean of the Faculty of Arts in 1415, and again, apparently continuously, from 1431 to 1437. He was Receptor of the Faculty in 1426, when the auditors found fault with his accounts. He had advanced ten marks towards making the head of the Faculty mace, and the completed mace had been lodged in his custody until the money was refunded by the Faculty. The auditors appear to have contended that after the repayment of his loan had been accounted for he was due the Faculty £20 16s. 8d. —and so 'de isto computo non fuit concordia.' In 1430 Laurence was once more, and unanimously, elected Receptor, but he gave many reasons for not accepting the office, while graciously allowing himself to be appointed one of the auditors of the accounts of the retiring Receptor. He likewise took part in the ordinary routine work of the Faculty of Arts by acting, on occasion, as a deputy and an examiner. On the institution of the Pedagogy, in 1430, Laurence was elected the first principal master in presence of Bishop Wardlaw and with his approval. There is no record as to what he did for the Faculty of Theology, to which he at first belonged, except that he was present at a meeting held on March 18, 1429, for the ratification of the statutes of that Faculty.[1]

Laurence of Lindores died in the middle of September, 1437. On September 16, George de Newtoun, then the senior master in Arts and Rector of the University, called the other masters together, who elected him Dean and persuaded him to take office. At the same meeting arrangements were made for taking over from the executors of Laurence the Faculty mace, as well as the charters and other documents which had been in his keeping. On the following day it was decided that there should be solemn obsequies, at the common expense of the Faculty, for the soul of Master Laurence of Lindores, formerly Dean of the Faculty of Arts—'et ita factum est.'[2]

Laurence owned a house in St. Andrews which retained his

[1] *Acta Facultatis Artium and other university documents.*

[2] *Acta Facultatis Artium.*

name long after his death. When St. Leonard's College was founded in 1512 one of its endowments was an annual rent of twelve pence 'de tenemento magistri Laurentii de Lundoris.' A curious glimpse of the domestic side of University life is obtained under date August 13, 1456, when the Faculty of Arts called upon Master Thomas Ramsay to restore certain large beams which were left in the kitchen of the College of St. John the Evangelist by Master Laurence of Lindores, formerly rector of Creich and master of the said College, or to show reasonable cause why he should not do so.[1] The College of St. John had been merged in the Pedagogy.

Richard de Cornell, a man of noble parentage, was a native of Forfarshire, having been born within four miles of Dundee. He studied Canon Law at the University of Orleans, and afterwards lectured in the University of Avignon. In accordance with the custom of the time, he held various church preferments in Scotland during his residence in France. He is described successively as Chaplain to the Queen of Scotland and Vicar of Musselburgh (1385); Member of the household of David, Earl of Carrick, eldest son of Robert, King of Scotland, and Chaplain of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, Musselburgh (1394); Bachelor of Canon Law and Rector of Ecclesmachan (1404); Licentiate of Canon Law and perpetual Vicar of St. Mary's in the island of Arran (1405); Archdeacon of Dunkeld (1406); Rector of St. Mary's, Arran (1407); ambassador of the Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland, Archdeacon of Dunkeld, Canon and Prebendary of Erskine in Glasgow (1408). In 1404 he petitioned for, and was granted, the perpetual vicarage of Dundee, apparently on condition that he resigned the church of Ecclesmachan. In 1408 he was promoted from the Archdeaconry of Dunkeld to that of Lothian, which office he held for ten or eleven years.[2] He witnessed a charter at St. Andrews on January 22, 1419.

John Litstar was a Bachelor of Canon Law and one of the Canons of the Priory of St. Andrews. On March 10, 1418, Benedict XIII., of his own motion, made him Prior in succession to James Biset; but, in ignorance of his own promotion, he procured the election of James de Haldenston, one of his fellow-canons, and proceeded, by order of the chapter, with him to the

[1] *Acta Facultatis Artium.*

[2] *Cal. of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. pp. 566-638; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. vii. p. 238; *Reg. Mag. Sig.* vol. i. p. 235; Fournier's *Statuts*, vol. iii. pp. 486, 488.

court of Martin V., to whom he paid obedience and reverence. On his way home he found, at Bruges, Benedict's letters containing his own appointment, 'whereupon, coming to himself, he wept bitterly, and knew not what to do, to make amends for his ingratitude and grave offence.' In a petition 'for absolution, rehabilitation, and dispensation,' he prostrated himself before Pope Benedict, saying, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.' Benedict afterwards confirmed his appointment to the Priory, but by that time (December 13, 1418) Scotland had formally withdrawn its obedience from him, and the appointment failed to take effect. On March 9, 1418, Benedict had assigned to James de Haldenston a yearly pension of 200 gold scudi on the fruits of the Priory; but on December 8 of the same year he deprived him of the said pension 'as it appears that he is a schismatic and adherent of Otto de Colonna, who calls himself Martin V.'[1] Bower, who styles Litstar a Licentiate in Decrees, a venerable and religious man, and a most worthy canon, gives a somewhat different version of these remarkable transactions, but there is no difference in the result.[2] According to Boece, the king made Litstar Prior of Inchcolm.[3] Bower, however, records his own appointment to that abbacy on April 17, 1418,[4] and he held it until his death in 1449.

John de Scheves was a licentiate of Canon Law. In 1418 he petitioned for and abtained, from Benedict XIII., on June 15, a canonry and prebend of Glasgow, and the Archdeaconry of Teviotdale, notwithstanding that he held the church of Arbuthnot in the diocese of St. Andrews. At that time he was described as Official of St. Andrews, Rector of the University, and Counsellor of Robert, Duke of Albany, Governor of the Realm.[5] Curiously enough, he appears to be the same person who, on January 26, 1418, had obtained collation and provision, from Pope Martin V., of a canonry of Glasgow and another of Aberdeen, with reservation of a prebend of each.[6] His name occurs among the witnesses to an undated charter of Bishop Wardlaw, where he is designated Master John Scheves, Doctor of Decrees and Official General of St. Andrews.[7] John Scheves, Canon of Aberdeen and Mandatory of Pope Eugenius IV., in 1433,[8] and Master John Scheves, Canon

[1] *Cal. of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. pp. 608-611. [2] *Scotichronicon*, l. vi. c. lvii.
[3] *Scotorum Historiae*, l. xvi. [4] *Scotichronicon*, l. xv. c. xxx.
[5] *Cal. of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. p. 609. [6] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. vii. p. 102.
[7] *Reg. Mag. Sig.* vol. ii. p. 57. [8] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. viii. p. 474.

of Glasgow and Clerk Register, 1426 and onwards,[1] may have been contemporaries of the same name; but a University document regarding certain feu duties, dated March 13, 1447, is addressed 'venerabili et circumspecto viro dominion Johan de Scheues, decretorum doctori, Glasguensis et Aberdonensis ecclesiarum canonico, ac officiali Sancti Andree generali.'

William Stephen was a Bachelor of Canon Law. In 1408, Richard de Cornell obtained for him from Benedict XIII., the Canonry and Prebend of Rhynie in Moray, notwithstanding that he already had the Church of Eassie and the Hospital of Ednam in the diocese of St. Andrews. In 1415 he is described as Canon of Moray, Rector of Eassie, and Master of the Hospital of Ednam, in a petition to Benedict XIII. (who, it was said, proposed to appoint him to the see of Orkney) for license to hold the said hospital *in commendam* for a year after he obtained the bishopric.[2] Stephen was in due course promoted to the bishopric of Orkney, and his consecration took place at the court of Benedict. In 1419 he was proctor in the Roman Court of the Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland, being one of the ambassadors sent to announce the withdrawal of obedience by Scotland from Benedict XIII. While there he obtained from Martin V. the church of Gogar which he was to be allowed to hold *in commendam* for a year along with other privileges, after obtaining possession of the temporalities of the see of Orkney. On October 30, 1419, he was translated by Martin V. from the see of Orkney to that of Dunblane.[3] At the time of his appointment, he was, according to Keith,[4] 'Divinity reader in the University of St. Andrews.' He was one of the ambassadors of the King of Scotland to the Roman Court to whom Henry VI. of England granted a safe conduct on June 9, 1425.[5] As principal auditor and receiver of the tax levied for the payment of the king's ransom, his name is of frequent occurrence in the fourth volume of the *Exchequer Rolls*. He died in 1429.

Of the Philosophy Masters, John Gyll or Gill was a graduate of Paris, being Bachelor of Arts in 1403, and Licentiate and Master in 1405.[6] He is probably the John Gyll, clerk of the

[1] *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. iv. pp. 400-654.

[2] *Cal. of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. pp. 636, 604.

[3] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. vii. pp. 103, 118, 133.

[4] *Scottish Bishops*, ed. Russell, p. 177.

[5] Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 344.

[6] *Auctarium*, vol. i. cols. 853, 899, 901.

diocese of St. Andrews, who, in 1434, along with others (including John Scheves), was a claimant to the canonry and prebend of Belhelvie, in Aberdeenshire, which had been bestowed upon William Turnbull, Canon of Aberdeen (afterwards Bishop of Glasgow).[1] He may also have been the John Gyll, Chancellor of Dunkeld, who was present at the ratification of the Statutes of the Faculty of Theology on March 18, 1429. His name occurs several times in the *Acta Facultatis Artium*. On December 12, 1425, the Faculty decreed that anything contained in that book which might be to the reproach and scandal of Gyll and another master should be deleted by the Dean; on November 19, 1427, he was appointed an examiner and took the customary oath in the hands of the Chancellor; on January 12, 1428, he was absent and another examiner was elected in his place; on February 3, 1429, he was appointed, along with Laurence of Lindores and others, to assist the Dean in carrying out some reforms in the Faculty; on April 4, 1430, he was again elected an examiner; and on May 28, of the same year, he was chosen one of the auditors of the Receptor's accounts. A writer in *Northern Notes and Queries*[2] had heard that there is a tombstone to Gyll's memory at St. Andrews; but no such thing is known to exist there.

William Fowlis, or de Foulis, who belonged to the diocese of Dunblane, was also a graduate in Arts of Paris, but as his M.A. degree was not obtained until 1411, it is doubtful if he began teaching at St. Andrews so early as 1410. He is usually designated Master of Arts, but in 1432 he is called Bachelor of Theology. As his history is obscure during the first ten years after his graduation at Paris, it may be concluded that he was busy with his work at St. Andrews. From 1421 to 1439 he comes into the light as the holder of a prominent place in Scotland as a statesman as well as a churchman. During that period he is met with as rector of Cambuslang; rector of Seton; provost of the collegiate church of Bothwell; archdeacon of St. Andrews; secretary of Archibald Earl of Douglas; counsellor of the king; and keeper of the Privy Seal. On February 21, and July 10, 1423, he had safe conducts to England, along with others, to treat for a final peace; and he was entrusted with other public missions. Early in 1424 he was presented to the perpetual vicarage of the parish church of Edinburgh by King James, as patron, but Bishop Wardlaw refused to institute him, whereupon

[1] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. viii. p. 490. [2] Vol. iii. p. 154.

he appealed to the apostolic see and obtained from Martin V. a mandate of inquiry to be followed by collation and assignation if the patronage and presentation were found to be lawful, with certain stipulations as to resigning the provostship of Bothwell and the church of Seton. During all these years his name only occurs twice in connexion with the University. In his capacity as keeper of the privy seal he transmitted to the Faculty of Arts in 1432 an 'Appunctamentum' which had been drawn up, or approved, by the king, containing a series of regulations for the better management of University affairs. On December 11, 1439, he was present at a meeting of the Faculty of Arts when new statutes were affirmed and approved, and he appended his signature to them. He appears to have died in 1441.[1]

William Croyser, or Croiser, belonged to the diocese of St. Andrews. He was a Bachelor of Arts of Paris of 1407 and a Master of 1409.[2] In 1415 he obtained from Benedict XIII. a canonry and prebend of Dunkeld, who also granted to him the parish church of Kirkgunzeon *in commendam*.[3] He appears to have been resident in Paris as a student of Theology, when Martin V. was elected Pope. From him, so early as January 20, 1418, he procured collation and provision of the canonry and prebend and precentorship of Moray, notwithstanding that he held the canonry and prebend of Dunkeld, and the parish church of Kirkgunzeon, and intended to litigate about the parish church of Torbolton.[4] This was probably the first appointment to a Scottish benefice made by the new pope. On June 4 of the same year Martin ordered collation and provision to be made to Croyser of the canonry and prebend of Glasgow and the archdeaconry of Teviotdale.[5] Other preferments followed, and Croyser soon became a pluralist on a large scale, so much so that in 1424 he was said to be 'opulently beneficed to the extent of 160 marks sterling a year.'[6] On June 27, 1422, Martin issued letters requesting safe conduct 'during two years for William Croyser, Archdeacon of Teviotdale in the church of Glasgow,

[1] *Auctarium*, vol. ii. cols. 100, 105, 106; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. vii. pp. 203-369; vol. viii. pp. 234, 458; *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. iv. pp. 432-667; *Laing Charters*, No. 107; *Reg. Mag. Sig.* vol. ii. *passim*; Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. x. pp. 266-296; *Scotichronicon*, l. xvi. c. xxxiii.

[2] *Auctarium*, vol. ii. cols. 5, 55.

[3] *Cal. of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. p. 603; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. vii. p. 360.

[4] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. vii. p. 92.

[5] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. vii. p. 93.

[6] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. vii. p. 344.

papal acolyte and nuncio, and member of the pope's household, when the pope is sending to divers parts [not named] on business of the pope and the Roman church.'[1] He attended the Council of Basel and remained there after the Council had been transferred to Ferrara on September 18, 1437, adhering to and recognising Felix V., the last of the antipopes.[2] Croyser was evidently of a litigious and quarrelsome disposition. Throughout the reigns of Martin V. and Eugenius IV. he led a tempestuous life, and the annals of his doings occupy much space in the papal and other contemporary registers. Some of them, if worked out, would make curious reading, but the record of them is complicated in the extreme.[3]

These gleanings are sufficient to show that the University of St. Andrews was inaugurated by men of intellectual attainments and administrative ability of a very high order. It is greatly to the credit of Scotland that such men were at hand ready and willing to come to their country's aid in an educational emergency. The promoters of other universities have had to appeal to scholars of different nationalities to fill the chairs they had provided. At St. Andrews the first doctors and masters, as well as the founders, were all true and patriotic Scotsmen; and they brought with them to the new seat of learning not only ample knowledge of the subjects they undertook to teach, but likewise intimate acquaintance with the organisation and administration of the leading universities of their time.

J. Maitland Anderson.

(*To be continued.*)

APPENDIX

Copy of Papal Letter appointing Henry Wardlaw, Precentor of Glasgow, to the Bishopric of St. Andrews, with relative mandates.

Dilecto filio Henrico Electo Sanctiandree salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Apostolatus officium, quamquam insufficientibus meritis, nobis ex alto commissum, quo ecclesiarum omnium regimini presidemus utiliter exequi, coadiuvante Domino, cupientes, soliciti corde reddimur ut cum de ipsarum presertim Romane ecclesie immediate subiectarum regiminibus agitur committendis, tales eis in pastores preficere studeamus, qui commissum sibi gregem dominicum sciant, non solum doctrina verbi sed

[1] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. vii. p. 10. [2] *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. viii. p. 306.

[3] Cf. Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, pp. 373-375.

exemplo boni operis, informare commissasque sibi ecclesias in statu prospero et tranquillo velint et valeant, duce Domino, gubernare. Dudum siquidem bone memorie Waltero episcopo Sanctiandree regimini ecclesie Sanctiandree, eidem Romane ecclesie immediate subiecte presidente, nos cupientes eidem ecclesie, cum vacaret, per apostolice sedis providentiam utilem et ydoneam presidere personam, provisionem ipsius ecclesie ordinationi et dispositioni nostre ea vice duximus specialiter reservandam. Decernentes extunc irritum et inane si secus super hiis per quoscunque quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contingeret attemptari. Postmodum vero prefata ecclesia, per obitum ipsius Walteri episcopi, qui extra Romanam curiam diem clausit extremum, vacante, nos vacatione huiusmodi fidedignis relatibus intellecta, ad provisionem ipsius ecclesie celerem et felicem, de qua nullus preter nos hac vice se intermittere potuit neque potest, reservatione et decreto obsistentibus supradictis, ne ecclesia ipsa longe vacationis exponeretur incommodis, paternis et solicitis studiis intendentes, post deliberationem quam de preficiendo eidem ecclesie personam huiusmodi, cum fratribus nostris habuimus diligentem, demum ad te, precentorem ecclesie Glasguensis, decretorum doctorem, in presbiteratus ordine constitutum, vite ac morum honestate decorem, in spiritualibus providum, et in temporalibus circumspectum, aliisque virtutum donis multipliciter insignitum, direximus oculos nostre mentis, quibus omnibus debita meditatione pensatis, de persona tua nobis et eisdem fratribus ob dictorum tuorum exigentiam meritorum accepta, eidem ecclesie de dictorum fratrum consilio auctoritate apostolica providemus, teque illi preficimus in episcopum et pastorem, curam et administrationem ipsius ecclesie tibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo, in illo qui dat gratias et largitur premia confidentes, quod prefata ecclesia sub tuo felici regimine, gratia tibi assistente divina, prospere et salubriter dirigetur, ac grata in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus suscipiat incrementa. Iugum igitur Domini tuis impositum humeris prompta devotione suscipiens, curam et administrationem predictas sic exercere studeas solicite, fideliter, et prudenter, quod ecclesia ipsa gubernatore provido et fructuoso administratore gaudeat se commissam, tuque preter eterne retributionis premium, nostram et dicte sedis benedictionem et gratiam exinde uberius consequi merearis. Datum apud Pontemsorgie, Avinionensis diocesis, IIII. idus Septembris, pontificatus nostri anno nono.[1]

[1] There are few indications of Wardlaw's presence in Scotland previous to his appointment to the bishopric of St. Andrews. If it be the case that he was sent on a mission to the papal court at Avignon and remained there several years, he was probably for a time a prisoner with Benedict. The pope made his escape from the palace at daybreak on March 12, 1403, and reached Château-Renard in safety before nightfall. He left Château-Renard on April 17, and proceeded, by way of Cavaillon and L'Isle, to Carpentras, which he entered on May 5. Partly on account of the intense heat, and partly from urgent calls to return to Avignon, Benedict advanced to the castle of Sorgues on June 26, with a considerable retinue. He remained there until October 1, when he thought it prudent to move southward to Salon, as a pestilence had broken out in the district of Avignon. It is unnecessary to follow him farther at present. While at Sorgues, Benedict promoted his nephew to an archbishopric, and made numerous provisions to bishoprics and abbacies. Wardlaw received his appointment, as above, on September 10, and he was doubtless consecrated immediately afterwards.

In eodem modo: Dilectis filiis capitulo ecclesie Sanctiandree, Romane ecclesie immediate subiecte, salutem, *etc.* Apostolatus officium, *etc.*, *usque* incrementa. Quocirca discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus eundem Henricum Electum tanquam patrem et pastorem animarum vestrarum grato admittentes honore ac exhibentes ei obedientiam et reverentiam debitas et devotas, eius salubria monita et mandata suscipiatis humiliter et efficaciter adimplere curetis, alioquin sententiam quam ipse rite tulerit in rebelles ratam habebimus et faciemus, auctore Domino, usque ad satisfactionem condignam inviolabiliter observari. Datum *ut supra.*

In eodem modo: Dilectis filiis clero civitatis et diocesis Sanctiandree salutem, *etc.* Apostolatus officium, *etc.*, *usque* incrementa. Quocirca discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus eundem Henricum Electum, *etc.*, *ut supra usque* Datum, *etc.*

In eodem modo: Dilectis filiis populo civitatis et diocesis Sanctiandree salutem, *etc.* Apostolatus, *etc.*, *usque* incrementa. Quocirca universitatem vestram rogamus et hortamur attente, per apostolica vobis scripta mandantes, quatenus eundem Henricum Electum tanquam patrem et pastorem animarum vestrarum devote suscipientes et debita honorificentia prosequentes, eius salubris monitis et mandatis humiliter intendentes, ita quop ipse in vobis devotionis filios et vos in eo, per consequens, patrem invenisse benevolum gaudeatis. Datum *ut supra.*

In eodem modo: Dilectis filiis universis vassallis ecclesie Sanctiandree salutem, *etc.* Apostolatus officium, *etc.*, *usque* incrementa. Quocirca universitati vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus eundem Henricum Electum debito prosequentes honore ac ipsius monitis et mandatis efficaciter intendentes, ei fidelitatem solitam necnon consueta servitia et iura sibi a vobis debita exhibere integre studeatis, alioquin sententiam sive penam quam ipse rite tulerit seu statuerit in rebelles, ratam habebimus et faciemus, auctore Domino, usque ad satisfactionem condignam inviolabiliter observari. Datum *ut supra.*

In eodem modo: Carissimo in Christo filio Roberto regi Scotorum illustri salutem, *etc.* Gratie divine premium et preconium humane laudis acquiritur, si per seculares principes ecclesiarum prelatis, presertim ecclesiarum cathedralium Romane ecclesie immediate subiectarum regimini presidentibus, opportuni favoris presidium et honor debitus impendantur. Dudum, *etc.*, *usque* incrementa. Quocirca serenitatem regiam rogamus et hortamur attente, quatenus eosdem Henricum Electum et ecclesiam suo regimini commissam habens pro divina et apostolice sedis ac nostra reverentia propensius commendatos, sic eisdem te exhibeas favore regio benevolum et in opportunitatibus gratiosum, quod idem Electus per auxilium tue gratie in commisso sibi ecclesie prefate regimine utilius proficere valeat, tuque provide consequaris premia felicitatis eterne et nos celsitudinem regiam dignis possimus in Domino laudibus commendare. Datum *ut supra.*

Exped. V. kalendas Octobris anno nono.

B. Fort.

Arch. Secret. Vatic. Regest. Avinion. Benedicti XIII., tom. 30, fol. 99.

The Dispensation for the Marriage of John Lord of the Isles and Amie Mac Ruari, 1337

THE following Dispensation is an important document for the history of the Clan Donald. It was mentioned, but not printed in Andrew Stuart's *Genealogical History of the Stewarts*, and it was accidentally omitted in the *Calendar of Papal Letters* (Rolls series). It is here printed in full, that all doubts as to its existence and as to its tenor may be set at rest. The Pope is Benedict XII., and the record reference is *Regesta Vaticana*, vol. 124, fol. 89. J. MAITLAND THOMSON.

TEXT.

Venerabili fratri episcopo Sodorensi salutem. Exhibita nobis dilectorum filiorum nobilium virorum Johannis nati quondam Engusii de Ile et Reginaldi quondam Roderici de Insulis tue diocesis petitio continebat quod olim inter eos eorumque progenitores consanguineos et amicos incentore malorum hoste humani generis procurante guerre dissensionses et scandala fuerunt exorta propter que homicidia incendia depredationes spolia et alia mala quam plurima evenerunt et continue evenire non cessant et nichilominus multe ecclesie illarum partium fuerunt passe et patiuntur propterea non modica detrimenta nam in eis cultus divinus minuitur cessat devotio et decime non solvuntur quinimo alique de dictis ecclesiis quodam modo fuere destructe et pejora evenire timentur nisi de oportuno remedio celeriter succurratur quodque ipsi desiderantes tot et tantis periculis obviare in-

TRANSLATION.

To our venerable brother the bishop of the Isles greeting. The Petition of our beloved sons the noble men John, son of the late Angus of Ile and Reginald (son) of the late Roderic of the Isles, of your diocese, shewn to us, stated that formerly, by the contrivance of that instigator of ill deeds the enemy of the human race, wars, disputes, and causes of offence arose between them and their parents, kinsmen and friends, on which account murders, fire raisings, plunderings, pillagings, and very many other evils happened and still do not cease to happen, and moreover many churches of those parts have suffered and do suffer no slight damage thereby, for divine worship in them grows less, devotion ceases and tithes are not paid, nay more, some of those churches have been in a manner destroyed, and worse, it is feared, may happen unless recourse be speedily had to a suitabler emedy;

vicem habuere tractatum quod idem Johannes et dilecta in Christo filia Amia soror Reginaldi predicti adinvicem matrimonialiter copulentur; verum quia sicut asserunt dicti Johannes et Amia quarto consanguinitatis gradu invicem se contingunt matrimonium hujusmodi contrahere nequeunt dispensatione super hoc apostolica non obtenta. Quare dicti Johannes et Reginaldus nobis humiliter supplicarunt ut cum eisdem Johanne et Amia super hoc dispensare misericorditer dignaremur. Nos igitur qui salutem querimus singulorum et libenter Christi fidelibus quietis et pacis commoda procuramus predictis scandalis et periculis obviare salubriter intendentes eorum et dicte Amie supplicationibus inclinati fraternitati tue de qua fiduciam gerimus in Domino specialem per apostolica scripta committimus et mandamus quatenus si est ita cum eisdem Johanne et Amia quod impedimento consanguinitatis hujusmodi non obstante hujusmodi matrimonium adinvicem libere contrahere valeant et in eo postquam contractum fuerit licite remanere apostolica auctoritate dispenses prolem suscipiendam ex hujusmodi matrimonio legitimam nuntiando. Datum Avinione ij nonas Junij anno tertio.

and that they (the petitioners), desiring to prevent so many and so great dangers, have mutually contracted that the said John and our beloved daughter in Christ, Amie, sister of the foresaid Reginald, shall be joined together in marriage; but because (as they assert) the said John and Amie are related to one another in the fourth degree of kinship, they cannot contract such marriage without obtaining apostolic dispensation therefor; wherefore the said John and Reginald have humbly besought us that we would mercifully deign to dispense with the said John and Amie thereupon. We therefore who seek the salvation of every one and would gladly procure for Christ's faithful people the benefits of quietness and peace, endeavouring wholesomely to prevent the foresaid offences and dangers, according to the entreaties of them and of the said Amie, by writings apostolic commit to your brotherhood and enjoin you, in whom we have special confidence in the Lord, that, if it is so, you by apostolic authority dispense with the said John and Amie so that notwithstanding such impediment of kinship, they may be able to contract such marriage together and, after it has been contracted, lawfully to remain therein; declaring the issue to be born of such marriage legitimate. Given at Avignon, 4 June, 1337.

Jacobite Songs

THERE are a considerable number of Jacobite songs and ballads extant in broadsides which have not been reprinted. There are also many in manuscript. The Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library contain several small collections which would be worth looking through. The four ballads which follow are from broadsides in the Douce collection in the Bodleian and belong to the reign of George I.

The first of the three, like 'James the Rover' printed on p. 138 of the last number of this *Review*, celebrates the birthday of the Prince. The second verse is evidently inspired by verse two of 'Sally in Our Alley,' and it was doubtless sung to the same tune. The second ballad illustrates one of the favourite popular jests against the Hanoverian kings. The turnip, introduced into England from Hanover, was satirically treated as the characteristic if not the sole product of the electorate, and the favourite diet of its rulers. This may be further illustrated by a caricature, viz. 'The Hanover Turnip-man Come Again,' number 2578 in the *British Museum Catalogue of Satirical Prints*. The date of this ballad can be determined by the last verse but one. Melusina von Schulenburg, the mistress of George I., was created Duchess of Munster, June 26, 1716, and Duchess of Kendal, March 19, 1719. Mr. Paul, whose fate is lamented in the third ballad, was William Paul, vicar of Orton-on-the-Hill in Leicestershire, executed on July 13, 1716, for having joined the rebels at Preston. The Petition of Tyburn is easily dated. It was written not long after Lord Stanhope's elevation to the peerage (July 12, 1717), and before his death (February 4, 1721).

It is to be hoped that the enquiry suggested in Mr. Lang's interesting paper (*S.H.R.* viii. 132) will be further pursued, and that he, or some one inspired by him, will systematically go through Hogg's collection and test his texts. But in order to trace the history of Jacobite songs it will be necessary to collect also some of the earlier ones. Further, some Jacobite songs are

adaptations of popular songs. 'The Royal Oak Tree,' which Mr. Lang prints in the last number (*S.H.R.* viii. 133), is an imitation of the song on 'The Mulberry Tree' planted by Shakespeare, which was composed for the Shakespearean Jubilee of 1769. The chorus of 'The Royal Oak Tree' is almost a repetition of that of the earlier song:

'All shall yield to the mulberry tree,
Bend to thee
Blest mulberry;
Matchless was he
Who planted thee,
And thou like him immortal be.'

It is perhaps worth noting that 'The Birthday Ode,' printed in 'The Loyalists' Song' (*S.H.R.* viii. 135) of the last number, may also be found in *The Lyon in Mourning*, vol. iii. p. 288, where it is headed 'By a friend meditating in bed betwixt 3 and 4 o'clock morning, Tuesday, September 21, the birthday of the Queen of Hearts, 1773.' At the end there is the following note: 'N.B.—A copy of this was transmitted to John Farquharson of Aldlerg, who, in return, said he would send it to the lovely pair.' An account of its reception is given on p. 317 of the same volume.

C. H. Firth.

AN EXCELLENT NEW BALLAD

Of all Days in the Year
I dearly love but one day,
That day is, the Tenth of June,
Which happen'd on a Munday.
In my best Cloathes with my white Rose
I'll drink a health to J—m—y
Who is our true and lawful K—g;
I hope ere long he'll see me.

Old H[anover] does Turnips sell
And through the streets do[es] cry them;
Young Noodle leads about the Ass
To such as please to buy them;
Such Folks as these can never be
Compar'd to Royal J—m—y,
Who is our true and lawful King;
I hope ere long he'll see me.

Potatoes are a Dainty Dish,
And Turnips now are springing,
When J—m—s our K—g does come home,
We will set the Bells a-ringing.
We'll take the old Whelp by the Snout
And lead him down to Dover,
Then pop him in his Leathern Boat
And send him to H—n—r.

The British Lyon then shall Tear
The Foundred Horse of B[ru]n[swic]k,
And G—ge for want of better Nagg
Shall ride upon a Broomstick.
Such hags as those in Cavalcade
Shall carry down to Dover,
His Male and Female Concubines,
And ship 'em for H—n—r.

AN EXCELLENT NEW BALLAD

To the Tune of, 'A Begging we will go,' etc.

I am a Turnip Ho-er,
As good as ever ho'd;
I have hoed from my Cradle,
And reap'd where I ne'er sow'd.
And a Ho-ing I will go, etc.
For my Turnips I must Hoe.

With a Hoe for myself,
And another for my Son;
A Third too for my Wife—
But Wives I've two, or None.
And a Ho-ing we will go, etc.

At Brunswick and Hanover
I learned the Ho-ing Trade;
From thence I came to England, where
A strange Hoe I have made.
And a Ho-ing we will go, etc.

I've pillag'd Town and Country round,
And no Man durst say, No;
I've lop'd off Heads, like Turnip-tops,
Made England cry, High! Ho!
And a Ho-ing I will go, etc.

Of all Trades in my Country,
A Hoer is the Best;

For when his Turnips he has ho'd,
On a Turnip he can Feast.
And a Ho-ing I will go, etc.

A Turnip once, we read, was
A Present for a Prince;
And all the German Princes have
Ho'd Turnips ever since.
And a Ho-ing I will go, etc.

Let Trumpets cheer the Soldier,
And Fiddles charm the Beau;
But sure 'tis much more Princely, to
Cry 'Turnips, Turnips, Ho'!
And a Ho-ing I will go, etc.

With Iron-headed Hoes, let
Dull Britons Hoe their Corn:
But of all Hoes, give me a Hoe,
For Turnips, tip'd with Horn.
And a Ho-ing I will go, etc.

If Britons will be Britons still,
And horny Heads affront;
I'll carry Home both Heads and Horns,
And Hoe where I was wont.
And a Ho-ing I will go, etc.

To Hannover I'll go, I'll go,
And there I'll mery be;
With a good Hoe in my right Hand,
And Munster on my Knee.
And a Ho-ing I will go, etc.

Come on, my Turks and Germans,
Pack up, pack up, and go,
Let J——s take his Scepter,
So I can have my Hoe.
And a Ho-ing we will go, etc.

POEM ON MR. PAUL

The Man that fell by Faction's Strife,
In Mournful Notes I Sing;
Who bravely Sacrific'd his Life,
To serve his Church and King.

A Subject, Priest, and Patriot he,
For Church, King, Country brave;

Chose rather thus to Murder'd be,
Than see their Rights Enslav'd.

He strove for their Invaded State,
From Brunswick's curst Arrival;
Who proves their Emblem of ill Fate,
In Noll's and Will's Revival.

Behold I touch the Mournful Lyre,
Whose gentle Strings Impart,
(As first my Grief did them inspire)
Their Trembling to my Heart.

My Muse, all wreath'd in baleful Yew,
No Laurel Green shall wear;
Thus is England's falling Church to me,
Whilst Whiggs the Triumph bear.

Townshend and Wake that drew him in,
His Errors to recall;
Now like malicious Serpents, grin,
And Triumph in his Fall.

Deceit may Townshend's Nature be;
In Wake, 'tis Gain's Creation,
'Cause, like the Crown, his Holy See,
Is but an Usurpation.

Tho' Paul in Fear did thus Recant,
Having his King deny'd;
Like Peter, he return'd the Saint,
And an Apostle Dy'd.

And tho' Abjuring Oaths he took,
To our Usurping Tarter;
Like Saul the Cause he thus forsook,
To be like Paul the Martyr.

His Dying Words with Truth did Shine;
Himself, he did desire,
Should be his Monumental Shrine,
On every Church's Spire.

From thence, tho' Dead, he'd still relate,
For Faith his Life Surrender;
By Mercy of its Guardian State,
And Merciful Defender.

And if the Sun had chanc'd to taint,
And chang'd him Black to view;
Still their dark Deeds he'd Represent,
In Ecclesiastick Hue.

His Arch the Skies had then become,
Stars deckt him with their Train,
And Air had been his Sacred Tomb,
Embalm'd in Tears of Rain.

His Death, as we a Glory own,
Whiggs love to Church is reckon'd;
Whilst he shall by the Style be known,
Of Great St. Paul his Second.

THE PETITION

To the Tune of, 'Which no Body can deny.'

To you, German Sir, a Petition I bring,
Tho' I, Heav'ns know, am a poor wooden Thing,
And you're but a poor wooden Tool, call'd a King,
Which no Body can deny, etc.

My Name it is Tyburn, let not that alarm ye,
For Cause there is good you shou'd do somewhat for me,
Since I've slain you more Foes than your whole Standing Army.

Now, 'tis no great Matter for which I do sue,
For my whole and my sole Application to you,
Is for nothing but what has long since been my due.

Your Gen'rals I claim, whether old Ones or New,
Those that wear your Green Ribbands, and those that wear Blue,
For I've a String better than either o' th' Two.

Old Marlborough first, that renown'd Treason-monger,
I demand as the fittest to lead up the Throng there,
He has cheated me long, but shall cheat me no longer.

Nor let it be deem'd any Shame to his Race,
For so high-born a Peer to be brought to this Place,
For I've had many better Men here than his Grace.

Your Aylmers and Byngs, and your Admirals round,
Are destin'd by Fate, all to die on dry Ground,
For not a Man of 'em all was born to be drown'd.

Your new-lorded Stanhope to my Quarters send,
Who looks not i' the Face either of Foe or of Friend,
For he'd rather by half they would shew t'other end.

There's Townshend and Walpole, those Birds of a Feather,
Who side with both Parties, yet care not for either,
As they've done all their Lives, let 'em now hang together.

Old Sunderland's Son is a man of great Fire,
And therefore I'll tie him a Knot or two higher,
He shall pay off his own Scores, and those of his Sire.

Send Cowper to me, and I'll soon put him out
Of all manner of Pain, be it Pox, Stone, or Gout,
As sure as his Brother did poor Sarah Stout.

Without Bail or Mainprize your Chief Justice dispatch,
To my Trusty and Well-belov'd Cousin, 'Squire Ketch,
As he stretches the Law, a Hempcord let him stretch.

To my Brother in Ireland, o' th' same Occupation,
I'll give Lord Cadogan a Recommendation,
For his Grandsire's sake (once Jack Ketch o' th' Nation).

To Pelham, that blust'ring Head of the Many,
I've nothing to say, but shall leave the poor Zany
For's own Mob to knock out his Brains, if h'as any.

Those Episcopal Fathers of Presbyter Strain,
Who are fed by the Church, yet its Altars prophane,
I'll consign to my Chaplain, the good Paul Lorrain.

As concerning your Germans there needs no harranguing,
But what I beg is, that you'd send 'em all ganging
To the Place whence they came, for they're hardly worth hanging.

For hating the Prince, you unnatural Elf,
For kicking him out, like no Son of a Guelph:
For all these good Reasons, pray go hang up your Self!

'Do but grant this Petition, and God save the King!
'While I stand on three Legs, I'll sing, hey ding a ding,
'For I've got all the World, when I've You in a String.'

The Scottish Islands in the Diocese of Sodor

TWENTY-ONE years ago Mr. A. W. Moore, the late Speaker of the House of Keys, published in the *English Historical Review*[1] a bull of Pope Gregory IX. of 30th July, 1231, enumerating the possessions of the Bishop of Sodor. It is well-known that the names of foreign places often appear in strange disguises when transcribed by the clerks of the papal chancery; and in this particular instance new elements of distortion have been introduced by the facts that the document is only preserved in a modern copy belonging to the Bishop of Sodor and Man, which was made by an ignorant scribe about 1600, and that this copy is badly torn. Still, it has been possible to restore a coherent text with but few lacunae, and of these only two affect the place-names to which it is the object of the present paper to call attention.

The document runs as follows:

Gregorius[2] episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Simoni, episcopo[3] Sodorensi,[4] suisque successoribus canonice substituendis[5] [*In perpetuum*].

In eminenti[6] apostolicæ sedis specula,[7] licet[8] immeriti, disponente Domino, constituti, fratres nostros episcopos,[9] tam propinquos, quam longe

[1] Vol. v. 101-107, 1890.

[2] In the following text, words and letters which are missing in the original owing to the mutilated condition of the manuscript are supplied within square brackets. Additions which have nothing to correspond to them in the original are further distinguished by italic type, as [*In perpetuum*]. In the manuscript, diphthongs, when not occurring in an abbreviated syllable, are generally expressed by the simple vowel. I have made a few alterations in the text from that printed in 1890, for which my friend Mr. W. H. Stevenson and I were jointly responsible. The form supplied in the *Liber cancellariae apostolicae*, edited by G. Erler (Leipzig, 1888), has been of service in emending the document.

[3] *Eiꝑco*, MS. [4] *Sodorenc'*, MS.; and so throughout. [5] *Substitutis*, MS.

[6] *In iumentum*, MS. [7] *Spectacula*, MS.

[8] *Licett*, MS., and so throughout, but not invariably, in the cases of *ett*, *fueritt*, *interveniatt*, *liceatt*, *nequiveritt*, *poteritt*, *præsumatt*, *suntt*, *utt*, *vell*, &c.

[9] *Epischopos*, MS.; the *ch* appearing wherever the word *episcopus* or *archiepiscopus* is written in full.

positos,[10] fraterna debemus charitate diligere, et ecclesiis[11] sibi a Deo commissis pastorali solicitudine[12] providere. Quocirca, venerabilis frater in Christo episcope,[13] tuis iustis postulationibus [*clementer annuimus*], et ecclesiam cathedralem sancti Garmani Sodorensis in insula Euboniæ (iam Manniæ) vocata, cui, auctore Deo, præesse dignosceris, sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus,[14] et præsentis scripti[15] privilegio communimus;[16] statuentes, ut quascunque[17] possessiones, quæcunque bona eadem ecclesia in præsentiarum iuste[18] et canonice possidet, aut in futurum concessione pontificum, largitione regum, principum, vel dominorum, oblatione fidelium, seu aliis iustis modis, præstante Domino, poterit adip[*i*]sci, firma tibi tuisque successoribus et illibata permaneant. In quibus hæc propriis duximus experimenda vocabulis: locum ipsum Holme, Sodor, vel Pile vocatum, in qu[o] præfata cathedralis ecclesia sita est, et ecclesiam sancti Patricii de Insula, cum omnibus et singulis ecclesiarum prædictarum commoditatibus, libertatib[us], pertin[*entiisque*][19] pleno iure spectantibus; tertiamque partem omnium decimarum de omnibus ecclesiis in prædicta insula Euboniæ vel Manniæ constitutis, et de Bothe, de Aran, de Eya, de Ile, de Iurye, de Scarpey, de Elath, de Col[vansey], de Muley, de Chorhye, de Cole, de Ege, de Skey, de Carrey, de R[. . .], et de Howas, de insulis Alne, de Swostersey et episcoporum h[. . .]; ac etiam terras in insula prædicta, videlicet et de Holmetowen, [de] Glenfaba,[20] de Fotysdeyn, de Ballymore, de Brottby, de baculo sanc[ti] Patricii,[21] de Knokcroker, de Ballicure, de Ballibruste,[22] de Jourbye, [de] Ballicaine,[23] de Ramsey; terras etiam ecclesiæ sanctæ[24] Trinitatis in Leay[re], sanctæ Mariæ[25] de Ballalaughe, sancti Maughaldi, et sancti Michaelis adiacentes;[26] et terras sancti Bradani[27] et de Kyrkbye, de Kyrkemarona, de Colusshill, terramque sancti Columbæ[28] Herbery vocatam. Ad hæc, cimiteria ecclesiarum et ecclesiastica beneficia nullus iure hereditario possideat; quod si quis præsumpserit, censura ecclesiastica vel canonica compescatur.[29] Præterea,[30] quod communi assensu capituli[31] tui, vel partis concilii sanioris, in tua diœcesi[32] per te vel per successores tuos fuerit canonice institutum, ratum et firmum volumus permanere. Prohibemus insuper, ne excommunicatos vel interdictos ad officium vel communionem ecclesiasticam sine conscientia et consensu tuo quisquam[33] admittat, aut[34] contra sententiam [*tuam*] canonice promulgatam aliquis venire præsumat, nisi forte periculum mortis immineat, aut[35] dum præsentiam tuam habere nequiverit, per alium secundum formam ecclesiæ satisfactione præmissa oporteat ligatum[36] absolvi. Sacrorum quoque[37] canonum auctoritatem sequentes[38] statuimus, ut nullus episcopus vel archiepiscopus, absque

[10] *Positas*, MS. [11] *Eccletiis*, MS., and so throughout; but *ecclesiastica*.
[12] *Solisitudine*, MS. [13] *Epo*, MS. [14] *Suscepimus*, MS. [15] *Script'*, MS.
[16] *Comunius*, MS. [17] *Quecunque*, MS. [18] *Iusti*, MS. [19] *Ptim*, MS.
[20] *Glensaba*, MS. [21] *Patracii*, MS. [22] *Ballibrushe*, MS.
[23] *Ballicaime*, MS. [24] *Eccletiam sanctam*, MS. [25] *Sanctam Mariam*, MS.
[26] *Adiacentis*, MS. [27] *Bradarni*, MS. [28] *Columba*, MS.
[29] *Comprestat*, MS. [30] *Preteria*, MS. [31] *Capitali*, MS.
[32] *Diocecis*, MS.; where the word is always spelled with *c* in the last syllable.
[33] *Quisque*, MS. [34] *Ac*, MS. [35] *Ac*, MS.
[36] *Ligatum*] *gātū*, MS. [37] *Sacrarorumque*, MS. [38] *Sequentis*, MS.

Sodorensis episcopi consensu,[39] conventus celebrare, causas etiam[40] vel ecclesiastica negotia in Sodoren[*si*] diœcesi, nisi[41] per Romanum pontificem vel [*eius*] legatum fuerit eidem ini[unc]tum, tractare præsumat; in ecclesiis quoque Sodorensis diœcesis, quæ ad ali[os] pleno[42] iure non pertinent,[43] nullum clericum instituere vel destituere vel sacerdotem proficere[44] sine consensu diœcesani præsumat. Statuimus etiam, ut in electionibus episcoporum successorum tuorum nulla vis, nulla potentia regis vel principis interveniat; nec in præmissione episcoporum quisque officium prælationis ecclesiasticæ obtineat, sed ille vacanti præficiatur ecclesiæ quem illi, ad quos electio de iure pertinere dignoscitur, scientia et moribus iudicaveri[*n*]t aptiorem, forma canonica in electione servata. Clericos etiam et tenentes tuos tuæ[45] diœcesis debite volentes libertate gaudere districtius prohibemus, ne rex vel princeps aut dominus eos exactionibus indebitis aggravare præsumat.

Decernimus[46] ergo, ut nulli omnino[47] hominum liceat præfatam ecclesiam temere perturbare, aut eius possessiones vel libertates auferre, vel ablatas retinere, minuere, seu quibuslibet vexationibus fatigare, sed omnia integra conserventur eorum pro quorum [*sustentatione et*] gubernatione concessa sunt, usibus omnimodis profutura,[48] salva sedis apostolicæ auctoritate. Si qua igitur in futurum ecclesiastica secularisve persona, hanc nostræ constitutionis paginam sciens, contra eam temere venire temptaverit, secundo tertiove commonita, nisi[49] reatum suum congrua satisfactione correxerit, potestatis et honoris sui careat dignitate, rea[*m*]que se divino iudicio[50] existere de perpetrata in[*i*]quitate cognoscat, et a sacratissimo corpore et sanguine Dei et Domini Redemptoris nostri Iesu[51] Christi aliena fiat, atque in extremo examine districtæ subiaceat ultioni. Cunctis autem [*e*]idem loco suo iura servantibus, sit pax Domini[52] nostri Iesu Christi, quatenus et[53] hic[54] fructum bonæ actionis percipiant[55] et apud districtum Iudicem præmium æternæ pacis invenia[*n*]t. Amen.[56]

Datum Reatæ,[57] tertio kalendas Augusti, Indictione quarta, incarnationis Dominicæ anno millesimo[58] cc° xxxi° et pontificatus nostri anno quinto.[59]

The bull deals first with the site of the bishopric; secondly with the bishop's third of all tithes in the Isle of Man and in a number of islands named; and thirdly with a series of properties in the Isle of Man. All the places in the Isle of Man except Fotysdeyn and Colusshill were identified by Mr. Moore, but he did not profess to examine very closely the names of the Scottish islands which lay outside his immediate line of interest. The lands in the Isle of Man are enumerated in a promiscuous order

[39] *Concensu*, MS. [40] *Eccletiam*, MS. [41] *Nisi*] *nuper*, MS. [42] *Plene*, MS. [43] *Pertineantt*, MS. [44] *Projicere*, MS. [45] *Tūc*, MS. [46] *Secrevimus*, MS. [47] *Omnino*] *āmo* (?), MS. [48] MS. inserts *et*. [49] *Nisi*] *in*, MS. [50] *Domo iuditio*, MS. [51] *Jusu*, MS. [52] *Dei*, MS. [53] *Utt*, MS. [54] MS. adds *in*. [55] *Principiant*, MS. [56] *Amen*] *anno*. MS. [57] *Romae*, MS. [58] *Millecimo*, MS.

[59] The bull is endorsed in the handwriting of Bishop Wilson: 'Popes Bull granted to the Bishop for his Thirds, &c. in this Island, &c. Anno 1231.'

without regard to their geographical relations; and Mr. Moore seems to have thought that the Western Isles were similarly unarranged, for he conjectured 'Eya,' which is mentioned between 'Aran' and 'Ile,' to be Iona.[60] I venture, however, to hold that the document starts at any rate with a nearly regular enumeration of the islands following the coast as near as may be from south to north. Thus we have *Bothe* (Bute), *Aran* (Arran), *Eya* (Gigha), *Ile* (Islay), *Jurye* (Jura), *Scarpey* (Scarba), *Elath* (Elachnave, the southern of the Garvelach group),[61] *Col*[*vansey*] (Colonsay), *Muley* (Mull), *Chorhye* (apparently Tiree), *Cole* (Col), *Ege* (Eigg), *Skey*, *Carrey* (Canna), *R*[...] (Rum). Of these the identification of *Chorhye* with Tiree alone presents difficulties, though it is possible—if hardly probable—that the initial *R* may indicate Raasey rather than Rum. The remaining four names on the other hand are an enigma,

de Howas, de insulis Alne, de Swostersey, et episcoporum h[...].

These should naturally designate the Hebrides; but I leave to scholars more skilled in Scottish nomenclature than I can profess to be, to expound the true names which are here concealed through a double process of mistranscription.

Reginald L. Poole.

[The Editor has shown proofs of the above paper to two or three contributors to the *Scottish Historical Review*, and has received the following notes:

Dr. Maitland Thomson says, It is indeed a pity that so interesting a document is preserved only in so corrupt a form.

It seems to me that your learned correspondent's identifications may well be accepted up to 'Skey' inclusive, which is as much as to accept his theory that the islands are arranged in fairly regular geographical order. If that is so, one would expect, after Skye, the 'Long Island,' that is (according to the medieval nomenclature) Barra, Uist and Lewis; Benbecula being reckoned part of Uist and Harris of Lewis.

I therefore suggest that Barra, 'the *Barey* of the Sagas,' has been miscopied Carrey; and that *Howas* is miswritten for *Liowns*, Lewis ('the Ljodthhus of the Sagas'); the lost intermediate word would be Uist, in the Sagas Iuist, which it would not be difficult to miscopy into Ruist.

[60] Dr. James Wilson and Sir Archibald Lawrie kindly point out that Iona was entirely unconnected with the See of Sodor, being under the immediate jurisdiction of the Pope.

[61] Cf. C. Innes, *Origines parochiales Scotiae*, ii. (1854), 277.

But if that is so, the three remaining names must be an odd lot, and topographical situation no guide to their identification. So it is difficult to frame any guesses which are better than any other guesses. *Alne* is not far from *Ulva*; *Swostersey* looks very Norse—if it can mean Sister's Isle, it may be Inchkenneth, which seems to have been the chief possession of the Nuns of Iona. The remaining *insula episcoporum h* may be Iona if any reason can be given for giving it that name—but I hardly think it was ever a Bishop's seat (except casually in Celtic times) till the final division of the Scottish and English Sees of Sodor. It is to be observed that in the Sixteenth Century Rental of the Bishopric of the Isles (in *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*) it is expressly noted that the Bishop had *not* a third of the parsonage of Icolmkill, and this privilege may be very ancient.

Sir Archibald Lawrie says, It is, I think, certain that the Kings of Norway in the eleventh and twelfth centuries claimed every one of the islands on the West Coast of Scotland.

The tradition was that King Magnus in 1098, to add to the number of his possessions, sat in a boat which was dragged across the isthmus of Tarbert to prove that Kintyre was an island.

The Kings of Norway in the next century recognised the power of the Kings of the Isles, and in 1166, when King Henry II. of England met King William of Scotland at Mont St. Michel, there came there the Bishop of Man and the Isles, who told Robert de Torigneio (then the Abbot of St. Michel) that the King of the Isles held Man and thirty-one other islands under the King of Norway on condition of paying on the accession of each King of Norway ten marks of gold.[62]

An interesting question is whether Iona was one of the islands held by the King of the Isles under Norway and whether the Bishop of Man and the Isles had any episcopal rights or derived any revenue from the church of Iona.

It is probable that the Kings of Norway claimed Iona and that the Bishop of Trondhjem and afterwards the Kings and Bishops of Man pretended that it lay within their diocese and jurisdiction, but it is almost certain that such a claim was not acknowledged. The old church of Iona was closely connected with Ireland, and as late as 1164 the *Annals of Ulster* record an event which Haddan and Stubbs describe as an ineffectual attempt to reunite Iona and the Irish church.[63]

The meaning of the passage is not clear to me, but it seems certain that the churchmen of Iona looked to Ireland and not to Man as the seat of ecclesiastical authority.

In addition to claims by the Irish church and by the Bishop of Man there was a claim by the Bishop of Dunkeld, a Bishopric which long asserted interests and rights in the church of Iona.

Towards the end of the twelfth century King William granted to the Abbey of Holyrood the churches in Galloway on the mainland of Scotland

[62] *Robert de Torigneio*, Rolls Ed. vol. iv. p. 228.

[63] Haddan and Stubbs, v.a. 2, p. 235; *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 372; *Annals of Malcolm and William*, p. 89.

which had belonged to the church of Iona, and about the same time a new Cluniac monastery and nunnery were founded in Iona.

In this competition for episcopal jurisdiction over it the Abbots of Iona were recognised by the Pope as exempt from episcopal supervision and as owing subjection to Rome only.

During the War of Independence in the beginning of the fourteenth century the Scottish king created a new Bishopric of the Isles apart from that of Man.

Years afterwards, to make a revenue for the Bishop of the Isles, the office of Abbot of Iona was practically suppressed, the Bishop was made the commendator, the two prelacies remained combined till the Reformation. The Abbey Church of Iona became the Cathedral of the diocese of the Isles. Before that (if the Bishop had a cathedral) it was the Church of Rothesay.

In 1561 it is recorded that while the Bishop of the Isles had a third of many benefices in the Isles which had belonged to Iona, he had not a third of Icolumkil, the revenue of that benefice belonged to him as Abbot or Commendator, not as Bishop.

The Rev. Principal Lindsay writes, May not Howas be Howse, which was the name of the chief parish in South Uist in 1594? Mr. Donald Monro, High Dean of the Isles, who travelled through the Hebrides in 1594, in his *Description of the Western Isles* refers to Howse under Island 154.

Might not Swostersey be Wattersay, the southmost of the two clusters of islands which were said to belong to the Bishop of Iona, one called the Bishop's Isles consisting of several small islands on the east and south of Barra, and the other nine islands surrounding Skye on the north and west sides? Of these Wattersay was the southmost of the second of these two groups. See also Suilskeray, No. 209, in Monro's list of Islands.

Can Elath be Veliche, Island No. 17 in Monro's list, where it is described as 'Niarest the iyle of Skarbay layes any iyle, called in Erish Ellan Veliche, unto the northeist'?

The Editor would be glad to receive any suggestions which may throw light on the points raised by Mr. Reginald Poole.]

Scottish Burgh Records

THE Scottish commonwealth has been well served by the archivists who have with such diligence and success given themselves to the transliteration of burghal records, with a determined will—

> To ken all the crafte how the case felle
> By lookyng of letters that left were of old.

It was in 1868 that the first volume of the Burgh Records Society's publications appeared under the editorship of Professor Cosmo Innes. Sir James Marwick was for nearly forty years editorially identified with the volumes of this invaluable series, and since his death the transition has only by degrees been made to Mr. Renwick, who has proved himself a most loyal literary executor and the only possible successor to Sir James. The association of the two was a happy circumstance for the Society. So much depends on the intimate knowledge of the records dealt with that the archivist's share in the product

Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, A.D. 1691-1717. [Edited by the late Sir James D. Marwick, LL.D., and Robert Renwick.] Cr. 4to. Pp. xvii, 719. Glasgow: Printed for the Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1908.

The River Clyde and the Clyde Burghs. The City of Glasgow and its Old Relations with Rutherglen, Renfrew, Paisley, Dumbarton, Port-Glasgow, Greenock, Rothesay, and Irvine. By the late Sir James D. Marwick, LL.D. Cr. 4to. Pp. x, 254. Glasgow, 1909.

Edinburgh Guilds and Crafts: A Sketch of the History of Burgess-ship, Guild-Brotherhood, and Membership of Crafts in the City. By the late Sir James D. Marwick, LL.D. Cr. 4to. Pp. vii, 258. Edinburgh, 1909.

Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1718-38: *with Charters and other Documents*, 1708-38. [Edited by Robert Renwick.] Cr. 4to. Pp. xxx, 621. Glasgow, 1909.

The Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland. Vol. II., 1424-1707. [Edited by Robert Renwick.] Cr. 4to. Pp. xxxi, 195. Edinburgh, 1910.

Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Peebles, 1652-1714. With appendix, 1367-1665. [Edited by Robert Renwick.] Pp. xxiii, 235. Glasgow, 1910.

includes the selection of the matter, and is the chief element in shaping the editorial narrative and commentary.

The vast increase in knowledge of Glasgow's history must be credited, it goes without saying, to Mr. Renwick, whose *Glasgow Protocols*, not second to the Burgh Record volumes themselves, are a quarry of precise local topography and biography of the sixteenth century such as scarcely any city in the United Kingdom can rival.

The preface to the *Extracts from Glasgow Records*, 1691-1717, begins with an emphatic recognition and homage. 'In one capacity or another,' says Mr. Renwick, 'I have had the great privilege of being associated with Sir James Marwick in the work of the Society since its formation, and having been specially conjoined with him in the preparation of this volume, the loss of my revered friend, the memory of whose unfailing kindness to myself must ever remain with me a treasured possession, has laid on me the duty of completing the book.'

During the period covered by the selection of Extracts the Union of 1707 and the Jacobite rising of 1715 were the great public facts of history. Yet it is significant of burghal life and record that neither event engrosses much attention in the proceedings of the town council. In 1706 the tumult caused by the anti-Union populace stoning the council-house led to a proclamation by tuck of drum for the mustering in arms of 'the haill fencible men of this burgh' to put down any disturbance. A detachment of troops from Edinburgh settled the rioters, but the incident, which bulks so largely in Defoe, is not recorded in the town's minutes at all.

The community was divided about the Union. On the Jacobite question in 1715, on the other hand, there was no division. Glasgow stood firm by the house of Hanover, sending assurances of loyalty to King George in the face 'of a designed invasion from abroad in favour of a Papal Pretender and of the preparations of a restless Papal and Jacobite faction at home for subverting our happy constitution in church and state.' The city further sent 500 of its militia to recruit the royal forces. Other reminiscences of 'this tyme of common danger' appear in the pious and partly executed purpose whereby 'the toun should be put in a better posture of defence by drawing lynes of entrinchment about the toun in case of ane attack,' and in the confinement of 353 'rebell prisoners' under guard in the castle prison in December, 1715.

A highly interesting 'accompt of the extraordinary charge and expenses' from July, 1715, until October, 1716, details the carriage of 'great guns,' the powder horns for priming them, the cartridge boxes, the leaden cannon balls, the messages sent to raise the alarm or to bring 'accounts of the Pretender,' the hire of horses, the building of barricades of stone, 'divets,' up-cast earth and timber, and a mighty digging of trenches by militiamen and colliers cheered at their work by liberal allowance of drink. Barricades and trenches at Gallowgate, Glasshouse, Cowloan, and St. Tennoch's Bridge, Buns Wynd, Rottenrow, Deneside, and the Merchants' Hospital are particularly mentioned. Extensive work at Kirkintilloch Bridge, too, shows that the scheme of defence was not limited to the city confines. Gunpowder (at a cost of over £1000), firelocks, bayonets, drums, halberts, and 'a feild carriage for a cannon for the toun' are items of charge which attest that the city stood well to its guns.

One adventure of interest before the rebellion broke out was the seizure, among innocent chests and barrels, in a boat at the Broomielaw, of 32 firelocks, 32 pistols, and 21 'speir bayonets' destined for 'nonjurors and disafected persons in the Highlands.' The thoroughgoing preparations made to repel the Pretender explain the unusual emphasis of the Act of Parliament in 1716 granting to Glasgow a duty of two pence Scots per pint of ale and beer in recognition of the 'most cordial and cheerful manner' in which the city had acted in the crisis.

The Extracts for 1718-38 cover two decades of much less public excitement in which the occurrences steadily grow more prosaic and find more modern phrases to record them. But there is still abundance of interest, and it is pleasant to note in the proceedings what Mr. Renwick calls 'the advent of our earliest local historian.' In 1732 the minutes bear that 'John M'Ure, writter, has compiled a book intitled The Ancient and Moddern State of Glasgow which he is to cause print,' but his petition for a 'gratification' towards defraying his expenses seems to have proved ineffectual to evoke a money grant, notwithstanding his work being dedicated to the Provost, Town Council and Town Clerk. M'Ure guessed the population then to be 30,000, an estimate nearly doubling the figure Mr. Renwick thinks probable.

There was progress in commerce, manufactories, and general industries, but it was slow. Political unrest can hardly have counted for much among the conditions that clogged advance.

The malt tax riot, in which Shawfield House was sacked in 1725, was a symptom of discontent with the Union. A false alarm of Jacobite invasion in 1727 led to the drawing up of another fervid address of loyalty and unalterable adherence to his 'sacred Majesties person family and government.' At the heart of these records the purely local concerns continued dominant, but trading policy in general was watched with a very intelligent eye. Scottish rights in the tobacco traffic were jealously guarded, linen manufacture was promoted, and the attention paid to the development of Port-Glasgow reveals both ambition and practical grasp in the business section of the city.

Shipping with the Plantations of America had already, in 1723, reached dimensions respectable enough with '20 or 30 sail of ships every year laden with tobacco and sugar,' and in 1726 Defoe reported 'near 50 sail of ships every year to Virginia, New England, and other English colonies in America.' A set of ordinances for Port-Glasgow harbour, provisions for its repair, 'the strenth and decorement thereof,' and the building of a dry dock and a new quay, are as clear intimations of enterprise as the slightly earlier construction of another new quay at the Broomielaw.

Sir James Marwick's historical study of the Clyde and the Clyde burghs was printed in proof in 1906, but was still under revision at his death, and has been editorially completed and brought out by Mr. Renwick. A conspectus of burghal developments on the firth, it is characterised by the familiar features of the veteran author's workmanship. It shows his persistent method of linking the facts with the minimum of general statement, his fidelity to the authorities duly cited for every paragraph, and his customary success in constructing a connected history which for its accuracy, fulness, and variety in matter of chronicle and fact must for long remain an authority and standard for reference.

The absence of colour and the toning down of quaint phrase and incident are deliberate. Sir James's choice was an unhesitating preference to be a solid builder of facts rather than an artist in narrative or a historical painter. It is this quality, his unbending cult of the authentic and his virtual contempt for the decorative region beyond, that makes the enduring value of his writings. He spared no pains to get his information, and his art was to rely on his truth as his abiding virtue. That Sir James never in his writing broke the calm of the plain historiographer,

never showed himself, as he often was in his conversation, vehement and almost passionate in his argument or narrative, is perhaps a proof of his severe conception of the task of the historian and the restraint in which he kept his pen.

To set Glasgow into its surroundings, burghally considered, was the purpose of a study which grouped, contrasted, compared, and analysed the ports of the Clyde. Rutherglen was a fully royal burgh under David I. So, perhaps, was Renfrew, but if so the dignity was lost by the grant to Walter, the first of the Stewarts, which made the burgh baronial only, so that not until 1397 did Renfrew, by the charter of Robert III., acquire the full burghal status.

Paisley, only made a burgh of barony in 1488, and then subject to the abbot as Glasgow was to the bishop, remained baronial until 1658. In that year an arrangement with the abbot's lay-successor as Superior, procured the granting of a Crown charter in 1665, which (in spite of objection by Dumbarton) gave it a tenure under the Prince and Steward of Scotland which was some degrees short of the dignity of a royal burgh, not even yet included among the many claims of Paisley to historical distinction.

Dumbarton, which alone rivals Glasgow for institutional interest and for its importance in maritime annals, was chartered as a royal burgh about the year 1221, and long disputed the dominance of Glasgow over the Clyde.

On the other hand, Port-Glasgow, on lands acquired by the city of Glasgow in 1668 for a harbour (whence its original name of Newport) began its separate life in 1690 under a Bailie of the Newport having the powers of a baron bailie appointed by and subject to the instructions of the magistrates of Glasgow; and it was only in 1775 that Parliament gave it a police constitution, raised after the Reform Act to that of a Parliamentary burgh.

Greenock came into existence as a baronial burgh in 1635 in the teeth of objection by both Glasgow and Dumbarton; its magistrates were baron bailies; it never was a royal burgh.

Rothesay had its charter from King Robert III. in 1401, and its freedom as a royal burgh was confirmed by James VI.

Irvine, created a burgh by Alexander II. and confirmed by Robert I. in 1322, was in early times used as the port of Glasgow, and as such was long in close commercial relationship with the city. These are the eight burghs with which Glasgow's interconnection is the subject of Sir James's study. Curiously enough the

cathedral city itself, although vested with practically every liberty of a royal burgh long before, only reached full burghal status in 1611, and even then remained subject to reservation regarding the election of magistrates—the last privilege of burghal autonomy finally granted only in 1690 by William and Mary, grateful for the part which Glasgow had played in furthering the Revolution.

Long before that, however, it had acquired a complete pre-eminence over all its neighbours, and become a centre of political, commercial, and manufacturing influence. This gradual growth is well shown by the combined annals which Sir James has compiled, tracing year by year and collating the progress or activities of each of the ports. Too chary of indicating general causes, he yet by the particular episodes illustrates the force of special features, whether of situation, equipment and resources, or of personal enterprise in the inhabitants, which after long struggle, against some by no means impotent rivalry, established the place of Glasgow as capital of the Clyde.

For centuries Glasgow was well provided with grievances in the oppressive action of some one or other burgh. At first Rutherglen and Dumbarton pressed it hard, and all the court-influence of the bishops was needed to check claims of toll and infringements of exemptions on the river and at the markets. Renfrew took a hand in the game too, although obviously foredoomed to futility. Only one rival seems conceivable to us now, and we may still ask how the golden apple of mercantile and maritime supremacy fell to Glasgow and not to Dumbarton. Long the premier harbour of the west coast of Scotland, Dumbarton started with that high natural advantage in the race ; but it had only one side of the firth and stood on the edge of the mountains. Glasgow was in the plain, the river was fordable there, and great roads branched from it : later the bridge set it astride of the river ; it counted as a port in the beginnings of shipping, and the foresight and energy of its citizens enabled it by engineering science to redress the balance of nature against its inland site—a work which extends back to the sixteenth century. The modern phase, however, began in 1759 with the first of the Clyde Trust acts ; the twenty-seventh act was about to be passed when the 'Lusitania' was launched in 1906.

If Sir James gives his emphasis to Glasgow he not less patiently traces the fortunes of the humbler burghs. Inveraray, raised to the rank of royal burgh in 1649, is noticed among the others :

the only one of ancient interest we miss in Sir James's survey is Tarbert, which Robert I. made a burgh, though its honours have not survived. Hamilton (burgh of barony in 1456, chartered as a royal burgh 1548) scarcely appears at all; its erection into a royal burgh was practically abortive, and it subsequently again accepted the inferior status of a burgh of regality.

How Clyde shipping was affected by the development of the Plantations of America and the ocean traffic dating from that period, how the Navigation Acts operated, and how Glasgow ships played their part in the long duel with England in the seventeenth century over wool and linen smuggled to Holland or across the Atlantic—these are matters of economic history which Sir James was reluctant to make his province.

The work on Edinburgh Guilds and Crafts was printed more than thirty years ago, but was then left in proof, and makes its posthumous appearance under the editorial executorship of Mr. Renwick. It is an exhaustive sketch of the privileges and obligations of burgess-ship and guild brotherhood in Edinburgh, copious in authoritative quotations from the Town Council records. Seals of cause, the symbol of incorporation, came greatly into vogue in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The Hatmakers received theirs from the Town Council in 1473, the Skinners in 1474, the Masons and Wrights in 1475, and the Websters in 1476, followed by the Hammermen 1483, Fleshers 1488, Coopers 1489, Waulkers and Tailors 1500, Surgeons and Barbers 1505, Cordiners 1510, and Candlemakers in 1517. The Baxters having lost their seal had it renewed in 1523.

Certain guilds were specially associated with certain altars in the church of St. Giles, the altar of St. John being maintained by the Masons, that of St. Severane by the Websters, that of St. Mark by the Waulkers, that of St. Crispin by the Cordiners, and that of St. Ann by the Tailors. Indeed, the connection in Edinburgh between the crafts and the church are conspicuous enough to reflect light on the vexed question for the guild brotherhoods, whether the craft guilds as general institutions in Great Britain had not often their origin as church-guilds or associations of craftsmen united by their cult of a particular saint. As living and working organisations, of course, they were trade unions, very narrowly protectionist and exclusive, jealous and watchful against any encroachment, and tenacious of their privileges. Aristocracy and democracy are alike slow to surrender monopoly, and sometimes the reluctance has reason on its side.

There is room here for only one quotation to show how, in 1582, the booksellers, who were freemen of Edinburgh, petitioned for an order of council against an outsider. They showed, with all the eloquence of indignant ratepayers, 'that Thomas Vautrollier prenter beand ane straynger and unfrieman hes thir dyvers yeiris bygane be him selff and his servandis . . . toppitt[1] and sald vithin this burgh all maner of buikis in smallis[2] and lykwayes bindis the sam contrair to the priveleges of the burgh and to our intollerabill damnage quha hes na uther tred quhairby we and our famelies are sustenit he bering na charges whatever and we watcheing wairding and extenting at all tymes.' The application was successful; the Council ordained the agent of the famous French printer 'to desist and ceiss fra all topping and selling in smallis of ony maner of buikis in tymes coming.'

Among other persons convicted of breaking the burgess oath, there appears in 1608 Master Robert Steven, who had taken up a Grammar School in the Canongate to the detriment of the High School belonging to the burgh. This distinguished offender (not unknown to these columns, see *S.H.R.* ii. 253), survived his fine, 'ane unlaw of 100 lib,' until 1618 when he died in Canongate, 'Maister of ye grammer scoill thair.' It is impossible to close this notice of Sir James Marwick's treatise on Edinburgh guilds without marking it as a touching last link of his official association with that city, and of his zeal for its municipal history.

The next volume now to be noticed is a second and complementary part of the first volume issued by the Scottish Burgh Records Society. Professor Cosmo Innes edited the ancient laws and customs of the burghs from 1124 until 1424. A volume in continuation was begun, but was left unfinished when Professor Innes died in 1874. Never resumed by Sir James Marwick, it has fallen to Mr. Renwick to complete. He has adopted the plan of the original volume, and the work consists of a series of excerpts from the record edition of the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland.

These excerpts embrace the entire statutes applicable to Scottish burghs from 1424 until 1707. Almost all of them are long ago repealed, but the few still in force—*rari nantes* indeed—are

[1] Toppit, broken bulk, so as to retail.

[2] In smalls, by retail, as opposed to 'in gross.'

marked with an asterisk. The pitiful survivals thus seen in conjunction with the extinct enactments are truly creatures of a vanished world, although, as Mr. Renwick says, they 'illustrate the pleasing feature of continuity which pervades the worthier institutions of our country.' Prefixed to the text is a very short sketch of the legislative system as applied to burghs and trade privilege and the beginnings of foreign trade.

One suggestive remark is made which touches the historical origin of the collective jurisdiction of the Four Burghs, famous as a distinctive organisation of early Scotland. Referring to this Court, which in early times was held at Haddington, and is regarded as the kernel from which was developed the Convention of Royal Burghs, Mr. Renwick states it as 'not improbable that the original organisation was partly of a military type, just as the early individual "burg" was a stronghold before it was transformed into a market town.' Hence, by analogy from the free hanse of burghs north of the Grampians, the Hanseatic league of the Baltic cities, and the far older Anglo-Danish confederation of the Five Boroughs in the Danelagh, he hazards the conjecture 'that ancient Northumbria when the Forth was its northern boundary established its four chief strongholds in the north on a somewhat similar basis.' It is a speculation, to a great extent prehistoric, but as a conjecture will deserve consideration among the other clues to the enigma of the burghs. With this important suggestion, which is obviously influenced by recent discussions of the 'garrison theory,' the Scottish Burgh Records Society in one of its last volumes may be said to return to the problem indicated as the motive of the first volume forty-two years ago, viz. 'to shew the origin of our Burghs and of the Burghal spirit.' And no one will dispute the learning and industry, fidelity and success with which the latest editor has interpreted the aims of the founders of the Society as expressed by Cosmo Innes—not only to show those origins, but to follow and depict the effect of the institutions of the burghs 'on the morals and character, the taste, feeling and mode of life, of their people.'

The Peebles Extracts are in more senses than one a tribute to the little border burgh. Not only does the volume show the Society returning to it, as a typical community, for the purpose of completing the earlier selection of extracts for 1165-1710, published in 1872. In the introduction Sir William Chambers said that that book 'mainly owed its existence' to Mr. Renwick.

The new volume shows Mr. Renwick himself, after at least five other books devoted to his native county and to Peebles itself, returning to it once more.

> 'Ille terrarum mihi praeter omnes
> Angulus ridet.'

No wonder that the townsmen some years ago made an honorary freeman of one who has rendered such filial service and such faithful chronicle. The stones, the very dust of Peebles, are dear to him, and with patriotic zest he crushes the myth that it was reserved for David II., and not David I., to make Peebles a full and free royal burgh. When Mr. Renwick wants to settle a doubt—and he has settled more than almost any historical student in Great Britain—he has a way of resorting to an appendix for his pieces of justification. So, here, he prints (fortified by facsimile) the charter of 1367 which George Chalmers and William Chambers both vainly misread; and no man will doubt any more, for David II.'s charter itself disproves the proposition which disparaged the certainty of Peebles having enjoyed the highest burghal antiquity. Another charter adds an unusual historical curiosity to the appendix; it is the grant of the barony of Manor in Peeblesshire to Sir William Inglis in 1395, 'in reward of his notable deed namely the slaying of Thomas of Struthire an English knight whom he slew on the Borders in a duel in an action of infamy.'

The town council records, which form the substance of the volume, cover the period from the Restoration to the Revolution, and nearly reach the '15. Naturally the preface glances retrospectively at some of the burghal institutions touched upon. Peebles was still an essentially agricultural community, and the rights and regulations of common pasture, the mills, and the bridge were themes of town politics of great practical importance. Thus they claim attention in the preface along with such matters as the mode of electing provost and council, the incorporating of sundry crafts, and the friction between the schoolmaster who taught Latin and the school doctor who taught English. Peebles had a 'lord provost' in 1555; it spoke of its fair as existing 'thes mony aiges bygane'; it accepted incorporation with the Commonwealth, and even a charter from the Lord Protector without ever naming Cromwell in its minutes; it swore allegiance with enthusiasm to the returned Charles II. in 1661; it prayed for William and Mary according to the

Act in 1689; and its records betray no extravagant feeling over the Union of 1707.

Internal affairs are the staple of the extracts. The days of border history were past; the burgh appears to have made its last combatant stand in the abortive attempt to keep out Cromwell's army after the battle of Dunbar. The central interest is domestic. For Mr. Renwick, we suspect, Peebles holds undimmed its reputation for pleasure; its alleged sepulchral quiet he seems determined to disprove. At least there is no denying that the annals silently achieve that end, for brisk episodes abound. A 'witch's get' is a term of abuse; the education authority of the period imprisoning folk for 'not putting their children to the school' are by a violent maid-servant declared to be nothing 'but mensworne rascalls'; neighbours quarrelled with each other with the formula 'I defye the, divell.' Once at least they went still further and defied the provost, for a burgess in 1667 upbraided that dignitary by 'saying he spoke not majestick lyke'—an observation too heinous to atone for by a less fine than 40 merks plus incarceration 'during the provest's pleasur.' On occasion a provost's wife could be riotous against a burgess 'pulling doun of his bonet after he had called her a brazen faced loun,' but much graver was the case when the provost himself was assaulted by 'dinging of his hatt and piriweig.' For this, James Sheill not only went to prison but paid a fine, and had his burgess ticket riven 'publictly att the cross' in token of forfeiture of all his burgess privileges.

The liveliness of Peebles otherwise is evinced by the frequency of morning drinks, and pints and gallons of ale to workmen, as *e.g.* 'quhen they lifted up the stipell bell to set her rycht,' by such freaks as that of the roisterer 'ringing the fray bell,' by the 'tua new lockis that was brokin be the mos-truperis upon the portis,' and by the grim necessities of a town's hangman, the scourging of thieves, the pillorying of resetters 'with ane paper on their heidis,' and the searching out of stranger undesirables. So far from dull was Peebles that the town officer himself got 'notoriously drunk' one night whereby the prisoners in the 'thieves' hole' put fire to the doors and nearly set the town a-blaze. Death itself was only an excuse for prolonging such festivities, and in 1697 the council had to repress the abuses at wakes frequented by crowds, 'playing at cards, and drinking excessively, and swearing.' Pleasure even at Peebles had to be kept within reasonable bounds.

One suggestive episode alluded to in the preface is a search for the town's papers after Cromwell's men had made free with the place. A small payment was made 'for two candle to look the writtes in the steiple efter the Inglesmen had spoyled the same.' Not small is the honour of Peebles that it has never wanted for lights of its own to see to its muniments. Scottish burghs in general have scarcely less signally profited by the unwearying service and unique learning of an honorary burgess of Peebles as their chief archivist and historiographer.

GEO. NEILSON.

Chronicle of Lanercost[1]

ON the following day, to wit, on the festival of S. Margaret, Virgin and Martyr,[2] he received at Carlisle Castle fealty and homage from nearly all the chief men of England, who were assembled there for the expedition to be made into Scotland, and was proclaimed king. Thus Edward the younger succeeded the elder, but in the same manner as Rehoboam succeeded Solomon, which his career and fate were to prove. Meanwhile, the obsequies and funeral rites of his father were being arranged, and when these were ready, the corpse was taken to Carlisle, and so on to the south, liberal offerings in money and in wax being made for it in those churches by which it passed, most of all in those where it rested for the night. The new king, and Antony Bek, Bishop of Durham (who had previously been ordained by the Pope Patriarch of Jerusalem), accompanied the corpse through several days' journey, together with the nobles of England and a great multitude of Secular and Regular clergy; and afterwards the king returned to Carlisle to arrange for the expedition into Scotland; and thither came to him first Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, and made homage and fealty to him.

A.D. 1307.

On the vigil of S. Peter ad Vincula[3] he moved his army into Scotland in order to receive homage and fealty from the Scots, as he had forewarned them, having summoned by his letters all the chief men of the country to appear before him at Dumfries, there to render him the service due. Afterwards he divided his army into three columns to search for the oft-mentioned Robert; but, this time, as formerly, he was not to be found, so they returned empty-handed to England after certain guardians had been appointed in Scotland.[4]

[1] See *Scottish Historical Review*, vi. 13, 174, 281, 383; vii. 56, 160, 271, 377; viii. 22, 159.

[2] 20th July.

[3] 31st July.

[4] Aymer de Valence was appointed guardian of Scotland on 28th August, but he was superseded on 8th September by John de Bretagne, Earl of Richmond.

Meanwhile there came in great pomp to the king a certain knight of Gascony, Piers de Gaveston by name, whom my lord, the elder Edward, had exiled from the realm of England, and in accordance with the unanimous advice of parliament had caused solemnly to swear that he would never re-enter England ; this because of the improper familiarity which my lord Edward the younger entertained with him, speaking of him openly as his brother. To this fellow, coming by the new king's command to join him while he was still in Scotland, the king gave the noble earldom of Cornwall and the Isle of Man, and preferred him in affection to all the other nobles of the country, whether of his own kin or otherwise. When this was done, the whole of England murmured against the king, and was indignant against the aforesaid Piers. Moreover, the new king apprehended Walter de Langton, my lord Bishop of Chester, a man as worthy as any in the realm, who had been treasurer to his [Edward's] father until his death, and imprisoned him in Wallingford Castle.[1] He did this, as was alleged, because the said bishop had been prime mover in advising that the aforesaid Piers should be exiled from the realm in the time of his [Edward's] father. He also caused many other leading men, who had been with his father, to be dismissed from their offices, and viler and worse men to be appointed. Howbeit, he had some cause for punishing the bishop, because, as was said, he found in his possession more of the treasure which he had collected under his [Edward's] father than was in his father's treasury after his death.

Later, after the [anniversary of the] death of S. Michael,[2] the king held his parliament at Northampton, and there confirmed the gift of the said earldom [of Cornwall], and allowed the bishop to remain in the aforesaid castle [of Wallingford], which was at that time the castle of Piers himself ; and after the parliament he went to London with the clergy and people, and caused his father to be interred at Westminster among the kings ; for since the day of his death his body had been kept above ground in the abbey of Walsingham.

While all these affairs were being transacted, Robert Bruce, with his brother Edward and many of his adherents, was moving

In this may be traced the influence of Piers de Gaveston, no friend to de Valence, whom, because of his swarthy complexion, he nicknamed 'Joseph the Jew,' a term of special opprobrium in the fourteenth century.

[1] In Berkshire. [2] 29th September.

through Scotland wherever he liked, in despite of the English guardians, and chiefly in Galloway, from which district he took tribute under agreement that it should be left in peace; for they were unable to resist him because of the large number of the people who then adhered to him.

About the same time died Friar William of Gainsborough, Bishop of Worcester, beyond the sea, when returning from the court of France, whither he had been sent to arrange the king's nuptials. He lies at Beauvais among the Minorite Friars. Almost all his household died there with him, whence it was believed that they had perished by poison.

Later, about the feast of the chair of S. Peter,[1] the King of England sailed across to France, and with solemnity and great state married his wife Isabella, daughter of the King of France, at Boulogne, as had been arranged in the presence of her father and the leading men of that country, and of many from England. He brought her back to England, and was crowned in London. The people of the country and the leading men complained loudly at his coronation against the aforesaid Piers, and unanimously wished that he should be deprived of his earldom; but this the king obstinately refused. The murmurs increased from day to day, and engrossed the lips and ears of all men, nor was there one who had a good word either for the king or for Piers. The chief men agreed unanimously in strongly demanding that Piers should be sent back into exile, foremost among them being the noble Earl of Lincoln and the young Earl of Gloucester, whose sister, however, Piers had received in marriage by the king's gift.[2]

About Easter[3] the king held a parliament, in which it was unanimously declared that the said Piers should be banished within fifteen days from all the lands which are under the King of England's dominion. Howbeit the king, though he gave verbal assent to this, did not in fact keep faith, any more than in some other things which he promised, and Piers remained in England. Wherefore about Pentecost the earls and barons, with horses and arms and a strong force,

A.D. 1308.

[1] 22nd February, 1307-8.

[2] Margaret de Clare, the king's niece, being daughter of his elder sister, Joan of Acre. The marriage took place on 1st November, 1307, although Walsingham says it was after Gaveston had been appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 16th June, 1308.

[3] 14th April.

came to Northampton, where the king was staying at that time with the said Piers, and there at length it was arranged by force and fear that he should immediately be sent back into exile, in the manner aforesaid, and the Pope's excommunication was procured upon him in the event of his ever after re-entering England. But while it was decreed that he should embark at Dover and have an annuity for life of £200 sterling for himself and £100 for his wife, if she were willing to leave the country with him, the king secretly caused him to sail to Ireland with his wife, furnishing him with letters to the effect that, wheresoever he should go within the lands of the King of England, he should be received with the glory and honour due to the person of the king himself. Also he gave him, as was said, such precious and valuable articles as he could find in his treasury, and also he gave him many charters sealed with his great seal, but in blank, whereon Piers might write whatever he chose ; and accordingly he was received in Ireland with great glory.

In all these proceedings no one in the kingdom supported the king, except four persons, to wit, my lord Hugh le Despenser, baron, Sir Nicholas de Segrave, Sir William de Burford, and Sir William de Enge, against whom the earls and barons rose, demanding that they should be banished as deceivers of the king and traitors to the realm, or else that they should be removed immediately and utterly from the king's presence and council.

About the same time, grievous to relate, the Master of the Order of Templars, with many brethren of his order, publicly confessed, as was said, before my lord the King of France and the clergy and people, that for sixty years and more he and his brethren had performed mock-worship before a statue of a certain brother of the Order, and had trodden the image of the Crucified One under foot, spitting in its face, and that they had habitually committed sodomy among themselves, and had perpetrated many other iniquities against the faith. On account of which all the Templars in France were apprehended and imprisoned, not undeservedly, and their goods were confiscated, and the same was done in England, pending what the Pope and the clergy should decide what should be done with them.

Meanwhile, taking advantage of the dispute between the King of England and the barons, Edward de Brus, brother of the oft-mentioned Robert, and Alexander de Lindsey and Robert Boyd and James de Douglas,[1] knights, with their following which they

[1] First mention of 'the good Sir James,' son of Sir William 'le Hardi.'

had from the outer isles of Scotland, invaded the people of Galloway, disregarding the tribute which they took from them, and in one day slew many of the gentry of Galloway, and made nearly all that district subject to them. Those Gallovidians, however, who could escape came to England to find refuge. But it was said that the King of England desired, if he could, to ally himself with Robert de Brus, and to grant him peace upon such terms as would help him to contend with his own earls and barons. Howbeit, after the feast of S. Michael[1] some kind of peace and agreement was patched up between the King of England and his people, on condition that the king should do nothing important without the advice and consent of the Earl of Lincoln ; but from day to day the king, by gifts and promises, drew to his side some of the earls and barons.

About the beginning of the following Lent[2] an embassy was sent to the King of England by order of the Pope and at the instance of the King of France, desiring him to desist from attacking the Scots, and that he should hold meanwhile only what he possessed at the preceding feast of S. James the Apostle ;[3] and likewise an embassy was sent to Robert de Brus desiring him to keep the peace, and that meanwhile he should enjoy all that he had acquired at the preceding feast of the same S. James, and no more ; and that the truce should endure until the festival of All Saints next to come.[4] But Robert and his people restored nothing to the King of England of that which he had wrongously usurped between the said feast of S. James and the beginning of Lent aforesaid ; rather were they continually striving to get more.

In the summer the king held his parliament at Northampton ; whereat, contrary to the hope of all England, the said Piers de Gaveston, through privy procurement of the king beforehand, was confirmed as formerly in the earldom of Cornwall, with the assent of the earls and barons, on condition that he should have nothing in the kingdom except the earldom. For already, before the aforesaid parliament, the sentence of excommunication pronounced by my lord the Pope against the said Piers in England had been suspended for ten months, and all Englishmen were absolved from whatever oath they had taken in any manner affecting the said Piers ; and meanwhile he received license to return from Ireland to England, and obtained in parliament the earldom of Cornwall as before.

A.D. 1309.

[1] 29th September.
[2] 12th February, 1308-9.
[3] 25th July, 1308.
[4] 1st November.

But in the aforesaid parliament there was read a fresh sentence of excommunication pronounced against Robert de Brus and against all who should give him aid, counsel, or favour.

Now about the feast of All Saints,[1] when the said truce was due to expire, the King of England sent Sir John de Segrave and many others with him to keep the march at Berwick; and to defend the march at Carlisle [he sent] the Earl of Hereford and Baron Sir Robert de Clifford, Sir John de Cromwell, knight, and others with them. But a little before the feast of S. Andrew[2] they made a truce with the oft-mentioned Robert de Brus, and he with them, subject to the King of England's consent, until the twentieth day after Christmas,[3] and accordingly Robert de Clifford went to the king to ascertain his pleasure. On his return, he agreed to a further truce with the Scots until the first Sunday in Lent,[4] and afterwards the truce was prolonged until summer; for the English do not willingly enter Scotland to wage war before summer, chiefly because earlier in the year they find no food for their horses.

About the feast of the Assumption[5] the king came to Berwick with Piers, Earl of Cornwall, and the Earl of Gloucester and the Earl of Warenne, which town the King of England had caused to be enclosed with a strong and high wall and ditch; but the other earls refused to march with the king by reason of fresh dispute that had arisen. But he [the king] advanced with his suite further into Scotland in search for the oft-mentioned Robert, who fled in his usual manner, not daring to meet them, wherefore they returned to Berwick.[6] So soon as they had retired, Robert and his people invaded Lothian and inflicted much damage upon those who were in the king of England's peace. The king, therefore, pursued them with a small force, but the Earl of Cornwall remained at Roxburgh with his people to guard that district, and the Earl of Gloucester [remained at] Norham. A.D. 1310.

After the feast of the Purification[7] the king sent the aforesaid Earl of Cornwall with two hundred men-at-arms to the town of S. John beyond the Scottish Sea,[8] in case Robert de Brus, who

[1] 1st November. [2] 30th November. [3] 14th January, 1309-10.

[4] 8th March, 1309-10. [5] 15th August.

[6] This Fabian strategy was very exasperating to the chronicler, but it was the means whereby Bruce won and kept his kingdom.

[7] 2nd February, 1310-11. [8] *I.e.* Perth, beyond the Firth of Forth.

was then marching towards Galloway, should go beyond the said sea to collect troops. But the king remained on at Berwick. The said earl received to peace all beyond the Scottish Sea, as far as the Mounth. After the beginning of Lent[1] the Earls of Gloucester and Warenne rode through the great Forest of Selkirk, receiving the foresters and others of the Forest to peace.

About the same time died the noble Henry, Earl of Lincoln, who was Guardian of England in the king's absence, in place of whom the Earl of Gloucester was elected with the king's consent, and therefore returned from Scotland to England.

In the same year died Antony Bek, Patriarch of Jerusalem and Bishop of Durham (Patriarch, however, only in name), and was buried with great solemnity in the cathedral church of Durham, at the northern corner of the east end; in which church none had hitherto been buried save S. Cuthbert.[2]

To him succeeded Richard of Kelso, a monk of that monastery
A.D. 1311. [Durham], soon after Easter,[3] and was consecrated at York by the archbishop on the feast of Pentecost.[4]

In the same year my lord Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, came to the king in Scotland, to do homage for the earldom of Lincoln which had come to him through his wife after the death of the aforesaid earl. But, forasmuch as the king was in Berwick, the earl was advised not to go before him outside the realm to render homage, neither would the king come across the river to him; wherefore there was much apprehension of civil war in England, because the earl, having four other earldoms besides that of Lincoln, threatened to return immediately with one hundred knights whom he had brought with him (without taking account of foot-soldiers besides), and to enter upon the lands of the said earldom whereof he had offered homage to the king, who had declined to receive it. But by God's influence the king followed wiser counsel, crossed the water of Tweed, and came to the earl at Haggerston, about four miles from Berwick, where they saluted each other amicably and exchanged frequent kisses. Although hitherto they had been much at discord because of Piers de Gaveston, yet [that person] came thither with the king;

[1] 24th February, 1310-11.

[2] Considering the effusive eulogy or scathing criticism passed by the chronicler upon other deceased dignitaries of the Church, it is strange that he should have nothing to say about the character of this most redoubtable prelate.

[3] 11th April. [4] 30th May.

but the earl would neither kiss him, nor even salute him, whereat Piers was offended beyond measure.

In the same year the Templars of England were tried upon the aforesaid crimes with which they were charged by inquisitors sent by my lord the Pope, all of which they denied at York, but three of them pled guilty to them all in London.

Forasmuch as the king, two years before, had granted in a certain parliament, and confirmed by establishing it under his great seal, that he would submit to the authority of certain persons, earls and bishops,[1] partly for councillors (for he was not very wise in his acts, though he may have spoken rationally enough), and likewise partly for the better governance of his house and household, and that the term of two years should be given them for dealing with these matters and deliberating, which time had now elapsed, therefore the Guardian of England and the nobles of the land sent forward envoys to the king in Scotland about the feast of S. Laurence,[2] humbly beseeching that it would please him to come to London and hear in parliament what they had ordained for his honour and the welfare of his realm. Wherefore the king, unwillingly enough, went to London, where all the great men of the realm were assembled, and in that parliament the said ordainers announced publicly what they had ordained, and these were approved by the judgment of all as being very expedient for the king and realm, and specially so for the community and the people. Among these [ordinances] it was decreed now, as it had been frequently before, that Piers de Gaveston should depart from the soil of England within fifteen days after the feast of S. Michael the Archangel,[3] never to return, nor should he thereafter be styled nor be an earl, nor be admitted to any country which might be under the king's dominion; and sentence of excommunication was solemnly pronounced by the Archbishop of Canterbury upon all who should receive, defend, or entertain him in England after the aforesaid fixed limit of time. He himself, confident that he had been confirmed for life in his earldom, albeit he was an alien and had been preferred to so great dignity solely by the king's favour, had now grown

[1] These Lord Ordainers were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Salisbury, Chichester, Norwich, S. David's and Llandaff; the Earls of Gloucester, Lancaster, Lincoln, Hereford, Pembroke, Richmond, Warwick and Arundel; the Barons Hugh de Vere, William le Mareschal, Robert Fitz Roger, Hugh Courtenay, William Martin, and John de Grey.

[2] 10th August. [3] 13th October.

so insolent as to despise all the nobles of the land; among whom he called the Earl of Warwick (a man of equal wisdom and integrity) 'the Black Dog of Arden.' When this was reported to the earl, he is said to have replied with calmness: 'If he call me a dog, be sure that I will bite him so soon as I shall perceive my opportunity.'

But let us have done with him [Piers] till another time and return to Robert de Brus to see what he has been about meanwhile. The said Robert, then, taking note that the king and all the nobles of the realm were in such distant parts, and in such discord about the said accursed individual [Piers], having collected a large army invaded England by the Solway on Thursday before the feast of the Assumption of the Glorious Virgin,[1] and burnt all the land of the Lord of Gillesland and the town of Haltwhistle and a great part of Tynedale, and after eight days returned into Scotland, taking with him a very large booty in cattle. But he had killed few men besides those who offered resistance.

About the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin,[2] Robert returned with an army into England, directing his march towards Northumberland, and, passing by Harbottle and Holystone and Redesdale, he burnt the district about Corbridge, destroying everything; also he caused more men to be killed than on the former occasion. And so he turned into the valleys of North and South Tyne, laying waste those parts which he had previously spared, and returned into Scotland after fifteen days; nor could the wardens whom the King of England had stationed on the marches oppose so great a force of Scots as he brought with him. Howbeit, like the Scots, they destroyed all the goods in the land, with this exception, that they neither burnt houses nor killed men.

Meanwhile the Northumbrians, still dreading lest Robert should return, sent envoys to him to negotiate a temporary truce, and they agreed with him that they would pay two thousand pounds for an exceedingly short truce—to wit, until the Purification of the Glorious Virgin.[3] Also those of the county of Dunbar, next to Berwick, in Scotland, who were still in the King of England's peace, were very heavily taxed for a truce until the said date.

In all these aforesaid campaigns the Scots were so divided among themselves that sometimes the father was on the Scottish side and the son on the English, and *vice versa*; also one brother might be with the Scots and another with the English; yea, even the same individual be first with one party and then with the

[1] 12th August. [2] 8th September. [3] 2nd Feb., 1311-12.

other. But all those who were with the English were merely feigning, either because it was the stronger party, or in order to save the lands they possessed in England; for their hearts were always with their own people, although their persons might not be so.

From the feast of S. Michael[1] until the feast of S. John Lateran,[2] Pope Clement held a council at Vienne[3] with the cardinals and three patriarchs and one hundred and thirty archbishops and bishops, and abolished the Order of Templars so that it should no longer be considered an Order. Also he caused many new constitutions to be enacted there, which were compiled in seven books in the time of his successor, John XXII.

Now let us return to Piers. That oft-mentioned Piers de Gaveston left England and went to Flanders within the time appointed him, to wit, within fifteen days after the feast of S. Michael.[4] But whereas in Flanders he met with a reception far from favourable (through the agency of the King of France, who cordially detested him because, as was said, the King of England, having married his daughter, loved her indifferently because of the aforesaid Piers), to his own undoing he returned to England, but clandestinely, through fear of the earls and barons; and the king received him and took him with him to York, where they plundered the town and country, because they had not wherewithal to pay their expenses. For the earls and barons had ordained, and enforced execution thereof after the return of the said Piers, that the king, who would not agree with his lieges in anything, should not receive from his exchequer so much as a half-penny or a farthing.[5] The king, then, fearing lest the earls and barons should come upon him there, took Piers to Scarborough with him; but he who was then warden of the castle[6] refused to allow, on any account, the king to enter accompanied by Piers, wherefore the king turned aside with him to Newcastle, and there, as at York, they plundered the town and country. When Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, heard this, being most hostile to the said Piers, he marched secretly and suddenly through the wooded parts of England, avoiding the high roads, about the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross.[7]

[1] 29th September, 1311. [2] 6th May, 1312. [3] In Dauphiny.
[4] 12th October. [5] *Obolum nec quadrantem.*
[6] Henry de Percy, First Lord Percy of Alnwick, 1272-1315. [7] 3rd May.

(*To be continued.*)