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The Beginnings of St. Andrews University

1410-1418

II

THE University of St. Andrews was, in its earliest stage, merely a voluntary society of Doctors and Masters; but it did not long remain in this unorganised condition. According to Bower, as already stated, lectures began to be delivered in May, 1410. On February 28, 1412, a formal charter of foundation and privileges was completed and sealed. This charter was addressed to the Doctors, Masters, Bachelors, and Scholars resident in St. Andrews, and bears to have been issued in compliance with their wishes. Bishop Wardlaw, in the preamble, but without alluding to any previous document, recalls the fact that the University had been instituted and founded by himself, and that under favour of the divine clemency it had been laudably commenced by the said Doctors and Masters. He now, with the consent of his cathedral chapter, instituted and founded it anew, diligently considering and with earnest meditation reflecting that it is by schools of letters that men, through the favour of Him from whom every good and perfect gift flows, are rendered learned in the sciences, and that by such the ignorant are instructed and the more advanced raised to higher attainments. Moreover the catholic faith, being thus surrounded by an impregnable wall of Doctors and Masters, grows strong, and is able to withstand heresies and errors.

While the main objects of the foundation of the University were the advancement of learning and the maintenance of the catholic faith, the immediate purpose of the charter appears to have been to secure a good understanding between the members of the University and the authorities and people of the town. It was the founder's earnest desire that the University and the city might flourish together, that the influence of the University might render the city powerful, and that in this peaceful and prosperous condition the study of divine and human law, of medicine, and of the liberal arts or faculties might be ardently carried on. To accomplish this end the Bishop placed the University and all its members under the special protection of himself and his successors, and invested them with various immunities, privileges, and liberties.

Throughout the jurisdiction of the Bishop, members of the University were to have free power of buying whatever they required, and especially things pertaining to food and clothing, without exactions or customs, or of license asked of any one whatsoever. They were also to have the power of selling their own goods, provided they did not bring them into the town for the purpose of trade. An assize of bread and ale, and appraisings of things pertaining to food, were to be fully observed, and delinquents in these matters punished. It was to be the duty of the Rector of the University to report defaulters to the Provost or to any of the bailies of the town, and to demand that they be sufficiently corrected and punished. If this demand were not complied with within twenty-four hours, the power of correction and punishment was to be transferred to the Rector himself. In the event of a dispute arising between the Rector and the Provost or bailies, the Bishop reserved the cognisance and determination of it to himself and his successors. Whenever the Provost or any of the bailies was found culpable or negligent in the administration of justice, he, as well as the delinquents, was to be handed over to the Rector to be duly punished—saving certain privileges, liberties, and customs enjoyed by the Prior, the chapter, and the Archdeacon in their baronies within the city.

The Rector was also granted jurisdiction over those, whether clergy or laity, who injured or wronged members of the University, provided the offence was not heinous. In like manner all civil causes, actions, and complaints of scholars, against any person whatever were, at the wish of the said scholars, to be heard in

presence of the Rector, and by him, proceeding summarily and immediately, determined according to law. Members of the University were exempted from appearing, against their will, before any ecclesiastical or civil judge, other than the Rector, regarding contracts or civil questions; while, on the other hand, they had the right of litigating before any ecclesiastical judge whom they might prefer. Inns and houses were to be let to them at rates to be fixed by a committee of themselves and of the citizens elected and sworn for this purpose in equal numbers. As a general rule, a member of the University could not be ejected from his rooms so long as he paid the rent and conducted himself properly in them. Beneficed persons within the diocese of St. Andrews who were actually teaching or studying in the University, were to enjoy the fruits of their benefices while absent from them, provided they made suitable arrangements for the supply of divine ordinances to their parishioners. They had to ask leave of absence from the Bishop, but did not necessarily have to wait until they obtained it before proceeding to the University.

The Bishop undertook to secure that the Provost, bailies, and other officials of the city should each year at their entry upon office swear in the hands of the Rector faithfully to observe, and cause to be observed, the statutes and customs of the University, so far as they were concerned, as well as to uphold its privileges and liberties. For himself and his successors, the Bishop promised to lay no claim to any part of the goods of scholars dying testate or intestate. Their wills were to be registered free, and everything pertaining to them was to be free from the expense of legal process. Finally, all members of the University were entirely exempted from the payment of taxes, and from burdens and servitudes of every kind within the city, whether great or small. These numerous and valuable privileges were to be enjoyed not merely by the masters and scholars, but also by their bedells, servants, and attendants. They were likewise extended to the University scribes, stationers, and parchment makers, and likewise to the wives, families, and domestic servants of all the officers of the University.

The charter embodies a resolution of the Prior and convent of St. Andrews, along with the Archdeacons of St. Andrews and Lothian, chapterly convened, giving their consent to the institution and foundation of the University, and to the granting of the privileges above enumerated. This is followed by a clause in

which the Prior and convent and the Archdeacon of St. Andrews confirm the granting of an assize of bread and ale and the appraisement of everything pertaining to victuals in so far as their particular baronies were concerned. Defaulters were to be punished by the bailies of the Prior and Archdeacon in the same way as by the Provost and bailies of the city, and in case of neglect on the part of these officers, the defaulters were to be handed over to the Rector to be duly punished for their transgression.

This composite charter was formally completed, extended in legal form, and sealed with the episcopal and chapter seals, in the chapter-house of the Cathedral Church on Sunday, February 28, 1412, by Symon de Lystoun¹ and Richard de Crag,² notaries public. The original charter has unfortunately not been preserved, but there are various manuscript copies of it in the possession of the University, the earliest of which is incorporated in one of the papal bulls to be afterwards referred to.

Judging from the names of the persons who witnessed its attestation, the Bishop's charter would appear to have been drawn up in consultation with men of University training and experience unconnected with St. Andrews. They were Thomas de Butill, Doctor of Canon Law, papal auditor, and Archdeacon of Galloway,³ who had studied Arts and Canon Law at Oxford for five years,⁴ but who was probably a graduate of Avignon, as his name occurs on the benefice rolls of that University for 1393 and 1394;⁵

¹ In manuscript charters of October 25, 1404, and January 25, 1409, Symon de Lystoun is described as son of Janet de Douglas, wife of Arnold Patynmakar, citizen of St. Andrews, and as father of William de Lystoun. He witnessed a St. Andrews charter of January 17, 1416; and on Sunday, May 7, 1419, he was present, along with Bishop Wardlaw, at a meeting of the Faculty of Arts, held in the old Parish Church of St. Andrews, when new regulations for proceeding to license were adopted.

² This is evidently the 'Master Richard of Crag' who was vicar of Dundee in 1439 and onwards, and who is otherwise known as 'licentiatus in decretis ac clericus cancellarie' and 'clericus regis Jac. II. et director cancellarie.' *Reg. Mag. Sig.* vol. ii. p. 886; Maxwell's *Old Dundee prior to the Reformation*, pp. 13, 37.

³ According to Eubel (*Hierarchia Catholica*, vol. i. p. 168), Thomas de Butill was made Bishop of Galloway by Benedict XIII., on June 14, 1414; but in the *Cal. of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. pp. 570-617, where various other preferments are recorded, he is still Archdeacon on March 4, 1415.

⁴ On February 18, 1380, a safe-conduct was granted by Richard II. to Butill and a number of other Scots clerks who were proceeding to Oxford for purposes of study. *Rotuli Scotiae*, vol. ii. p. 20.

⁵ Fournier's *Statuts*, vol. ii. pp. 334, 348.

John de Merton, Doctor of Canon Law, Provost of the Collegiate Church of Bothwell, who had also studied at Oxford, and had several times been sent to England on public business during the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. ;¹ Columba de Dunbar, son of George, Earl of March, and Dean of the Collegiate Church of Dunbar, who had 'studied Arts for many years at Oxford,' and who, in 1394, at the age of fourteen, had received a papal dispensation to hold a benefice without cure of souls ;² Patrick de Houstoun, Bachelor of Canon and Civil Law, and Canon of the Cathedral Churches of Glasgow and Brechin, who was afterwards a commissioner to England in connection with various important negotiations, including the return of King James I. to Scotland ;³ and John de Loudoun, perpetual Vicar of the Church of Kilpatrick, notary public.⁴

Nothing but a confirmatory papal bull was now wanting to make the foundation of the University complete, and to secure for it the necessary status among kindred institutions. A petition for the confirmation of the Bishop's charter was accordingly prepared and despatched to Pope Benedict XIII., who was now holding his Court at Peniscola in the diocese of Tortosa in Spain. It was drawn up in name of the King of Scotland, although still a prisoner in England, and of the Bishop, Prior, Chapter, and Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and narrated in considerable detail the reasons for founding a University in Scotland, its proposed constitution, and the privileges and immunities desired for its various members. The full text of this petition cannot now be found, but a summary of it has been preserved in the papal registers in a form which seems to indicate that nothing essential has been omitted, and that the *ipsissima verba* of the original have for the most part been retained. A complete transcript of this document was printed for the first time in 1906,⁵ but an abstract of it in English had appeared

¹ *Rotuli Scotiae*, vol. ii. pp. 8, 143, 168, 175, 196 ; *Cal. of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. pp. 567, 568, 583, 611, 638 ; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. vii. pp. 354, 360.

² *Cal. of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. pp. 601, 602, 614. He was made Bishop of Moray on April 3, 1422 (Eubel, vol. i. p. 367).

³ *Cal. of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. pp. 568-640 ; *Rotuli Scotiae*, vol. ii. pp. 239-245.

⁴ This is probably the 'John de London, priest, of the diocese of Glasgow,' referred to, in connexion with the vicarage of Forgan, in the *Cal. of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. pp. 594, 601. He died about 1427 (*Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. viii. pp. 100, 370).

⁵ *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. iii. p. 313.

ten years earlier.¹ The petition represents the movement to found a Scottish University as a national one. Not only had the proposal been discussed and approved of in the chapter-house at St. Andrews, but it had also received the support of the three estates of the realm.

The appearance of King James's name at the head of the petition instead of the Duke of Albany's is of special significance. His retention in England must have prevented him from taking any active part in promoting the scheme in his own country; but he appears to have been made acquainted with it by those who had occasional access to him, and to have given it his hearty commendation and support. Bower, indeed, in attributing many virtues to James, credits him with carrying on a vigorous correspondence on behalf of the proposed University, including letters to the Pope himself on the subject of its privileges.²

This petition met with a ready and willing response. Bishop Wardlaw was personally known to the Pope; and besides, Benedict was doubtless anxious to promote the educational interests of a country which had stood by him in all his troubles as one of two, and now of three, claimants to the papal throne. But apart from such considerations, it must have been a source of genuine pleasure to the Pope himself to superintend the preparation of answers to a petition of such weighty import in his now restricted chancery. Benedict was a scholar of repute and a most liberal patron of art and learning. A few years before, he had issued a bull confirming the foundation of a University at Turin; bulls or letters from him figure in the chartularies of at least half a dozen French universities; and he has been called the founder and prime restorer of the University of Salamanca, to which he gave entirely new statutes in 1411. So elaborate, indeed, was Benedict's reply to the request of his Scottish suppliants, that it took the form of no less than six separate and independent bulls containing in all about 5000 words. This plurality of bulls issued by the same Pope and bearing the same date, at the founding of a University, is probably without parallel in the academical history of Europe.³

¹ *Cal. of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. p. 600.

² *Scotichronicon*, l. xvi. c. xxx.

³ In 1332 the University of Cahors received seven bulls from John XXII., but they were issued in four different months. On September 6, 1413, the University of Avignon received nine bulls from John XXIII., and on December 17, 1421, the University of Montpellier received ten from Martin V., but they had no bearing on the founding of these Universities.

Like most documents of their kind, these bulls are a mass of inelegant Latin verbiage, very difficult to reproduce or to condense into readable English. They, nevertheless, yield much substantial information to the student of academical constitution and usage in the days of the pre-Reformation church. Nothing more than a brief allusion to some of their more salient contents can be attempted here.

The first or principal bull, after a few introductory sentences, recapitulates the reasons for the foundation of a Scottish University given in the petition presented to the Pope in name of the King and others. They were the many risks and dangers by land and sea to which Scottish clerks were exposed in quest of instruction in the faculties of Theology, Law, Medicine, and the Liberal Arts; the battles they had to fight, the detentions they had to endure, the broils they had to encounter, and the impediments they had to put up with at the hands of schismatics on their way to the Universities of other countries; and the thought of the many teachable persons in Scotland who were prevented from seeking learning abroad on account of the burdens and expenses it entailed, and who, if a University were established in their own country, would have less difficulty in obtaining the instruction for which they were fitted. Considering these things, the petitioners advocated the foundation of a home University, and they pointed to St. Andrews as a convenient and suitable place for the purpose. It was further stated on behalf of the Bishop, Prior, Archdeacon, and Chapter that if the erection of a *Studium Generale* or *Universitas Studii* in St. Andrews were sanctioned, they were prepared to concede to its members very considerable advantages.

The Pope, being satisfied with the above reasons, and taking into consideration the exemplary devotion of the King and people of Scotland to the Apostolic See, and also reflecting that in St. Andrews and its neighbourhood peace and quietness prevailed, that there was a plentiful supply of provisions and no lack of well-appointed hospices and other conveniences suitable for students, sanctioned the proposal to erect a University there. In so doing he expressed the hope that a city which the divine goodness had so richly adorned would be equally fruitful of knowledge, and would produce men distinguished for their wisdom and virtue as well as for their skill in the doctrines of the various faculties, and that it would be a well-watered fountain of knowledge from whose fulness all might draw who sought to quench their thirst for learning. He thereafter proceeds to

ordain that there should henceforth be in the said city a *Studium Generale* embracing the faculties of Theology, Canon and Civil Law, Arts, and Medicine, and all other lawful faculties. Students who, on completing their courses of study in any of these faculties, wished to be licensed to teach others, were to be examined for the Degree of Master or Doctor. Successful candidates were to be presented to the Bishop of St. Andrews, or to his Vicar General in things temporal and spiritual, or to some other capable and suitable ecclesiastical person selected by the Bishop, or, in the event of the see being vacant, to the Vicar General of the Cathedral Chapter, by whom they were to be admitted to their respective degrees. The examination was to be comprehensive and impartial, and only those who were really fit to teach were to be allowed to graduate. This strictness of examination was specially insisted upon, because it was the Pope's desire that Masters and Doctors of St. Andrews should have the unfettered power of lecturing and teaching not only there but at any other University without further approbation. The bull also provided that the Rector of the University might be a graduate of any of the above-named faculties, but that it was necessary that he should be in holy orders. Finally, it ordained that students were to be free to make wills without exactions of any kind, all claims for fees by officials and ordinaries being declared null and void.

The second bull ratifies and extends Bishop Wardlaw's indulgence in favour of beneficed persons in his diocese, inasmuch as it grants liberty to all such throughout Scotland, whether belonging to the regular or the secular clergy, to study for ten years at the University, and thereafter to lecture there, if so inclined, while continuing to receive the fruits of their benefices. They were taken bound, however, to appoint and to adequately remunerate good and sufficient vicars, so that their benefices might not be defrauded of their just rights, nor the cure of souls be neglected in them. The third bull is for the most part a duplicate of the second. It is addressed to the Abbot of Arbroath, the Provost of the secular and collegiate church of St. Mary in St. Andrews, and the Archdeacon of Galloway, who are empowered to see its provisions carried into effect. They are specially charged not to allow beneficed persons studying or lecturing at St. Andrews to be molested in the enjoyment of their ecclesiastical revenues by ordinaries, chapters, convents, or any other authorities whatsoever. The fourth bull confirms Bishop Ward-

law's charter in all its points and particulars which it recites at full length. The fifth bull is addressed to the Bishop of Brechin, and to the Archdeacons of St. Andrews and Glasgow, whom it appoints conservators of the privileges of the University. Authority is given to any one or more of them to defend the University, if necessary, from all who would seek to interfere with its rights or to molest and injure its members. In the fulfilment of this duty they are to proceed by way of ecclesiastical censure, or, if need be, they are to call to their aid the arm of the secular authority. The sixth and last of the series of bulls has reference to the divided state of the church, and empowers those Scotsmen who had begun their studies at Universities located in countries infected with the stain of schism (that is in countries lying outside the obedience of Benedict himself) to continue their studies at St. Andrews and proceed to degrees there in accordance with the ordinances of the Council of Vienne. Those who had already graduated were to receive other degrees in the same faculties. Any oaths which had been taken at variance with this procedure, as well as all decrees, statutes, and customs to the contrary, were declared to be relaxed.¹

The transmission of these bulls from Peniscola to St. Andrews was entrusted to Henry Ogilvy, who had in all probability been the bearer of the petition to the Pope. Henry Ogilvy (or de Ogilvy), a man of noble lineage, was a priest of the diocese of St. Andrews who had been dispensed as the illegitimate son of a baron. He was a Master of Arts of the University of Paris, and must have been quite a young man at the date of his mission, as his degree had been obtained so recently as 1411. He is afterwards described as a Bachelor of Canon Law. When at Peniscola he obtained from the Pope a grant of the canonry and prebend of Tullynessle in Aberdeenshire. He also had collation of the church of Inveraritie in Forfarshire, about which a suit was then pending in the Roman Court. He likewise held the perpetual vicarage of Tibbermore in Perthshire, and may have been the same Henry de Ogilvy who was rector of the chapel of St. Mary at Freeland, in the parish of Forgandenny, and of Kirkden in Forfarshire. As a member of the Faculty of Arts he was present at a meeting of the faculty held on

¹These bulls were printed by the University Commissioners of 1826 in the volume of 'Evidence' relating to St. Andrews, published in 1837, pp. 171-6. A facsimile of the one confirming Bishop Wardlaw's charter, along with a transcript and a translation, may be seen in part ii. of the *National Manuscripts of Scotland*.

November 29, 1424. He died at the Apostolic See in 1425 as a canon of Brechin.¹

A period of almost two years elapsed between the issue of the foundation charter and the arrival of the papal bulls in St. Andrews. As already mentioned, the charter is dated February 28, 1412; the bulls are dated August 28, 1413, and they did not reach their destination till February 3, 1414. St. Andrews was at that time the most northerly town in Europe in which a University had been founded, and it was also the most distant point to which bulls of similar import had been issued from the papal chancery, whether at Rome or elsewhere. Ogilvy's journey from the east coast of Scotland to and from the south-east coast of Spain must have been a long and hazardous one, the more especially as part of it was performed in winter. There is no record of the route he took, but in all likelihood he would travel between Scotland and France by sea, and through France and Spain by land. The bearer of documents such as those entrusted to his care would scarcely, in the circumstances of the time, risk a journey through England, even if he had obtained a safe-conduct beforehand, of which there is no mention in the *Rotuli*.

Bower, who was in all probability an eye-witness of what he describes, gives a brief but graphic account of the arrival of Ogilvy in St. Andrews, and the events of the next few days. It occurred, he says, on the Morrow of the Purification of Our Lady, which happened to be a Saturday. As soon as the fact of his arrival became known, the sound of bells went forth from all the churches of the town. On the following day, Sunday, a solemn assembly of the whole clergy was held at nine o'clock in the morning in the refectory of the Priory, which had been specially put in order for the purpose. At that assembly the bulls were presented to the Bishop, as Chancellor of the University, and after they had been read in the hearing of all present, the *Te Deum* was sung with melodious voice by the clergy and convent, while moving in procession to the high altar in the Cathedral Church. When the singing had ended the whole assembly knelt and the Bishop of Ross recited the versicle *De Sancto Spiritu* with the collect *Deus qui corda*. The remainder of this eventful Sunday was passed amid scenes of indescribable hilarity, and throughout the whole night huge fires were kept blazing in the streets and

¹ *Auctarium*, vol. ii. cols. 99, 103; *Cal. of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. p. 600; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. vii. p. 405, vol. viii. pp. 391, 549; *Acta Facultatis Artium*.

open places of the town—the people meanwhile regaling themselves with wine. Monday was apparently a day of much needed rest, but a solemn procession was fixed for Tuesday, February 6, in order that the feast of the arrival of the privileges might be celebrated on the same day as the feast of the arrival of the relics of St. Andrew. But who, asks Bower, could easily describe all that took place in that procession—the sweet-toned singing of the clergy, the dancing of the people, the pealing of the bells, the notes of the organs? On the same day the Prior solemnly celebrated the high mass *De Sancto Spiritu*, and the Bishop of Ross preached a sermon *ad clerum*. The bedellus counted in the procession, besides a vast multitude of people, no less than four hundred clergy, besides choir boys and novices. The auspicious event was thus welcomed, as Tytler has remarked, ‘by a boisterous enthusiasm more befitting the brilliant triumphs of war than the quiet and noiseless conquests of science and philosophy.’¹

The last stage of the procedure connected with the founding of the University of St. Andrews had now been reached, and it was at length entitled to take its place on the roll of European *Studia Generalia*. The procedure had been necessarily somewhat slow, but in the meantime the Doctors and Masters already named had not been idle. According to Bower, the first teachers in the University continued their lectures before the confirmation of its privileges for two years and a half. But this period only covers one year more than the interval between the date of the charter and the date of the bulls. If Bower is otherwise correct in his dates, an interval of more than three and a half years must have elapsed between the opening of the University and the arrival of the bulls. Be that as it may, shortly after the receipt of the bulls—probably during the Lent of 1414—a number of students were ready to ‘determine,’ and eleven of them obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts. One of these had been a determinant at Oxford; another was a Bachelor of that University whom the faculty admitted to the corresponding degree of St. Andrews in terms of the sixth papal bull above mentioned. With this first list of graduates the *Liber Conclusionum* of the Faculty of Arts begins, and for many years to come the history of the University, so far as teaching and graduation are concerned, is little more than the annals of that faculty. No separate records of pre-Reformation date of any other faculty have been preserved, and only incidental references to such

¹ *History of Scotland*, 1864 ed., vol. ii. p. 44.

faculties and their officers, students, and graduates are to be met with in the records of the Faculty of Arts, and other contemporary documents. That a Faculty of Divinity and Canon Law (*Facultas Canonum*) existed from the commencement of the University is quite certain, although its history cannot now be traced continuously. Medicine is frequently referred to as a subject of study, but it is doubtful if any organised faculty existed until quite recent times.

It is noteworthy that neither in Bishop Wardlaw's charter nor in Pope Benedict's bulls is there any mention of endowments or of buildings. The initial wealth of the University consisted entirely of its local and general privileges. Its sole income for academical purposes arose from the dues which it exacted from its students and graduands. No provision was made for salaries to its Masters. As Buchanan remarks,¹ the University owed its beginning more to the willingness of learned men to offer themselves to the profession of letters than to any public or private patronage. The first Masters were not, of course, altogether unrewarded, for they were allowed to hold benefices, and were dispensed from personally performing the duties attached to them so long as they were engaged in teaching. In the Faculty of Arts this system would soon come to an end, because in a few years the supply of competent regent Masters would be greater than the demand. In the Faculty of Theology and Canon Law, on the other hand, the Masters would usually be men of middle age who derived their chief income from parish churches or other preferments.

It has been the custom of some writers on the University to assert that these early Masters read their lectures in a wooden building situated where St. Mary's College now stands. This statement has found, it is to be hoped, a last resting-place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.² It is difficult to account for the origin of so strange a notion. It may have arisen from the circumstance that on May 11, 1406, Bishop Wardlaw obtained from Henry IV. of England a safe-conduct for two ships bringing timber from Prussia for church-building purposes.³ Bishop Russell suggested that the word 'church' might have slipped into this document instead of 'university.'⁴ In 1406, however, a university had not been thought of for St. Andrews, whereas about that time

¹ *Historia*, l. x. c. xviii.

² Vol. lix. p. 353.

³ *Rotuli Scotiae*, vol. ii. p. 178.

⁴ Keith, *Scottish Bishops*, p. 28.

extensive repairs were being carried out on the woodwork of the cathedral,¹ and the Bishop may also have been preparing for the erection of the new parish church, which is almost exactly the same age as the University.

In the matter of buildings St. Andrews was no worse off than many other mediaeval universities. For a long time the University of Paris had no home of its own. Each Master was at liberty to teach where he pleased. When a Nation or a faculty found it necessary to deliberate about something it met in the cloister, or in the refectory, of a convent. Larger assemblies were held in a church.² The same thing happened at St. Andrews. The Masters opened halls or pedagogies in different parts of the town. The Faculty of Arts met seventeen times between 1414 and 1432, 'apud Sanctum Leonardum,' most likely in the church. It also met in other places until it was provided with a house of its own. The more solemn meetings of the whole University were held in the refectory of the Priory, where the papal bulls were first read, and the Rector was usually elected there.

That the University of St. Andrews justified its existence from the first is not open to question. It may not have grown so phenomenally as Boece's phrase 'excrevit in immensum' might lead one to suppose. On the other hand, it would not be fair to measure the number of its students by the modest lists of graduates in Arts that have survived. For one thing, it stopped the flow of Scottish students to foreign countries. Before St. Andrews University was ten years old, although the schism had been healed, the Scottish student had disappeared from Paris. This is vouched for by the learned editors of the *Auctarium*, who say (vol. ii. p. v.): 'Scoti omnes circa an. 1420 urbem deseruerunt, excepto uno Rogero de Edinburg, qui ipse an. 1429 ultimus Scotus defunctus est.'

The story of the last years of the great papal schism as it affected Scotland has still to be written. This is not to be wondered at, as until lately printed sources of information were very limited, and the subject is one which does not perhaps attract many students of history. A good deal of the necessary information must still be sought for in the Vatican or other archives, but enough has been printed to enable anyone with a little research to supplement very considerably the narrative of the *Scotichronicon*.³

¹ *Scotichronicon*, l. vi. c. lv.

² Liard, *L'Université de Paris*, p. 11.

³ In spite of a few minor errors of fact and date, Mr. A. Francis Steuart's paper on 'Scotland and the Papacy during the Great Schism,' in the *Scottish Historical*

In this article it is impossible to deal with the matter even cursorily. But as the University of St. Andrews was one good fruit of the schism, and was mixed up with it to the end, the subject cannot be passed over altogether.

Reference has already been made to the hostile attitude taken up by the University of Paris against Benedict XIII. in 1408.¹ Benedict was not the kind of man to suffer abuse from any quarter without retaliation. So, on October 21, 1409, he 'anathematized and cursed, deprived, condemned, and annulled the whole Parisian University.'² It was a period without parallel in the annals of the modern world. 'There were now three Kings of the Romans even as there were three Popes. There were thus three heads of the temporal world and three heads of the spiritual world in Christendom. Those faithful souls who regarded the Pope as the sun and the Emperor as the moon must have been sore dismayed when they beheld three suns and three moons in the firmament at once. Once before, in 1046, there had been three Popes simultaneously; once before, in 1347, there had been three who claimed to be Kings of the Romans; but never before had there been three Popes and three Kings of the Romans at one and the same time, and the like was never to happen again.'³ The struggle of the rival emperors came to an end with the success of King Sigismund; but the struggle of the rival popes went merrily on. Scotland being content with Benedict, did little more than steadily adhere to him, and it was only when the calling of another council had been resolved upon by Sigismund and John XXIII. that Scotsmen were urgently summoned to join the fray.

Scotland had taken no part in the Council of Pisa in 1409,

Review, vol. iv. pp. 144-158, is an interesting and instructive contribution to the study of the subject.

¹ *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. viii. p. 229.

² *Archiv für Literatur- u. Kirchengeschichte*, bd. iii. p. 647; Fages, *Notes et documents de l'Histoire de Saint Vincent Ferrier*, p. 154. Strong language and personal abuse were in vogue all round. 'Benedictus' became 'Maledictus.' By another play upon his name his followers were known as 'Lunatici.' Gregory XII., John XXIII., and the Emperor Sigismund received similar treatment. Even yet hard things are constantly being written about Benedict. In the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* he is met with as 'an extraordinarily skilful, adroit, and unscrupulous antagonist.' A Provençal writer, in the course of a few pages, contrives to call him an intriguer, a dissimulator, and a knave; and to describe him as crafty, subtle, proud, and obstinate (Ch. Martin, *Lou Castèu e lei Papo d'Avignon*, pp. 68-85).

³ Kitts, *Pope John the Twenty-Third*, p. 62.

but Simon de Mandeville, Archdeacon of Glasgow, attended the Council held by Benedict at Perpignan in 1408-9, 'pro rege et regno Scotie,'¹ while Thomas de Butill was present at the subsequent Council held by Benedict at the same place. At any rate he was at San Mateo, in the diocese of Tortosa, on October 1, 1414, when Benedict prorogued that Council till the first Sunday after Easter, 1415.²

While Scotland stood practically solid in its adherence to Benedict, there are nevertheless some indications that it contained a few supporters of the Roman pontiff. The monk of Saint-Denys³ asserts in a general way that when the roads that led to Rome had become safe, adherents of Pope John XXIII. at once set out from England, Scotland, and other countries to attend the Council which he had summoned to be held there in 1412. It may be questioned if anyone really went from Scotland. In the end of the year the University of Paris advised the Pope to prorogue the Roman Council and to despatch embassies to Spain, Aragon, Scotland, and other regions outwith his obedience, to induce them to send ambassadors to the Council. The Pope agreed to do so, and the embassy to Spain was sent on May 18, 1413. Nothing is known of a similar embassy to Scotland.⁴

On April 8, 1414, the University of Paris despatched John of Austria,⁵ Master of Arts and Professor of Theology, to Scotland.

¹ *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte*, bd. vii. pp. 671, 691. Simon de Mandeville, described as of noble birth, was a nephew of Matthew Glendoning, Bishop of Glasgow. He graduated Master of Arts at Paris in 1394, and in 1406 was lecturing on Civil and Canon Law at Orleans. In answer to petitions he obtained grants of various benefices from Benedict, and while at Perpignan, where he is styled papal chaplain and Doctor of Canon and Civil Law, the pope, *motu proprio*, added to the number and dispensed him to hold more; but he never returned to Scotland, having died at the court of Benedict in 1409. He appears to have been in Scotland in 1407, and to have left again in 1408. *Chartularium*, vol. iv. pp. 73, 109; *Auctarium*, vol. i. cols. 689, 690; *Cal. of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. pp. 583-639; *Cal. of Documents relating to Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 149, 155.

² Finke, *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, bd. i. p. 339.

³ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, vol. iv. p. 730.

⁴ Finke, *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, bd. i. p. 156.

⁵ Johannes Mullechner, better known as John of Austria, entered the University of Paris in the direst poverty. He was unable to pay any of the fees due at the various stages of his Arts course. Yet he rose to be one of the most prominent members of the University in his day. He is last mentioned in the records of his Nation as its chosen spokesman before the Emperor Sigismund when he visited the University of Paris in 1416. His is one of the names most frequently mentioned in the *Chartularium*, vols. iii., iv., and in the *Auctarium*, vols. i., ii.

He was accompanied by John Gray,¹ a Scotsman, Master in Medicine as well as in Arts, as representing the King of France, and probably by others. The University's instructions to the leader of this embassy have been preserved and printed.² He was to travel through England, with a safe-conduct, and if possible obtain an interview with the captive King of Scotland, and briefly explain to him the purpose of the embassy. He was then to go to Scotland and see the Duke of Albany and other powerful nobles and prelates, and endeavour to arrange for a meeting of the three estates in order that the intention of the University of Paris might be explained in detail. At the same time he was to ask the University to be excused for not sending a more imposing embassy, and to point out the cause that had prevented this from being done. Further, if it seemed good to him, he was to plead, as an excuse for his failure to send letters to the University of St. Andrews, that the University of Paris had not yet been fully informed concerning the founding of a university at St. Andrews. If it had been so, letters would certainly have been written. Its members were to be asked to help and direct him in his business—the main object of which was to secure a good representation from Scotland at the forthcoming Council of Constance. This was the proposal he was to make to a general assembly of the estates if they could be got together. Failing that, he was to deal with the nobles and prelates individually as he could find them. As little as possible was to be said about the Council of Pisa. His chief duty was to induce

¹ John Gray was Master of Arts of Paris of 1374, and Master of Medicine in 1395, also of Paris, where he lived for many years, and was Dean of the latter faculty in 1413. He was evidently a man of affairs, as he was sent on several embassies by the Kings of France and Scotland. He had the misfortune, however, to be the son of a married man and a nun, a circumstance which troubled him through life, and at one time led him to commit perjury. Four popes granted him dispensation, rehabilitation, or absolution in the course of his career. He had a perfect mania for benefices, and obtained a fair share of them in France as well as in Scotland. *Plures canonicatus quaesivit* has been written of him, and he did not ask in vain. In the end Eugenius IV. dispensed him to hold any benefices, with or without cure, of any number and kind compatible with one another, even if canonries, prebends, or dignities, and to resign them all, simply or for exchange, as often as he pleased. *Auctarium*, vol. i. col. 451, etc.; Jourdain, *Index Chartarum*, pp. 198, 215; *Chartularium*, vol. iv. p. 263, etc.; *Cal. of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i. pp. 592, 606, 636; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vols. vii., viii. passim; *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. iv. pp. xlix. 163, 676; *Reg. Mag. Sig.* vol. ii. p. 27; *Cal. of Documents relating to Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 213; Finke, *Acta Concilii Constantiensis*, bd. i. p. 349.

² Jourdain, *Index Chartarum*, p. 232.

them to send a grave and dignified company to Constance, and to impress upon them the good that was likely to flow from such a course and the evil that might result from its neglect. As an inducement he was to set forth the labours undertaken by the University of Paris in the matter of a united and universal church, all which might move them to join a Council through which, by the Divine help, full and perfect peace in the whole church might be attained. Finally, he was directed to offer a friendly greeting to the University of St. Andrews, and to bring back the replies he obtained in writing.

On the same occasion the University of Paris sent an 'Epistola Consolatoria' to King James, in which the University, while deploring his odious captivity, sought to comfort him with the reflection that even greater misfortunes had befallen some of the most illustrious rulers of the ancient world. With much unctious and scriptural allusion, the University went on to remind the King that things spiritual were of more concern than things temporal, and called upon him to play his part in bringing about the splendour of ecclesiastical peace by helping to put the church under one undoubted head. He was also made acquainted with the despatch of messengers to the governor, prelates, and people of his kingdom.¹

In September, 1414, it was reported to Benedict, by some of his adherents in Paris, that ambassadors had been sent to Scotland and elsewhere to obtain adherence to the Council of Constance. In the same document Scottish students in Paris, to the number of twenty and upwards, petitioned to be allowed by Benedict to continue their studies there, or at other French universities, and to be afforded facilities for proceeding to degrees in Arts. Benedict's answer to this petition is interesting. Scottish magistrands were to be authorised to receive the degree of Master of Arts, publicly in Scotland, from the Bishop of St. Andrews after producing evidence that they had completed the necessary courses at Paris. Alternatively, authority would be committed to someone adhering to Benedict to confer the degree upon such magistrands at Paris, but in this case it was to be done in private.²

The Council of Constance was opened on November 5, 1414. The attendance was small and unrepresentative. Nevertheless,

¹ *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. iv. p. 285.

² Finke, *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, bd. i. p. 351.

the Council turned out to be the most brilliant assemblage of clergy and laity ever witnessed in mediaeval Europe. Scotland officially held aloof from the Council, but individual Scotsmen found their way there all the same.¹ Among them was Finlay de Albania, Bachelor of Theology, a Dominican Friar, Provincial of the Order in Scotland, and special confessor to Robert, Duke of Albany, governor of the realm. How he came to be at Constance is not at all clear, but that he was there is made certain by the diary of Cardinal Fillastre. In 1416 he was sent to Scotland as an ambassador of the Council, to invite and exhort the King and the Governor, as well as the clergy and nobles, to send representatives to the Council to aid in procuring the union of the church. He duly fulfilled his mission and the letters of which he was the bearer were published at St. Andrews, in presence of Bishop Wardlaw and a great gathering of clergy, nobles, and people.

The University and the clergy appear to have made no response to the Council's appeal; but the Governor wrote a letter to the Council dated from his castle of Doune, November 4, 1416. He acknowledged receipt of the communication which Finlay had brought to him; assured the Council that nothing lay nearer his heart than the promotion of union and the extirpation of strife with its evil consequences; and explained that he had intended to send ambassadors to the Council but that many impediments had come in his way, not the least of these being the constant risks of wars, plunderings, and other calamities between Scotland and England. He promised to send ambassadors at the earliest opportunity and to empower them to do everything they could to procure the peace and reform of the church; and he invoked the Divine power to strengthen and prosper the efforts that were being made to reach the happy issue of a holy and salutary union of the mother church.

Finlay was forthwith sent back to Constance with the Governor's letter, which also empowered him to inform the Council more fully of the position of affairs in Scotland. Finlay's account of the result of his mission to Scotland was heard by the Council on January 4, 1417. When the Governor's letter was read, an unnamed English doctor spoke in praise of the King of Scotland

¹ In Richental's *Chronik des Constanzer Concils* there are various references to the presence of Scotsmen; and Kitts may be trusted to have authority for saying that 'at the tables outside the inns sat scholars from Prague or Heidelberg, singing songs of the fatherland, while stern English or Scotch knights looked stolidly on' (*Pope John the Twenty-third*, p. 248).

(*Scotie*) 'and always called him King of Scots (*Scotorum*).' No other reply was made, for the reason that Finlay was not the ambassador of the King but of the Council.¹

It may be added here that on the accession of Pope Martin V., Finlay de Albania and Griffin Yonge, Bishop of Ross, were sent to Scotland as papal nuncios to receive the fealty and obedience of the King and country, and to grant absolutions and dispensations of the usual kind to those who needed them. Finlay afterwards became Bishop of Argyll, but soon fell into disgrace and fled to Ireland, where he died. On May 13, 1426, Martin V. issued a mandate to the Bishops of St. Andrews and Dunblane authorising them to inquire into his conduct and send the result to the Pope, who had been informed by the King that Finlay had given counsel and aid to traitors and rebels, and was so much hated by the clergy and laity of his diocese that he could not be tolerated in those parts without grave scandal.²

For the first five years of its existence as a corporate body the Faculty of Arts at St. Andrews was fully occupied in the administration of its own internal affairs. It was not until 1418 that it took part in a matter of national concern. This was none other than the withdrawal of obedience from Benedict XIII. and its transference to Martin V.³ Benedict had been deposed by the Council of Constance on July 26, 1417, and Martin had been elected Pope on November 11 following.⁴ Scotland was now the only country that in any real sense remained faithful to Benedict, and a strong effort was accordingly made to win it over to the majority and so finally put an end to the great papal schism. Scotland was still unrepresented at the Council, and so

¹H. von der Hardt, *Rerum Concilii Constantiensis*, tom. iv. p. 1086; Lenfant, *Histoire du Concile de Constance*, tom. i. p. 603, tom. ii. p. 3; Finke, *Forschungen u. Quellen zur Geschichte des Konstanzer Konzils*, p. 186.

²*Scotichronicon*, l. xvi. c. x.; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica*, vol. i. p. 251; *Calendar of Papal Letters*, vol. vii. pp. 6, 69, 473.

³In taking this step St. Andrews was simply following the example of the University of Paris, which had become a power in the State and lost no opportunity of making its presence felt. That University intervened in all public feuds and gave judgment at one time for the Pope and at another time for the King. Its ambassadors sought to direct the Councils of Pisa and Constance, and to make the University the arbiter of the papacy by pronouncing upon the rival pretensions to the heritage of St. Peter (Liard, *L'Université de Paris*, p. 14).

⁴On December 3 Martin wrote to King James, informing him of his election. Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. ix. p. 523.

the Abbot of Pontigny was despatched to Scotland, in 1417, for the special purpose of securing the adhesion of the Scottish Church to the Council, and of effecting the withdrawal of its obedience from Benedict. He duly arrived and expounded his twofold mission in a speech of great eloquence before the Governor and three estates of the kingdom at Perth.¹ About the same time the Emperor Sigismund wrote from Paris to the Governor and three estates, urging them to send procurators to the Council, so that Scotland might be represented in it as well as other countries.² Meanwhile Benedict was looking sharply after his own interests. He wrote a letter to the Governor and three estates entreating them to persevere in their obedience to him. He had a firm adherent in the Duke of Albany, who appointed an English Franciscan friar named Robert Harding, Master in Theology, to take up the cause of the church on behalf of Benedict. This he did with great vigour in numerous disputations and speeches. But all his eloquence and sophistry failed to uphold the waning cause of Benedict. The whole University of St. Andrews rose up against Harding, says Bower. Supported by the Governor, however, he attacked the University and heaped abuse upon its members both orally and in writing. They in their turn gave as good as they received.³

The attitude taken up by the Masters of the University may at first sight seem strange and ungrateful, but it was the only course left open to them to pursue. The restoration of unity to the church had now become the one great question of the day, and it was abundantly clear that this could not be accomplished through any of the three rival popes. John XXIII. had been deposed by the Council of Constance as early as May 29, 1415, and Gregory XII. had abdicated on July 4 of the same year. For the next two years every effort had been put forth to induce Benedict to withdraw his claims and so restore peace, but he remained obdurate, and sentence of deposition had at last to be pronounced.

¹ John de Bienville, Doctor of Theology, was the thirty-second abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Pontigny in the diocese of Auxerre. He joined the Council of Constance in 1414. Boece says of him that he was renowned for the greatness of his erudition and the sanctity of his life. After fulfilling his mission to Scotland, he is understood to have proceeded to England to transact business connected with the affairs of his order (*Scotichronicon*, l. xv. c. xxiv.; Boece, *Scotorum Historiae*, l. xvi.; Martene et Durand, *Thes. Nov. Anec.* vol. iii. col. 1259; *Gallia Christiana*, vol. xii. col. 450).

² *Scotichronicon*, l. xv. c. xxiv.

³ *Scotichronicon*, l. xv. c. xxiv.

Scotland had adhered to the Avignon anti-popes from the outbreak of the schism in 1378, but now that it was all but healed, after a long conflict of nearly forty years, further adherence to the line of Anagni would have been unjustifiable. There was doubtless much personal sympathy with Benedict in his disappointments and misfortunes among the members of the University, most of whom were indebted to him for the positions in the church which they held.¹ But the strong desire for peace, for a reunited church, and for the suppression of Lollardism and other heresies, outweighed all private and personal considerations, and the Masters of the University made up their minds to advise the country to acquiesce in the decrees of the Council of Constance. This determination was officially carried into effect at a meeting of the Faculty of Arts held at St. Leonard's on August 9, 1418, when it was concluded that obedience ought to be withdrawn from 'Peter de Luna, formerly known as Benedict.' With a few exceptions, every Master in the Faculty formally withdrew his obedience from Benedict and transferred it to Martin. The meeting then proceeded to appoint a deputy to appear before a council and, in presence of the Governor and three estates of the realm, to make known the decision of the Faculty with the view of inducing the Governor and the whole council to solemnly celebrate withdrawal of obedience from Peter de Luna and to proclaim the obedience of the Scottish Church to Pope Martin V.—the solemn act of withdrawal to be postponed to a general council out of respect for the Governor and whole kingdom. In case the Governor might not wish to withdraw obedience from Peter de Luna, but, on the contrary, might wish to persevere in it and to send ambassadors to him, the Faculty took upon itself the duty of celebrating the withdrawal.

The whole question of the relation of Scotland to the new Pope was debated on October 2 or 3, 1418, in a general council of the three estates of the realm held at Perth. There Harding made a final stand on behalf of Benedict, in a lengthy harangue in which he made use of all the arts of mediæval rhetoric. He was opposed by the deputy from St. Andrews, Master John Elwold, Rector of the University, and by other eminent theologians, who declared his conclusions to be scandalous and seditious, savouring strongly of heresy, fruitful of schism, and anything but conducive

¹ It is rather remarkable that not one of the men associated with the founding of the University, nor one of its first teachers, is named as having taken part in the proceedings connected with the withdrawal of obedience from Benedict.

to the unity of the church. Master John Fogo was also conspicuous in his hostility to Harding. The debate appears to have been carried on with much bitterness on both sides, but in the end the counsels of the University prevailed and Scotland withdrew its obedience from Benedict and adhered to Martin. The records of the Faculty of Arts contain no further allusion to the matter except that on October 10, 1418, it was agreed, as a mark of favour and goodwill, that the Rector should have ten shillings for his expenses in attending the general council at Perth.

There is no mention of Elwold as Rector in any University document, and his name had not been known to the compiler of a list of rectors drawn up about 1533. Nevertheless, Bower is almost certain to be correct in attributing this distinction to him. John Elwold, or Elwald, was a determinant in Arts of the University of Paris in 1399, and a Licentiate in the same year. This achievement was an uncommon occurrence at the time, the usual interval between these degrees being from two to three years. He began to lecture in 1400, and took an active part in the affairs of the English Nation until 1406, when he may have returned to Scotland. He was twice elected Procurator of his Nation in 1401, and while in office he drew attention to the fact that its members were not getting their proper share of bursaries at the Sorbonne. He held one himself, and appears to have been successful in his efforts on behalf of other 'supposts.' In 1401 and 1402 several of his own countrymen determined under him. He is last heard of at Paris as one of three provisors for the feast of St. Edmund, appointed on November 11, 1406. Very little information is available as to his career in Scotland. He is doubtless the John Elwalde who figures in the index to volume vii. of the *Calendar of Papal Letters* as 'canon of Glasgow, rector of Markinch and vicar of Selkirk Regis, afterwards rector of Kirkandrews and Kirkinner, with the rectory of Markinch *in commendam*.' The two entries in the text of the volume relate to the year 1423, and describe Elwold as Licentiate of Theology as well as Master of Arts. They afford a good example of the complicated manner in which ecclesiastical benefices were wont to be given, resigned, or exchanged.¹

John Fogo, whom Bower calls 'magister in sacra pagina,' and Boece 'sacrarum literarum professor,' may have been a member of the Faculty of Theology at St. Andrews. He was at this

¹ *Scotichronicon*, l. xv. c. xxiv.; *Auctarium*, vol. i. cols. 790-934; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. vii. pp. 251, 269.

time a monk of the Cistercian abbey of Melrose, of which he became abbot between 1422 and 1425. On June 9 of the latter year he was, as Abbot of Melrose, included in the embassy of the King of Scotland to the Roman court. On January 8, 1426, and again on January 8, 1430, he is styled the King's confessor. As already noted, he was concerned in the trial of Paul Craw, at St. Andrews, on July 23, 1433, while on November 30 of the same year he and a number of other Scotsmen had a safe-conduct to the Council of Basel. About the same period Fogo crossed swords with Laurence of Lindores on a question of international policy, with the result that he was summoned to St. Andrews by the redoubtable inquisitor, where he was speedily convinced of the hollowness of his arguments. Fogo appears to have held the abbacy of Melrose till 1440 or later.¹

These proceedings did not quite settle the question of obedience. Benedict had still a number of sympathisers in the country sufficient to encourage Harding to carry on an agitation in his behalf. But on July 11, 1419, a bull was issued by Martin condemning the errors of Harding and empowering Laurence of Lindores, as inquisitor for Scotland, to seize and detain him. In the event of his retracting his errors, and humbly and publicly seeking pardon, he was to go unpunished, after being gently admonished by Laurence; but if he remained obstinate and refused to walk in the light, he was to be dealt with according to use and wont in such cases.² On the same day the Pope wrote thanking the doctors and masters of the University for the stand they had taken against Harding, and calling upon them to aid the inquisitor in finally putting him and his supporters to silence. Fogo is said to have been energetic in procuring these bulls, and would seem to have been the messenger who brought them from Florence, where the Pope was holding his court. Shortly after their arrival Harding suddenly took ill and died at Lanark.³ With his demise

¹ *Scotichronicon*, l. xv. cc. xxiv., xxv.; l. xvi. cc. xxiii., xxiv.; Boece, *Scotorum Historiae*, l. xvii.; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. vii. p. 214; Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. x. pp. 344, 537; *Reg. Mag. Sig.* vol. ii. pp. 6, 29; *Liber de Melros*, pp. 493-574; Morton, *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 236.

² Boece's information is that if Harding had not made his escape by flight he would have been burned as a heretic (*Historiae*, l. xvi.). Of all the persons named in the early annals of the University, Harding is the most obscure. Bower appears to be the sole contemporary authority for what is known about him. I find no trace of his name in any printed academical or papal register.

³ *Scotichronicon*, l. xv. cc. xxiv., xxv. Notarial (but obviously not quite accurate) copies of these bulls are preserved in the University Library at St. Andrews. I

all serious opposition to Martin ceased, and Scotland was for the time ecclesiastically at peace.

Among existing universities St. Andrews stands about twenty-ninth in the order of foundation. If regard were had to unbroken continuity, it would stand about twentieth. The careers of nine or ten of its predecessors have been chequered. Some of them were in abeyance for long periods, or lapsed altogether and had to be refounded. St. Andrews University has occasionally been dispersed for a few months on account of plague or the unsettled state of the country, but, so far as is known, its doors have never been closed for a complete academical year. In another aspect of chronology it is worth noting that the University of St. Andrews was the last of ten universities founded during the Great Schism, which began in 1378 and ended in 1417. Three of these are now German universities, two are Italian, one is Hungarian, one French, and one Scottish, while two are extinct. The following is the list, with the names of the popes who confirmed their foundation, and the dates of their respective bulls :

Erfurt, Clement VII., September 18, 1379.

Heidelberg, Urban VI., October 23, 1385.

Cologne, Urban VI., May 21, 1388.

Budapest, Boniface IX. (month and day unknown), 1389.

Ferrara, Boniface IX., March 4, 1391.

Würzburg, Boniface IX., December 10, 1402.

Turin, Benedict XIII., October 27, 1404.

Leipsic, Alexander V., September 9, 1409.

Aix-en-Provence, Alexander V., December 9, 1409.

St. Andrews, Benedict XIII., August 28, 1413.

Of these ten universities, seven were founded by Roman popes and three by Avignon anti-popes ; but St. Andrews is the only one whose foundation rests solely on the bull of an anti-pope. The Avignon anti-popes were Clement VII. and Benedict XIII. Clement's bull in favour of Erfurt could not be put into execution on account of the troubled state of the times, and within a few years the city transferred its obedience to Urban VI. On May 4, 1389, another bull of erection was obtained from Urban, in which no reference is made to the earlier bull of

made transcripts of them so long ago as 1888 and now print them as appendices to this article. The bull addressed to Laurence of Lindores is partly printed in the *Scotichronicon* ; the one addressed to the University has not, so far as I know, been printed before.

Clement. This new bull may have been applied for merely as a matter of policy, or for greater security, but it made no difference in the year from which the University of Erfurt dated its foundation. A similar delay was caused by wars in the case of Turin, and meanwhile Savoy and Piedmont had gone over to the Roman obedience. A new bull was accordingly applied for from John XXIII., and obtained on August 1, 1412. The University of Turin, however, still dates its birth from the bull of Benedict. There was turmoil in Scotland as well as on the Continent, but the kingdom adhered to Benedict till the formal close of the schism. Thereafter no effort was ever made to obtain a re-foundation of the University of St. Andrews at the hands of a Roman pontiff. Such a step was entirely unnecessary, and fees paid to the papal chancery for such a purpose would have been good money utterly wasted. All the same, it has been a source of concern to not a few that the University of St. Andrews was not founded by a 'legitimate' pope. But there never was the slightest cause for anxiety on that account. Within their respective obediences Clement and Benedict were perfectly legitimate popes, and their bulls were just as valid as those issued by their rivals.¹ When at last Scotland withdrew its obedience from Benedict XIII., and transferred it to Martin V., the new pope raised no question whatever as to the validity of the University of St. Andrews, although it was founded by men whom he believed to have been steeped in schism. On the contrary, and at the earliest opportunity (July 11, 1419), he greeted its doctors and masters as his beloved sons, and sent them his apostolic benediction. It was the same with all Benedict's other transactions in Scotland. Nothing was upset or interfered with, while many of his grants and dispensations, without being questioned, were confirmed or renewed by Martin. Benedict's arms have held their place on the common seal of the University

¹ It was clearly impossible for anyone living at the time of the schism to know with certainty who was the true pope. Much has been written on the subject since, but it remains an open question still. As to that Protestant and Catholic writers are at one. Thus in Hook's *Church Dictionary* (1896), it is said that 'as to the fact which of the two rivals was pope and which anti-pope, it is impossible even now to decide.' The *Catholic Dictionary* of Addis and Arnold (1897) does not go quite so far, but is constrained to allow that 'even now it is not perhaps absolutely certain who was pope and who anti-pope.' It is significant also that in the list of anti-popes drawn up by Cardinal Hergenröther, Prefect of the Apostolic Archives, and adopted by the *Catholic Encyclopedia* at present in course of publication, the name of Peter de Luna does not occur.

from its foundation until now. They are believed to have been removed from the mace of the Faculty of Arts by Archbishop Spottiswoode, to make room for his own as Chancellor. When, in 1905, ensigns armorial for the University were, for the first time, designed and matriculated, the silver crescent reversed of Peter de Luna was given a prominent position between the gold mascles of Henry Wardlaw. Underneath, a red lion rampant recalls the name and title of another founder—all three of them men who did well for St. Andrews and for Scotland. The lamp which they lit five centuries ago has never gone out: in spite of its age, it burns brighter to-day than it ever did before.

J. MAITLAND ANDERSON.

APPENDICES

- A. Bulla Martini Laurencio de Lundoris, heretice pravitatis Inquisitori, contra fratrem Robertum Harding concessa.

Martinus episcopus servus servorum Dei dilecto filio Laurencio de Lundoris, licenciato in theologia, in regno Scocie heretice pravitatis Inquisitori, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Inter precipuas sollicitudines regiminis ecclesie ex injuncto divinitus nobis officio salutis gregis dominici propensius intendere et fervencius invigilare debemus, hec nobis incumbit cura potissima ut errores et scandala omnemque eiusdem gregis infectivam doctrinam prorsus abjicere et funditus extirpare conemur. Cum igitur ad nostrum fidedignorum relacione ac fama publica referente devenerit nuper auditum, quod in regno Scocie quidam frater Robertus Hardyng, de ordine Minorum, plures articulos falsos, scandalosos, sediciosos, auriumque piarum offensivos, et quosdam ex ipsis erroneos ac heresim sapientes, quorum fecimus inferius describi tenores, publice dogmatizare, asserere, predicare, defendere non veretur. Nos volentes talibus scandalis obviare, et ne tales perdurare aut succrescere contingit errores, prout ex injuncti nobis officii pastoralis obligatione tenemur providere, cupientes discrecioni de qua in his et aliis fiduciam gerimus in Domino specialem, committimus et apostolica auctoritate presencium tenore mandamus quatinus prefatum fratrem Robertum, ubicumque eciam intra loca sacra vel alia quacumque immunitate gaudencia repertum, capias seu capi et detineri facias, ipsumque caritative moneas et requiras quatinus a predictis dogmatizatione, assercione, predicacione, et affirmatione penitus desistens, predictos articulos et doctrinam in eis contentam publice et cum debita solemnitate revocet, contrariamque illis erroribus fateatur veritatem, petendo penitenciam et gratiam de commissis, quas si humiliter et publice pecierit nostra auctoritate concedi volumus et jubemus. Si vero, quod absit, ab hujusmodi erroribus respiscere et in lucem ambulare noluerit, sed in tenebris permanere, contra ipsum eiusque sequaces et fautores si qui sint, summarie, simpliciter, et de

plano sine strepitu et figura iudicii, ipsis et aliis que fuerunt vocandi vocatis procedas eciam ex officio prout in talibus est fieri consuetum, contradictores quoslibet et rebelles, per censuram ecclesiasticam et alia juris remedia oportuna compellendo. Testes autem qui fuerunt nominati si se gracia, odio, favore, vel amore subtraxerint censura simili compellas veritati testimonium perhibere, quoniam in premissis omnibus et singulis tibi ex eis plenam et omnimodam concedimus dicta auctoritate facultatem, constitutionibus et ordinacionibus apostolicis, ac de duabus dictis in concilio generali necnon statutis et consuetudinibus ac privilegiis dicto Roberto, vel quibusvis aliis, ab apostolica sede concessis, eciam si de ipsis et totis eorum tenoribus habenda sit in nostris literis mentio specialis et aliis contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Predictorum vero articulorum tenor sequitur et est talis :—

Primus articulus. Si Benedictus cederet, daret occasionem suis subditis eterne damnationis.

Secundus. Secundum justum juris ordinem, prius debet fieri restitucio Benedicto quam ipse teneatur cedere.

Tercius. Si post Concilium Constanciense Benedictus fuerit notorie negligens, prelati Scocie habent jus ad procedendum ad monendum et abscindendum ipsum, si sit incorrigibilis ; quo casu dato, per ipsos Benedicto preciso, ipsi prelati qui sunt de obediencia Benedicti habent jus eligendi papam unicum.

Quartus. [Quod] post negligenciam notoriam et incorrigibilem Benedicti et abscisionem ejusdem, ecclesia Scoticana tenetur, propter omne dubium removendum papatus in Martino, primo eidem jus papatus exhibere et deinde obedienciam sub inferre.

Quintus. Quia damnavit Concilium Constanciense, et quod ibi existentes non potuerunt facere unionem in ecclesia Dei, sed tantum illi de regno Scocie sicut exemplum dedit de elephante.

Sextus. Quod aliqui de regno Scocie, prevenientes suos fratres, Martino obedientes, sunt filii diaboli et viperis similes ; et sequitur similis assercio quod illi qui receperunt beneficia a Benedicto, postea adherentes Martino, sunt similes scorpionibus, et hoc secundum duplicem proprietatem.

Septimus. Quod quamdiu Johannes vivit incarceratus non erit unio in ecclesia Dei sine suspicione.

Octavus. Post negligenciam notoriam Benedicti, jus ecclesie universalis descendit in membra obediencie ejus.

Nonus. [Quod] soli illi de obediencia Benedicti sunt catholici, et omnes alii scismatici et heretici.

Decimus. [Quod] Benedictus non fuit negligens quoad illa [quae] respiciunt unionem ecclesie, nec in Concilio Constanciensi nec tempore precedente.

Datum Florencie quinto idus Julii pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

B. Bulla Martini Universitati pro assistencia prestanda Inquisitori heretice pravitatis concessa.

Martinus episcopus servus servorum Dei dilectis filiis magistris, doctoribus, et Universitati Studii Sanctiandree salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Miliciam quam ut boni constantesque Cristiane fidei defensores contra erraneos et scandalosos articulos fratris Roberti Hardyng laudabiliter suscepistis in Domino commendamus. Et quamvis ex ipso facto vos et vestrum quilibet a Domino nostro Jesu Christo procul dubio premia sperare possitis, tamen et nos qui non nostris meritis, sed divina clementia disponente, gerimus vices suas in terris vobis graciaram condignas referimus acciones caritatem vestram hortantes quatinus dilecto filio Laurencio de Lundoris, heretice pravitatis in regno Scocie Inquisitori, cui caritativam monicionem ipsius Roberti si resipiscere velit, et eciam correccionem si in malo perseverit, commisimus ut in nostris literis latius patet, oportunis favoribus, consiliis, et auxiliis assistatis, et ita super his et aliis fidem prefatam ac nostrum et dicte ecclesie statum, et insuper vestrum honorem concernentibus, vos gratis ut vestra possit devotio apud nos et sedem apostolicam non immerito commendari, nosque et ipsa sedes proni ad ea que universitatis vestre respiciunt incrementa, vestris hoc exigentibus meritis laudabilibus efficiamur quotidie proniores. Datum Florencie quinto idus Julii pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

Two Ballads on Viscount Dundee

THESE contemporary ballads on Dundee have escaped notice, and though their literary value is of the smallest, they possess a certain historical interest.

'The Scotch Protestants Courage' comes from the Pepysian collection. It falsifies the facts about the battle in the most unblushing manner, but it is quite possible that the writer did not know what had really happened. As Macaulay says, 'The news of Dundee's victory was everywhere speedily followed by the news of his death, and it is a strong proof of the extent and vigour of his faculties that his death seems everywhere to have been regarded as a complete set off against his victory.'

Luttrell's *Brief Relation of State Affairs* contains the account of the battle as the news reached Londoners. About August 3, it states: 'Letters from Scotland bring, that Major-General Mackay with 3000 men, engaged the Viscount of Dundee with 6000, near the Blair of Atholl; that the fight was maintained very sharply for some time, but two of the Scotch regiments (that came from Holland would not fight) which occasioned a disorder among our men; but the rebels drawing off to the hills, our men made good their retreat; several were killed on both sides, and among the rebels 'tis assured that the Viscount of Dundee himself is killed.' About a couple of days later the news of Dundee's death is confirmed, and a little later comes the entry: 'The Scotch letters say there had been another engagement between a party of the rebels consisting of 400 foot and 80 horse, and a party detached from Generall Macay, near St. Johnstown; that they cut off all the rebels except some few they took prisoners.'¹ Luttrell's 'Diary,' as it is commonly called, gives the items of news it records under the date of the month, and arranges them in chronological order, but does not always give the date of the day. The skirmish last referred to took place on July 31, four days after the battle of Killiecrankie. It seems clear that the ballad was written about the middle of August.

¹ Luttrell, i. 565, 566.

The ballad entitled 'Bonny Dundee' is from a manuscript collection of Jacobite songs and satires, all written in the reign of William III., which is now in the possession of Charles Ffowkes, Esq., F.S.A., of Oxford. He has allowed me to copy this and a number of other pieces from it. The volume is throughout written in a contemporary hand, and seems to be a collection of fugitive verses circulated in manuscript and recopied by the collector some time before the end of William's reign.

The interest of this particular piece consists largely in the use of the phrase, 'Bonny Dundee.' I think this is the earliest instance of the transfer of the phrase from the place, to which it was originally applied, to the man.

C. H. FIRTH.

THE SCOTCH PROTESTANTS COURAGE: OR, THE DESTRUCTION, DEATH AND DOWNFALL OF DUNDEE.

To the Tune of, 'Billy and Molly Licensed according to Order.'

Here's Joyfull Tydings now we bring
 from the brave Scottish Nation,
 The fame of Protestants shall ring,
 through Town and Corporation:
 The Rebell which did lead the Van,
 and o'er the Mountains scouted,
 At length brave Boys is dead and gone,
 and all his Forces routed.

The Protestant great General,
 who led his men to Battel;
 Although on both sides some did fall,
 while Guns and Drums did rattle
 The fight they bravely did maintain
 And while they were about it;
 Dundee in field was fairly slain,
 and all his Rebells routed.

Mackay he did the Rebells face,
 that valiant stout Commander;
 And for his Courage seem'd to trace
 the steps of Alexander:
 His forces he drew up with speed,
 although the Papists flouted;
 He made Dundee in field to bleed,
 and all his forces routed.

In noble shining Armour bright,
stout lads both brisk and aiery
March'd with Mackay in field to fight
for William and Queen Mary;
Alas the fray near lasted long,
when once we went about it;
Dundee was slain in all the throng,
likewise his Rebels routed.

Though he at first rid up in state,
we soon did blast his Glory;
A Pistol Bullet sent him strait
from hence, to Purgatory:
His Rebels they did likewise run,
and through the Valleys scouted,
So that each man and mothers son
by Protestants were routed.

The Clans and the Mackdonells too,
and all the Heathen faction;
When they was told that this was true
they all were in Distraction;
Their hearts were fill'd with fear and dread,
as through the Vails they scouted;
Still crying out, Dundee is dead,
and we shall all be routed.

Five hundred Rebels, Foot and Horse,
one day a Town did Plunder,
But Mackay hearing of that loss,
strait after them did Thunder
He Charg'd and Fir'd in the R[ear]
as they before him scouted,
Till he at last the Coast did clear
and they were more than routed.

We cut them down as they did fly
and stoutly followed after,
The Major smote them Hip and Thigh;
I'faith with a great slaughter:
There some was slain, the rest was tain
who on our Forces glouted,
In this sharp fray, we got the Day
and all the Rebels routed.

Some says Dundee has slipt his wind,
and fled to Purgatory,

But some are of another mind,
 counting the same a story ;
 They heard him bid his men reside,
 upon the Scottish Borders,
 While he full Post was forc'd to Ride
 away to Hell for Orders.

Printed for P. Brooksby, J. Deacon, J. Blare, and J. Back.

BONNY DUNDEE

O Scotland lament the Loss of thy Friend,
 Who loving hath gain'd thee that Honour and Fame,
 His valour was such he might justly pretend
 The Greatest of Heroes to Meritt the Name,
 But alas ! a Sad fate put a Stop to that hand,
 Which had been sufficient to conquer alone ;
 Now Scotland thou'rt under another Command,
 For Bonny Dundee's gone to his Long home.

And England who mourns the loss of thy Prince,
 Lament then also the loss of Dundee,
 For when Royall James was banish'd from hence,
 His Cause he espoused most vigorously.
 In Spight of Resistance to Scotland he run,
 There in the High-lands a Party to have ;
 For fight for his Majesty when he was gone
 But Loyal Dundee lyes now in his Grave.

The stout Highland Ladds with sword in one hand,
 A Target in th' other were ready to go ;
 When ever their Captain would please to Command,
 They'd live and dye with him, they honour'd him so ;
 He muster'd his forces, Declar'd for the King,
 Defy'd all his Foes with a handfull of Men,
 And swore his Old Master he'd home again bring,
 But Brave Dundee we'll ne're see agen.

Mackey upon this to Scotland was sent,
 These Rebels [so] call'd to conquer and slay,
 But his Errant he had Just cause to repent,
 For when he came there he lost the Day.
 Tho' he thought to run down, with his men of Might,
 Dundee and his Party give quarter to none,
 But he gave him battle and put him to Floght,
 But gallant Dundee is now Dead and gone.

Who if he had liv'd all men must allow,
With Conduct so wise, and Courage so great,
We had marcht to Edinburgh long ere now,
And put the Conventioneers into a Sweat.
He stop'd their Proceedings and made 'em all run,
And happy he'd been that could first get away,
But Death, cold Death, with a Summons did come,
And Poor Dundee was forc'd to Obey.

The Castle so famous which held out so long,
At Length Duke Gourdon was forc'd for to quitt,
Dundee had regain'd it tho never so strong,
And soon made a Jacobite Master of it;
To stand against his Irresistable hand,
No horses nor Foot could ever be found,
But a Williamite now has got the Command,
'Cause Great Dundee is safe under Ground.

The English Thanksgiving Service for King James' delivery from the Gowrie Conspiracy

THE form of Prayer with Thanksgiving for King James' delivery from the Gowrie Conspiracy on 5th August, 1600, is among the rarest of the special forms of service issued for use in England in the seventeenth century. Although the service continued to be used upon the appointed day for many years—at least for a quarter of a century—it never found its way into the Prayer Book like the corresponding service for 5th November (Powder Treason), nor does it seem to have been even occasionally printed with the Prayer Book like the Form for the anniversary of the Fire of London. No standard commentator in the Book of Common Prayer, old or new, seems to mention it, and the present writer has never seen it either described or discussed. Although it is of little liturgical interest and of no literary merit, it has sufficient peculiarity to warrant more notice than it has hitherto received.

Every student of Scottish history will remember how the Edinburgh ministers discredited the official report of the Conspiracy, refused to hold thanksgiving services at the bidding of the Town Council, and were punished by being driven from their churches; how Dr. Lindsay, the Bishop of Ross, held a service of thanksgiving and preached at the cross of Edinburgh, and how the King attended a similar service at the same place on his arrival the following week, when Patrick Galloway preached a sermon upon psalm 124. Spottiswoode,¹ referring apparently to the subsequent meeting of the Privy Council, says that 'order was taken for a publick and solemn Thanksgiving to be made in all the Churches of the Kingdome, and the last Tuesday of *September* with the Sunday following appointed for that exercise.' In connexion with the holding of Parliament at Edinburgh on 15th November in the same year, he tells us that 'the

¹ John Spottiswood, *History of the Church of Scotland*, London, 1655, pp. 460, 461.

Estates . . . did ordain, *That in all times and ages to come the fifth of August should be solemnly kept with prayers, preachings, and thanksgiving for the benefit, discharging all work, labour, and other occupations upon the said day, which might distract the people in any sort from those pious exercises.*

There seems no reason to think that any form of service was issued in Scotland. The form before us seems to have been put forth by royal authority in England in 1603, immediately after the union of the crowns, but before the revision of the Prayer Book which succeeded the Hampton Court Conference. The 5th of November was appointed a day of thanksgiving in England for the failure of the Gunpowder Plot, and a service was set forth for it in 1606. After the Restoration the service for Gunpowder Treason, together with those for King Charles the Martyr (30th Jan.) and the Restoration (29th May), were ordered by Royal Proclamation to be printed with the Prayer Book. This was done, and the days were observed, until 1859, but the Gowrie Conspiracy service passed into obscurity with the Great Rebellion.

The service consists of Morning Prayer, Litany and the first part of the Communion Service printed at length as in the Prayer Book of the time, but with only the minimum of rubrics, the proper psalms, lessons and collects being inserted in their respective places, two prayers for alternative use being added at the end. In the threadbare rubrics puritan influence is manifest in the substitution of the word 'minister' for 'priest' in all places where the latter occurs in the Prayer Book of the time. This had already been done in England in certain unauthorised versions of the Prayer Book which had been issued by the puritan party during the last half of the reign of Elizabeth, but it is surprising to find it in a form set forth by authority just before the Hampton Court Conference, and it may be suggested that the reason is to be sought in Scottish influence rather than in that of the English nonconformists. The three psalms used are not definitely prescribed, but are to be selected from the seven provided. With this arrangement we may contrast that of the service for Gunpowder Treason, where the psalms are definitely fixed. As in the latter service, there are the special versicles and responses for the King among those before the collects. As in Prayer Books before 1604, there is no suffrage for the Royal Family in the Litany, but before the conclusion of the Litany there is the prayer *In the time of any common plague or sicknesse*. The Lessons

and the Epistle and Gospel are the same as those in the service for Gunpowder Treason.

The chief interest, however, of the service lies in the six special prayers. Of these the first forms the Collect at Matins, the second is inserted after the last *Let us pray* in the Litany, the third forms the Collect in the Communion Service, the fourth is to be said after the Offertory and before the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, the fifth and sixth are alternative prayers printed at the end of the form. The Collect at Morning Prayer is headed *A Prayer for the Kings Maiestie*, and the two alternative prayers are preceded by the rubric *These two prayers following, may be used in place of any of the other, as the Minister shall thinke fit.*

The prayer which forms the Collect at Mattins is an Elizabethan composition, and seemingly makes its first appearance as the second of three special prayers set forth in 1585, where it is preceded by the rubric :

‘¶ A Prayer and thanksgiving for the Queen, used of all the Knights and Burgesses in the High Court of Parliament, and very requisite to be used and continued of all her Majesty's loving subjects.’

This rubric suggests that the prayer may have been in use for some time. It is here followed by the initials ‘J. Th.,’ the meaning of which is not clear.

The long special prayer added to the Litany, and the first of the two alternative prayers at the end of the service are to be found as early as 1594 in :

‘An Order for Prayer and Thanksgiving (necessary to be used in these dangerous times) for the safety and preservation of her Majesty and this realm. Set forth by authority. London. Printed by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queen's most excellent Majesty. 1594.’

This order consists of a long and truculent ‘Admonition to the Reader’ full of personal allusions to various conspirators and treasonable persons, followed by six psalms and three prayers, of which the prayers in question are the first and second. Four years later the same order of service was again set forth, the title adding that it was ‘renewed with some alterations on the present occasion.’ The chief alterations were the substitution of a lengthy reference to Squire's conspiracy for part of the former ‘Admonition’ and the addition of two more long prayers, the second of which is probably the most appalling travesty of a liturgical form ever set forth in England.

Up to the present the writer has not been able to trace the

other prayers in the Gowrie service to any earlier source, but their style and composition are of much the same character as those of all the long and wearisome prayers set forth for special occasions in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign. The original collects in the service for Powder Treason were of similar character. They were very wisely shortened after the Restoration, and the most violent and unchristian passages omitted.

The forms of prayer of this period were fortunately short-lived. They form a not very creditable chapter in the history of English rites. Their length is inordinate, their sentences involved and their style bad. As literary compositions they are unworthy of the period in which they were written. They make no pretensions to liturgical form. Crowded with ingenious quotations from the Old Testament, they breathe the spirit of childhood of the race, and they are full of extraordinarily fierce and blood-thirsty allusions to enemies and conspirators. Perhaps none in this Gowrie form are quite so violent in their language as one in the Powder Treason service, and none descend to the lowest point of all, which seems to be reached in the last prayer in the Elizabethan form of 1598, which includes the following passages :

'Eternal God, which createdst all men after thy likeness, but hast advanced Kings more like thyself in places of government, and to that end hast both anointed them with thy *Holy Oil* above others, and also laid a curse upon them which touch thine anointed. . . . But those priests of *Baal*, the hellish Chaplains of *Antichrist*, accursed runagates from their God and Prince, the bellows and fuel of these flagrant conspiracies, confound them in thy wrath, since thy Grace will not convert them, and that which thy power cannot work on them in defeating their enterprizes, let thy fury perform in revenge upon their persons. . . . But let our gracious Queen still reign and rule in despite of *Rome*, and *Rheims*, and *Spain* and Hell. . . .'

The first part of this amazing composition contains the key to much of the violence of the language of this and cognate forms. It was the sacredness of the Royal person in virtue of the consecration and anointing administered at the time of the Coronation or 'Sacrings,' which, as in pre-Reformation times, was held to involve all treasonable attempts upon the sovereign in the added guilt of sacrilege. And to the men of those days the sacrilege was made all the worse because of the religious motive underlying it, in virtue of the bull *Regnans in excelsis* which had been issued by the Pope as recently as 1570. Hence the unparalleled ferocity of language, the effect of which is heightened by

the exaggeration of verbal colouring which was in fashion at the time.¹

The prayers in the following form are all printed in black letter in the original, and the rubrics in ordinary Roman. Italics here indicate italics in the original, except in the prayers where italics here indicate Roman in the original.

F. C. EELES.

¶ A fourme of Prayer with Thankesgiuing, to be vsed by all the King's Maiesties louing Subjects euey yeere the fift of August.

Being the day of his Highnesse happy deliuerance from the traiterous and bloody attempt of the Earle of Gowry and his brother, with their Adherents.

Set forth by Authoritie.

[Large woodcut of Royal Arms (England 1st and 4th) surmounted by arched crown and surrounded by conventional mantling.]

¶ *Imprinted at London by ROBERT BARKER, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie. ANNO 1603. Cum priuilegio.*

¶ An order for Morning Prayer to be vsed yerely the fift of August.

I Exhort you therefore . . . sight of God our Sauour [1 Tim. 2, v. 1, 2, 3].

¶ First the Minister shall with a lowd voice pronounce one of these three sentences following.

At what time soeuer . . . [Ez. 18]

Rent your hearts . . . [Ioel 2]

To thee, O Lord God, belongeth mercy . . . [Dan 9]

[The order for Morning Prayer then follows with psalms and lessons printed in full. The rubric after *Venite* runs:]

¶ The other psalmes to be read are the 20. 21. 27. 31. 33. 85. 124. 147. or any three of them.

[After the psalms the rubric runs:]

¶ The first Lesson, is the xxij. Chapter of the second booke of Samuel.

And David spake the wordes of this song . . . with Dauid and with his seede for evermore.

Then reade or sing.

We praise thee, O God . . . let me neuer be confounded.

¶ The second Lesson is the xxij. Chapter of the Actes of the Apostles.

¹ These Elizabethan occasional forms are to be found in *Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer set forth in the reign of Queen Elizabeth*. Edited for the Parker Society by the Rev. W. K. Clay, Cambridge, 1847. For the earlier occurrence of the collects mentioned above see pp. 581, 659-60, 683-4.

And Paul earnestly beholding the Councill, sayd, Men and brethren, I haue liued in all good conscience. . . . And he commanded him to be kept in Herods iudgement hall.

¶ Then reade, or sing.

Blessed be the Lord God of Israel. . . .

[*Iubilate* is given as an alternative, then the service proceeds as in the Prayer Book, except that there is no reference to Evening Prayer in the rubric after the Creed, the rubric before the Lord's Prayer is omitted, and the word 'Minister' is substituted for 'Priest.' After the *X. O Lord saue the King* there is the *B. who putteth his trust in thee*, with additional versicles thus:]

Minister. Send him helpe from thy holy place.

People. And euermore mightily defend him.

Minister. Let his enemies haue no aduantage against him.

People. Let not the wicked approch neere to hurt him.

[Instead of the rubric before the collects there is]

¶ A Prayer for the Kings Maestie.

O Almighty and most mercifull God, which doest pitch thy tents round about thy people, to deliuer them from the handes of their enemies: Wee thy humble seruants which haue euer of olde seene thy Saluation, doe fall downe and prostrate ourselues with prayse and thankesgiuing to thy glorious Name, who hast in thy tender mercies from time to time saued and defended thy seruant *Iames* our most gracious *King*, and especially as this day diddest make frustrate their bloody and most barbarous Treason, who being his naturall Subjects, most vnnaturally violating thy Diuine ordinance, did secretly seeke to shed his blood. But through thy mercy (O Lord) their snare was hewen in pieces, and vpon thy seruants head doeth the Crowne flourish. The wicked and bloodthirstie men thought to deuoure Jacob, and to lay waste his dwelling place: But thou (O God) which rulest in Jacob, and vnto the ends of the world, doest dayly teach us still to trust in thee for all thy great mercies, and not to forget thy mercifull kindnesse shewed to him that feareth thy Name. O Lord, we confesse to thy glory and prayse, that thou onely hast thereby saued vs from destruction, because thou hast not giuen him ouer for a praye to the wicked: his soule is deliuered, and we are escaped. Heare vs now we pray thee, (O most mercifull Father) and continue forth thy louing kindnesse towards thy seruant our Soueraigne Lord, towards our most vertuous Queene, and all their Princely children, and euermore to thy glory and our comfort keepe them in health with long life and prosperitie, whose rest and onely refuge is in thee, O God of their saluation. Preserue them as thou art woont, preserue them from the snare of theemie, from the gathering together of the froward, from the insurrection of wicked doers, and from all the trayterous conspiracies of those which priuily lay waite for their liues. Graunt this, O heauenly Father, for Jesus Christs sake, our onely Mediatour and Aduocate. Amen.

[Then follow the collects for peace and grace, and then]

¶ It is meete, that the Letanie shall not bee omitted the fift day of August, though it fall vpon Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, or Saturday.

[Then follows the Litany with the usual suffrages for the King but without that for the Royal Family. After the last *Let us pray* the collects are as follows:]

Almighty and euerlasting God, Creator and Gouvernour of all the world, by whom Kings doe beare rule, and vnder whose prouidence they are wonderfully and mightily oftentimes protected from many fearful dangers, by which the malice of Sathan and his wicked ympes do seeke to intrappe them: Wee giue vnto thy heauenly Maiestie most humble and heartie thanks, for that it hath pleased thee of thine infinite mercie and goodnesse in Christ Jesu, so wonderfully to uphold, deliuer and preserue thy seruant our most dread and Soueraigne Lord King *James* so many and sundry times from the cruell and bloody treacheries of desperate men and especially as this day from the wicked designments of those bloodthirstie wretches the Earle *Gowry* with his brother, and their desperate confederates. And wee doe most humbly and from the bottome of our hearts pray and beseech thee to continue this thine unspeakeable goodnesse towards him and towards his Realmes, and euermore mightily, as thou art woont, to defend and protect them. O Lord, dissipate and confound all practises, conspiracies and Treasons against him. Smite his enemies vpon the cheeke bone, breake their teeth, frustrate their counsels and bring to nought all their deuises. Let them fall into the pit that they have prepared for him. Let a sudden destruction come vpon them vnawares: and the net that they shall lay for him priuily, let it catch themselues, that they may fall into their owne mischief. Let them be ashamed and confounded together that seeke after his life to destroy it. Let them be driven backward, and put to rebuke, that wish any euil either to his Royal person, or to our gracious Queene, or to any of their most worthy Progenie: So that the whole world and all posteritie may see and know, how mightily with thy Fatherly care and providence thou watchest over, and defendest those which put their trust in thee. And so also they which seeke thy glory may euer be ioyfull and glad in thee, and all such as love their saluation, may rightly say alway, *The Lord be prayesd.* Graunt this (O most louing and mercifull Father) for thy deare Sonnes sake Jesus Christ our Lord and onely Sauour. Amen.

We humbly beseech thee, O father, mercifully to looke vpon our infirmities . . .

Almighty and euerlasting God, which onely workest great marueiles . . .

In the time of any common plague or sicknesse.

O Almighty God, which in thy wrath in the time of King Dauid . . .

[After the Litany comes the rubric:]

¶ If there be a Communion vpon the fift day of August, then let the Epistle, Gospel, and Prayers of Thanksgiuing newly appointed for the present occasion, bee vsed in the places as they are here following set downe, to bee vsed when there is no Communion.

[Here follows the Communion Service, without rubrics save the words *Minister* and *People* before the sections and responses of the Decalogue, down to the collects which follow immediately, thus]

Let us pray.

O Eternal God, and most gracious Father, which preseruest thy seruants by thy mighty hand, especially godly Princes, when their liues are sought for by their cruell enemies: We giue thee most humble and heartie thanks according to our bounden dutie for thy gracious fauour, in preseruing as this day our Soueraigne Lorde King *Iames*, from the deuilish and bloody conspiracie of Earle *Gowrie*, and his brother with their Complices in *Scotland*, and for executing thoy iust iudgements vpon those wicked Traytours. Let it please thee which art the Highest Majesty and Lord of hostes, at the humble supplication of vs thy seruants, to couer him still with the shield of thy iustice, and to defend him with the sword of thy iudgement. Graunt, that as thou hast prepared a more princely table for him of late, then before, in the sight of thine and his enemies, and hast anoynted his head with oyle, and made his cup run over: so hee may bee kept as the apple of thine eye, and thy kindnesse and mercy may follow him all the dayes of his life, with abundance of all thy blessings both heauenly and earthly vpon his Maiestie, our gracious Queene, the Prince and the rest of their royall Progenie, to the singular comfort of their hearts and the continuance and aduancement of thy Religion and peace amongst his Subiectes and our posteritie after vs. Let his enemies (O Lord) be in his presence, as the dust before the winde, that they may clearely perceiue by thy iudgements vpon themselues and the defence of thine anoynted, that his safety, their confusion, and our comfort are ioyned with thy glory. Heare vs O mercifull Father wee beseech thee, in these our humble petitions which wee present with reuerent hearts vnto thy diuine Maiestie, through Jesus Christ our onely Sauour and Redeemer, Amen.

Almightie God, whose kingdome is euerlasting . . .

The Epistle.

Let euery soule be subject vnto the higher powers . . . to whom honour belongeth. [Rom. 13]

The Gospel.

When the morning was come, all the chiefe priests and Elders of the people held a counsell against Jesus to put him to death . . . gaue them for the Potters field, as the Lord appointed me.) [Matth. 27]

I Beleeue in one God . . . life of the world to come. Amen.

Whatsoever yee would that men should doe unto you, even so do vnto them, for this is the Law and the Prophets.

Almightie God and heauenly Father, whose providence is wonderful and to be magnified in the government of all things, but specially in the preseruation and deliuerance of thy Church, and chiefly the godly kings and gouernours thereof from the wicked conspiracies and bloody treasons, wherewith Sathan and his members doe continually seeke most craftily and

cruelly to destroy them. Thou O Lord of thy speciall fauour and gracious prouidence, hast as vpon this day most mercifully and marueilously deliuered our Soueraigne Lord King *Iames*, from the trayterous attempts of Earle *Gowry* with his brother and other their adherents in Scotland: preserving him both from this and many other deuillish conspiracies, that hee might become by thy grace a Prince of peace to this Realme, a foster father to our Church, a defender of thy faith and true religion amongst vs, as wee see and feele to our great comfort this day. Wee therefore prayse and magnifie thy glorious Name, and yeele all humble thanks to thy fatherly goodnes, as we are bound, for this thy most merciful preservation of his Maiestie, and gracious prouision for our peace and safetie: Most humbly beseeching thee for thy Sonne our Sauour Iesus Christs sake, to hold still the mighty hand of thy gracious protection ouer his royall head, keeping him as the signet of thy finger, together with our most gracious Ladie Queen *Anne*, Prince *Henry*, and the rest of their princely issue, from the malice and violence of all thine and their enemies: reueale their deuices: withstand their purposes: confound their enterprises, and euermore defend him, and with him, and by him, thy Church, thy peace, thy truth and gospel amongst vs. So shall we thy people, and sheepe of thy pasture, together with him our gracious Shepheard, King and Gouvernour, come vnto thy Temple with songs of deliuerance, and with Psalmes of prayse and thanksgiuing, euermore glorifying thee and saying: Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hostes, heauen and earth are full of thy maiestie: glory be to thee O Lord most high, O Father most mercifull, with thy sonne our Sauour Iesus Christ, and thy holy Spirit, one true, almightie, most gracious, and most glorious God, world without end. Amen.

¶ Let vs pray for the whole state of Christ's Church, militant here in earth.

Almighty and euerlasting God, which by thy holy Apostle . . . our onely Mediatour and Aduocate. Amen.

Assist vs mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications . . .

Almighty God, which hast promised to heare . . .

The peace of God . . . remaine with you alwayes, Amen.

¶ These two prayers following, may be vsed in place of any of the other, as the Minister shall thinke fit.

O Almighty and Eternall God, Creatour and Gouvernour of the whole worlde, vnto whom all power belongeth ouer all creatures both in heauen and earth, who spake the word and they were made, commanded and all things were created, by whom alone it is, that not onely all Kings and Princes doe rule and gouerne the people committed to their charge, but are likewise by thy Diuine prouidence and mightie protection (so long as it seemeth best to thy godly wisdome) defended and deliuered euen in the middest of all their perils and dangers, out of the hands of all their enemies: We yeele vnto thee most humble and hearty thanks, for that it hath pleased thy gracious goodnesse to preserue and defend thy welbeloued seruant and our most gracious King *Iames* from all the wicked conspiracies, trayterous

attempts and deuillish deuises, which either the forreigne and professed enemies abroade, or else his most unloyall, desperate and rebellious Subiects at home, were able at any time to deuise and practise against him. But especially (O Lord) at this time, as iust occasion is offered vnto us all, wee all euen from the bottome of our hearts prayse thy holy Name, and give thee most hearty and unfayned thanks for the most happy delivery of his Maiesties most Royall person as vpon this day, from those bloody Treasons which were most wickedly inuented and cruelly attempted against him by the Earle *Gowry* and his partakers: most humbly beseeching thee of thine infinite goodnesse and mercie, still to continue thy Fatherly protection ouer him, dayly to encrease and multiply thy heauenly blessings and graces vpon him. Bee thou euer vnto him (O Lord God of hostes) a strong rock and tower of defence against the face of his enemies, which either openly abroad, or secretly at home, go about to bring his life vnto the graue, and lay his honour in the dust. Disclose their wicked counsels, and make frustrate all their deuillish practises in such sort, as that all the world may learne and knowe, that there is no counsell, no wisdom, no policie against the Lord. And if it be thy will, (O Lord) eyther giue his enemies grace in time to see how in vaine they kick against the prickes in opposing themselues against him, that so they may repent them of their sinnes and bee conuerted: or else in thy iust iudgements (if with the wilfull, obstinate, and reprobate sinners they still harden their heartes and will not repent) let them all (O Lord) perish together, and let them fall into the ditch which they have digged for him, and bee taken in their owne nets, but let his Maiestie (O Lord) euer escape them, that all the world may see how deare and precious in thy sight the life of this thine Anoynted is, who doeth not so much as imagine any euill against them that thirst after his blood. Wherefore O Lord our God, King of kings, and Lord of all Lords, who knowest that nothing at any time hath bene more deare vnto him thine anointed, then the publike good and benefit of thy Church, and the godly peace and vnity of all his good Christian and louing subiects amongst themselues: Wee beseech thee of thy great goodnesse still looke downe from heauen, and beholde him with thine eye of thy pity and compassion: saue and deliuer him from all his enemies, preserue aud keepe him as the Apple of thine owne eye, together with the Queene, the Prince, and the rest of their royall Issue, and graunt vnto him (O most mercifull Father) a long, prosperous, and happy reigne ouer vs, that he may see his desire vpon all thine and his enemies, though in number neuer so mighty: and finally after this life give vnto him euerlasting glory through Iesus Christ thine onely Sonne and our onely Sauour.

Another Prayer.

O most holy, most mighty, and most mercifull God and louing Father, who hast not shut vp thy self within the clouds, that thou shouldst not behold the things that are done vpon the earth: but in thy Almighty prouidence doest alwayes open thine eyes ouer the righteous, to deliuer their soules from death, and settest thy face against the vngodly to recompense vnto them the wickednesse of their inuentions, executing their most righteous iudgements in the open sight of all the worlde in such maner as they ought to be had

in perpetuall remembrance: accept wee beseech thee, the memoratiue sacrifice of our heartes and tongues, breaking foorth into Prayse and Thankesgiuing before thy diuine Maiesty, in commemoration of that happy and propitious deliuerance and defence of our most dread Soueraigne, thy faithfull seruant King *JAMES*, from that most treacherous and bloody conspiracie of the Earle *Gowry* and his brother and their confederates, (as vpon this day) against the sacred body and life of his Royall Maiesty. In which most gracious protection of thine, as in thy mercy thou diddest saue the innocent soule, the King thy darling from the power of that Dogg, and from the iaws of that murtherous Lyons Whelpe, arming his Princely heart in the midst of present danger with heroicall courage and magnanimity for his owne defence, assisting him also by thy mercifull prouidence with the timely succour and rescue of his most faithfull seruants: so in thy iustice diddest thou returne vpon the heads and hearts of those deuilish and disloyall conspirators, the due reuenge of such treasonable attempts, spilling their blood like water vpon the earth, who thought to spill the blood of thine anoynted, and leaving their slaughtered carkeises a worthy spectacle of thy dreadfull iudgements, and their most impious designs. Euen so Lord still confound all those, that have euill will against his sacred Maiesty: Detect their counsels, repress their assaults, prosecute their persons with destruction, and leave their names a curse to all posterities. But continue we most humbly beseech thee (O God) to blesse and preserue his royall person, together with his noble Queene and Princely offspring. Graunt him a long, a prosperous, and happy raigne amidst thine Israel, make glad his soule with thy grace, fill full his cup, and vpon his head let his Crowne flourish. So shall wee thy humble suppliants, his loyall and louing Subiects, yeelde thee prayse and thanks for him: So shall the King reioyce in thy saluation: and both Prince and people continually shall sing vnto thee new Songs of ioy and deliuerance, magnifying and praising thy most holy Name for thy sweet and tender care, prouidence, and protection ouer vs.

FINIS

¶ *Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie.*

ANNO DOM. 1603

Chronicle of Lanercost¹

IN the same year the said Robert de Brus, King of Scotland,² came with a great army in the month of August to the monastery of Lanercost, and remained there three days, making many of the canons prisoners and doing an infinity of injury; but at last the canons were set at liberty by himself.

The said Earl [of Lancaster] entered Newcastle with a large body of men-at-arms in order to seize the said Piers, according to what had been ordained by the earls and barons; but it so happened that the king and he had gone to ^{A.D. 1312.} Tynemouth, which is about six miles from Newcastle, and, hearing that the earl was after them, they embarked in an open boat and made for Scarborough, and were then received there. But the king, having dismissed Piers there and Henry de Beaumont (likewise an alien) with some others for the defence of the castle, left them and went to Knaresborough Castle, and thence forward to York, thinking thereby to cause the siege of Scarborough to be raised if the castle should be besieged; but he failed to effect what he wished. For the Earl of Lancaster, hearing that the king and Piers had separated, and that Piers was in the castle, attacked it most vigorously, so that very shortly Piers was forced to surrender himself. This, however, he did upon terms which, as I have not heard them, I have not written. Having surrendered, he was committed to the custody of Sir Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, who had ever before been his chief enemy, and about the feast of the nativity of John the Baptist,³ in the absence of Aymer de Valence, he was beheaded on the

¹ See *Scottish Historical Review*, vi. 13, 174, 281, 383; vii. 56, 160, 271, 377; viii. 22, 159, 276.

² This is the first time the chronicler admits King Robert's regal rank. But neither he nor any of his successors ever called themselves King of Scotland; they were Kings of Scots.

³ 24th June. The actual date of decollation was 19th June.

high road near the town of Warwick by command of the Earl of Lancaster and the Earl of Warwick.

On the third of the nones of July,¹ on the vigil of the octave of the Apostles Peter and Paul was a new moon,² and an eclipse of the sun about the first hour of the day,³ and the sun appeared like a horned moon, which was small at first and then larger, until about the third hour it recovered its proper and usual size; though sometimes it seemed green, but sometimes of the colour which it usually has.

Now, while the aforesaid things were getting done with Piers, the march of England had no defender against the Scots, and therefore they rendered tribute to Robert in order to have peace for a while. Meanwhile, however, the Scots burnt the town of Norham, because the castle did them great injury, and they took away men as prisoners and also cattle.

When the king heard of the slaughter of the oft-mentioned Piers, he flared up in anger, and gave all his thoughts to the means whereby he might avenge himself on the slayers.

My lord Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, then attached himself to the king, chiefly because the said Piers had been committed to his custody and had been killed without his knowledge. It was said also that the Earl of Warenne and some others joined the king's party against the Earl of Lancaster. Therefore the king caused his parliament to be summoned in London, in case he could there seize the earl, notwithstanding that they were the sons of two brothers, to wit, Edward and Edmund.⁴ But this was not unknown to the earl, wherefore he gathered to himself out of his five earldoms a mounted force so strong and numerous that he had no fear of the king's party, and he came to London for the parliament. When the king heard this he dissimulated, nor would he attempt anything against him, but prolonged the parliament from day to day in order to vex him [Lancaster] and the others, both earls and barons who had come to his aid and for the confirmation of the aforesaid ordinances. But the Earl of Gloucester and the Earl of Richmond were mediators of peace between the opposing parties, albeit they were not able to pacify them.

When Robert de Brus heard of this discord in the south,

¹ 5th July.

² *Luna tricesima*, i.e. the thirtieth lunation.

³ 6 a.m.

⁴ Lancaster was Edward II.'s first cousin, being the son of Edmund 'Crouchback.'

having assembled a great army, he invaded England about the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin,¹ and burnt the towns of Hexham and Corbridge and the western parts, and took booty and much spoil and prisoners, nor was there anyone who dared resist. While he halted in peace and safety near Corbridge he sent part of his army as far as Durham, which, arriving there suddenly on market day, carried off all that was found in the town, and gave a great part of it to the flames, cruelly killing all who opposed them, but scarcely attacking the castle and abbey. The people of Durham, fearing more mischief from them, and despairing of help from the king, compounded with them, giving two thousand pounds to obtain truce for that bishopric until the nativity of John the Baptist;² which, however, the Scots refused to accept unless on condition that they might have free access and retreat through the land of the bishopric whensoever they wished to make a raid into England. The Northumbrians also, fearing that they would visit them, gave them other two thousand pounds to secure peace until the aforesaid date; and the people of Westmorland, Copland, and Cumberland redeemed themselves in a similar way; and, as they had not so much money in hand as would pay them, they paid a part, and gave as hostages for the rest the sons of the chief lords of the country. Having achieved this, Robert returned to Scotland with his army.

Meanwhile a cardinal legate came to England with my lord Louis, brother of my lord the King of France, to effect concord between the king and the earls and barons; but they did not succeed, although they spent many days in attempting to bring about agreement.

In winter, about the feast of S. Martin, to wit, on the feast day of S. Bricius,³ a first-born son was born and was named Edward, like his father and grandfather.

Now the oft-mentioned Robert, seeing that thus he had the whole March of England under tribute, applied all his thoughts to getting possession of the town of Berwick, which was in the King of England's hands. Coming unexpectedly to the castle on the night of S. Nicholas,⁴ he laid ladders against the walls and began to scale them; and had not a dog betrayed the approach of the Scots by loud barking, it is believed that he would quickly have taken the castle and, in consequence, the town.

¹ 15th August.

² 24th June, 1313.

³ 13th November.

⁴ 6th December.

Now these ladders which they placed against the walls were of wonderful construction, as I myself, who write these lines, beheld with my own eyes.¹ For the Scots had made two strong ropes as long as the height of the wall, making a knot at one end of each cord. They had made a wooden board also, about two feet and a half long and half a foot broad, strong enough to carry a man, and in the two extremities of the board they had made two holes, through which the two ropes could be passed; then the cords, having been passed through as far as the knots, they had made two other knots in the ropes one foot and a half higher, and above these knots they placed another log or board, and so on to the end of the ropes. They had also made an iron hook, measuring at least one foot along one limb, and this was to lie over the wall; but the other limb, being of the same length, hung downwards towards the ground, having at its end a round hole wherein the point of a lance could be inserted, and two rings on the two sides wherein the said ropes could be knotted.

Having fitted them together in this manner, they took a strong spear as long as the height of the wall, placing the point thereof in the iron hole, and two men lifted the ropes and boards with that spear and placed the iron hook (which was not a round one) over the wall. Then they were able to climb up by those wooden steps just as one usually climbs ordinary ladders, and the greater the weight of the climber the more firmly the iron hook clung over the wall. But lest the ropes should lie too close to the wall and hinder the ascent, they had made fenders round every third step which thrust the ropes off the wall. When, therefore, they had placed two ladders upon the wall, the dog betrayed them as I have said, and they left the ladders there, which our people next day hung upon a pillory to put them to shame. And thus a dog saved the town on that occasion, just as of old geese saved Rome by their gaggle, as saith S. Augustine in *de Civitate Dei*, book iii. chapter 4, *de magnis*, and Ambrose in *Exameron in Opere Quintæ Diei*.

Robert, having failed in his attempt on Berwick, marched with his army to the town of S. John,² which was then still in the King of England's hands; and he laid siege thereto, and on Monday of the octave of Epiphany³ it was taken by the Scots, who scaled the walls by night on ladders, and entered the town through the negligence of the sentries and guards. Next day Robert caused those citizens of the better class who were of the Scottish nation

¹ *Fide oculata conspexi.*

² Perth.

³ 10th January, 1312-13.

to be killed,¹ but the English were allowed to go away free. But the Scottish Sir William Oliphant, who had long time held that town for the King of England against the Scots, was bound and sent far away to the Isles. The town itself the Scots utterly destroyed.

About the day of S. Peter in cathedra []² Master Robert of Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, died; in whose room Master Thomas of Cobham, Doctor of Theology, was elected; but at the king's request the archbishopric was conferred by the Pope upon my lord Walter Reynald, Bishop of Worcester, a man almost illiterate, and, in public opinion, unworthy of any degree of dignity both on the score of his mode of life and his [want of] learning. Behold! what evils the king wrought among the clergy (besides the confusion he brought upon his people) when he procured the appointment of such a man to be Primate of all England! However, as he had hindered the election made of Master Thomas, he obtained his appointment as Bishop of Worcester.

After the feast of the Nativity of S. John the Baptist,³ when the English truce on the March had lapsed, Robert de Brus threatened to invade England in his usual manner. The people of Northumberland, Westmorland and Cumberland, and other Borderers, apprehending this, and neither having nor hoping for any defence or help from their king (seeing that he was engaged in distant parts of England, seeming not to give them a thought), offered to the said Robert no small sum of money, indeed a very large one, for a truce to last till the feast of S. Michael in the following year.⁴

All this time the body of Piers de Gaveston remained above ground unburied with the Friars Preachers of Oxford, who daily said for his soul a placebo, a dirige, and a mass with nones, receiving from the king half a mark for their trouble.

In the same year about the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin⁵ the Emperor⁶ was poisoned, as was said, by a certain monk.

After the feast of S. Michael⁷ the king caused the earls and barons to be summoned to parliament in London, and there an agreement, such as it was, was made between them on Sunday

¹ And English too, according to Fordun, ch. cxxix.

² Blank in original.

³ 24th June.

⁴ 29th Sept., 1314.

⁵ 15th August.

⁶ Henry VII., Count of Luxembourg.

⁷ 29th September.

next before the feast of S. Luke,¹ and they made to him such an humbling and obeisance as befitted a king, which afterwards they did not observe.

Now at the beginning of Lent² the Scots cunningly entered the castle of Roxburgh at night by ladders, and captured all the castle except one tower, wherein the warden of the castle, Sir Gillemin de Fiennes, a knight of Gascony, had taken refuge with difficulty, and his people with him ; but the Scots got possession of that tower soon afterwards. And they razed to the ground the whole of that beautiful castle, just as they did other castles which they succeeded in taking, lest the English should ever hereafter be able to lord it over the land through holding the castles.

In the same season of Lent they captured Edinburgh Castle in the following manner. In the evening one day the besiegers of that castle delivered an assault in force upon the south gate,³ because, owing to the position of the castle there was no other quarter where an assault could be made. Those within gathered together at the gate and offered a stout resistance ; but meanwhile the other Scots climbed the rocks on the north side, which was very high and fell away steeply from the foot of the wall. There they laid ladders to the wall and climbed up in such numbers that those within could not withstand them ; and thus they threw open the gates, admitted their comrades, got possession of the whole castle and killed the English. They razed the said castle to the ground, just as they had done to Roxburgh Castle.

Having accomplished this success, they marched to Stirling and besieged that castle with their army.

In the same year died Sir Thomas de Multan, Lord of Gillesland, on the sixth of the kalends of December,⁴ leaving an only daughter as his heir, named Margaret, whom Robert de Clifford, son of Robert of the same name, married at Hoffe⁵ in the seventh year of her age, he himself lying on his bed. And in the life of the said Robert, Ralph de Dacre, son of Sir William de Dacre, married the same Margaret, having a right to her through a contract concluded between Thomas de Multan, father of the said Margaret, and William de Dacre, before her former marriage.

On Tuesday after the octave of Easter,⁶ Edward de Brus,

¹ Sunday, 14th October.

³ It was really the east gate.

⁵ Near Appleby.

² 28th February, 1313-14.

⁴ 26th November.

⁶ 16th April.

Robert's brother, invaded England by way of Carlisle with an army, contrary to agreement, and remained there three days at the bishop's manor house, to wit, at Rose, A.D. 1314. and sent a strong detachment of his army to burn the southern and western districts during those three days. They burnt many towns and two churches, taking men and women prisoners, and collected a great number of cattle in Inglewood Forest and elsewhere, driving them off with them on the Friday;¹ they killed few men except those who made determined resistance; but they made attack upon the city of Carlisle because of the knights and country people who were assembled there. Now the Scots did all these wrongs at that time because the men of that March had not paid them the tribute which they had pledged themselves to pay on certain days. Although the Scots had hostages from the sons and heirs of the knights of that country in full security for covenanted sums, yet they did not on that account refrain from committing the aforesaid wrongs.

Now about the feast of Pentecost² the King of England approached the March of Scotland; also the Earl of Gloucester, the Earl of Hereford, the Earl of Pembroke, and the Earl of Angus, Sir Robert de Clifford, Sir John Comyn (son of the murdered John), Sir Henry de Beaumont, Sir John de Segrave, Sir Pagan de Typtoft, Sir Edmund de Mauley, Sir Ingelram de Umfraville, with other barons, knights, and a splendid and numerous army, if only they had had the Lord as ally. But the Earl of Lancaster and the other English earls who were of his party remained at home with their men (except those with whom they were bound in strict obligation to furnish the king in war), because the king as yet had refused to agree with them or to perform what he had promised before. And whereas when his noble father Edward went on a campaign in Scotland, he used to visit on his march [the shrines of] the English saints, Thomas of Canterbury, Edmund, Hugh, William, and Cuthbert, offering fair oblations, commending himself to their prayers, and also bestowing liberal gifts to monasteries and the poor, this [king] did none of these things; but marching with great pomp and elaborate state, he took goods from the monasteries on his journey, and, as was reported, did and said things to the prejudice and injury of the saints. In consequence of this and other things it is not surprising that confusion and everlasting shame overtook

¹ 19th April.

² 26th May.

him and his army, which was foretold at the time by certain religious men of England.

Thus before the feast of the Nativity of S. John the Baptist,¹ the king, having massed his army, advanced with the aforesaid pomp towards Stirling Castle, to relieve it from siege and to engage the Scots, who were assembled there in all their strength. On the vigil of the aforesaid Nativity² the king's army arrived after dinner near Torwood; and, upon information that there were Scots in the wood, the king's advanced guard, commanded by Lord de Clifford, began to make a circuit of the wood to prevent the Scots escaping by flight. The Scots did not interfere until they [the English] were far ahead of the main body, when they showed themselves, and, cutting off the king's advanced guard from the middle and rear columns, they charged and killed some of them and put the rest to flight.³ From that moment began a panic among the English and the Scots grew bolder.

On the morrow—an evil, miserable and calamitous day for the English—when both sides had made themselves ready for battle, the English archers were thrown forward before the line, and the Scottish archers engaged them, a few being killed and wounded on either side; but the King of England's archers quickly put the others to flight. Now when the two armies had approached very near each other, all the Scots fell on their knees to repeat *Pater noster*, commending themselves to God and seeking help from heaven; after which they advanced boldly against the English. They had so arranged their army that two columns went abreast in advance of the third, so that neither should be in advance of the other; and the third followed, in which was Robert.⁴ Of a truth, when both armies engaged each other, and the great horses of the English charged the pikes of the Scots, as it were into a dense forest, there arose a great and terrible crash of spears broken and of destriers wounded to the death; and so they remained without movement for a while. Now the English in the rear could not reach the Scots because the leading division was in the way, nor could they do anything to help themselves, wherefore there was

¹ 24th June.

² 23rd June.

³ This is a very inaccurate account, obviously from confused hearsay, of de Clifford's repulse by young Randolph. The true narrative is given best in Gray's *Scalacronica*.

⁴ This again is not correct. The Scots order of battle was three columns or 'schiltromes' in the first line, supported by the fourth commanded by King Robert.

nothing for it but to take to flight. This account I heard from a trustworthy person who was present as eye-witness.

In the leading division were killed the Earl of Gloucester, Sir John Comyn, Sir Pagan de Typtoft, Sir Edmund de Mauley and many other nobles, besides foot soldiers who fell in great numbers. Another calamity which befel the English was that, whereas they had shortly before crossed a great ditch called Bannockburn, into which the tide flows, and now wanted to recross it in confusion, many nobles and others fell into it with their horses in the crush, while others escaped with much difficulty, and many were never able to extricate themselves from the ditch; thus Bannockburn was spoken about for many years in English throats.

[Here follows a long dirge in Latin hexameters, which will not repay translation.]

The king and Sir Hugh le Despenser (who, after Piers de Gaveston, was as his right eye) and Sir Henry de Beaumont (whom he had promoted to an earldom in Scotland), with many others mounted and on foot, to their perpetual shame fled like miserable wretches to Dunbar Castle, guided by a certain knight of Scotland who knew through what districts they could escape. Some who were not so speedy in flight were killed by the Scots, who pursued them hotly; but these, holding bravely together, came safe and sound through the ambushes into England. At Dunbar the king embarked with some of his chosen followers in an open boat for Berwick, leaving all the others to their fate.

In like manner as the king and his following fled in one direction to Berwick, so the Earl of Hereford, the Earl of Angus, Sir John de Segrave, Sir Antony de Lucy and Sir Ingelram de Umfraville, with a great crowd of knights, six hundred other mounted men and one thousand foot, fled in another direction towards Carlisle. The Earl of Pembroke left the army on foot and saved himself with the fugitive Welsh; but the aforesaid earls and others, who had fled towards Carlisle were captured on the way at Bothwell Castle, for the sheriff, the warden of the castle,¹ who

¹Sir Walter Gilbertson. A full list of the officers and garrison is given in King Edward's *Wardrobe Accounts*. In this, as in many other details, Barbour is singularly accurate.

The Erle of Hertfurd fra the mellé
 Departyt with a gret menyé,
 And straucht to Bothwell tok the vai,
 That then in the Ingliss mennys fay
 Was, and haldyn as place of wer.
 Schyr Waltre Gilbertson was ther
 Capitane, and it had in ward.—*The Brus*, ix. 582.

had held the castle down to that time for the King of England, perceiving that his countrymen had won the battle, allowed the chief men who came thither to enter the castle in the belief that they would find a safe refuge, and when they had entered he took them prisoners, thereby treacherously deceiving them. Many, also, were taken wandering round the castle and hither and thither in the country, and many were killed; it was said, also, that certain knights were captured by women, nor did any of them get back to England save in abject confusion. The Earl of Hereford, the Earl of Angus, Sir [John] de Segrave, Sir Antony de Lucy, Sir Ingelram de Umfraville and the other nobles who were in the castle were brought before Robert de Brus and sent into captivity, and after a lengthy imprisonment were ransomed for much money. After the aforesaid victory Robert de Brus was commonly called King of Scotland by all men, because he had acquired Scotland by force of arms.

About the same time died King Philip of France.¹

Shortly afterwards, to wit, about the feast of S. Peter ad Vincula,² Sir Edward de Brus, Sir James of Douglas, John de Soulis and other nobles of Scotland invaded England by way of Berwick with cavalry and a large army, and, during the time of truce, devastated almost all Northumberland with fire, except the castles; and so they passed forward into the bishopric of Durham; but there they did not burn much, for the people of the bishopric ransomed themselves from burning by a large sum of money. Nevertheless, the Scots carried off a booty of cattle and what men they could capture, and so invaded the county of Richmond beyond, acting in the same manner there without resistance, for nearly all men fled to the south or hid themselves in the woods, except those who took refuge in the castles.

The Scots even went as far as the Water of Tees on that occasion, and some of them beyond the town of Richmond, but they did not enter that town. Afterwards, reuniting their forces, they all returned by Swaledale and other valleys and by Stanemoor, whence they carried off an immense booty of cattle. Also they burnt the towns of Brough and Appleby and Kirkoswald, and other towns here and there on their route, trampling down the crops by themselves and their beasts as much as they could; and so, passing near the priory of Lanercost, they entered Scotland, having many men prisoners from whom they might extort money ransom at will. But the people of Coupland,³

¹ 29th Nov., 1314.

² 1st August.

³ A ward of southern Cumberland.

fearing their return and invasion, sent envoys and appeased them with much money.

On the day¹ after the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary the King of England's parliament opened at York, whereat the king and the Earl [of Lancaster] with his adherents came to an agreement, and all of them approved of the ordinances above mentioned, which were confirmed by the seals of the king and the earl.

Now about the feast of S. Michael² the Earl of Hereford, who had married the King of England's sister, returned from Scotland, and in exchange for him were released the Bishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Mar (who had been reared in England), and the wife, sister, and daughter of my lord Robert de Brus.³ Howbeit, the Earl of Mar, having arrived at Newcastle, refused to go with them into Scotland, preferring to remain in England. From day to day sundry prisoners were released from the hands of the Scots, but only through very heavy pecuniary ransoms. About the feast of our Lord's birth⁴ the Earl of Angus was released, also Sir John de Segrave, and a little later Sir Antony de Lucy.

About the feast of the Epiphany the illustrious King of France died, not having reigned a full year.⁵

Meanwhile the Scots occupied both north and south Tynedale—to wit Haltwhistle, Hexham, Corbridge, and so on towards Newcastle, and Tynedale did homage to the King of Scots and forcibly attacked Gillesland and the other adjacent districts of England.

At this time also the Scots again wasted Northumberland; but from the aforesaid Nativity of Our Lord until the Nativity of S. John⁶ the Baptist the county of Cumberland alone paid 600 marks in tribute to the King of Scots.

The Scots, therefore, unduly elated, as much by their victory in the field as by the devastation of the March of England and the receipt of very large sums of money, were not satisfied with their own frontiers, but fitted out ships^{A.D. 1315.} and sailed to Ireland in the month of May, to reduce that

¹ 9th September.

² 29th September.

³ Queen Elizabeth was maintained at the king's charges during her captivity. In the year 1312-13 her expenses amounted to £125 5s. 2d. (*Wardrobe Accounts*, 5 Edward II.).

⁴ 25th December.

⁵ The date is wrong, Philip IV. died 29th November, 1314, Louis X. died 5th June, 1316—June instead of January.

⁶ 25th December, 1314—24th June, 1315.

country to subjection if they could. Their commanders were my lord Edward Bruce, the king's brother, and his kinsman my lord Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, both enterprising and valiant knights, having a very strong force with them. Landing in Ireland, and receiving some slight aid from the Irish, they captured from the King of England's dominion much land and many towns, and so prevailed as to have my lord Edward made king by the Irish. Let us leave him reigning there for the present, just as many kinglets reign there, till we shall describe elsewhere how he came to be beheaded, and let us return to Scotland.

The Scots, then, seeing that affairs were going everywhere in their favour, invaded the bishopric of Durham about the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul,¹ and plundered the town of Hartlepool, whence the people took to the sea in ships; but they did not burn it. On their return they carried away very much booty from the bishopric.

Also, a little later in the same year, on the feast of S. Mary Magdalene,² the King of Scotland, having mustered all his forces, came to Carlisle, invested the city and besieged it for ten days, trampling down all the crops, wasting the suburbs and all within the bounds, burning the whole of that district, and driving in a very great store of cattle for his army from Allerdale, Copland, and Westmorland. On every day of the siege they assaulted one of the three gates of the city, sometimes all three at once; but never without loss, because there were discharged upon them from the walls such dense volleys of darts and arrows, likewise stones, that they asked one another whether stones bred and multiplied within the walls. Now on the fifth day of the siege they set up a machine for casting stones next the church of Holy Trinity, where their king stationed himself, and they cast great stones continually against the Caldew gate³ and against the wall, but they did little or no injury to those within, except that they killed one man. But there were seven or eight similar machines within the city, besides other engines of war, which are called springalds, for discharging long darts, and staves with sockets for casting stones, which caused great fear and damage to those outside. Meanwhile, however, the Scots set up a certain great berefrai like a kind of tower, which was considerably higher than the city walls. On perceiving this, the carpenters of the city erected upon a tower of the wall against which that engine must come if it had ever reached the wall, a wooden tower loftier than

¹ 29th June.

² 22nd July.

³ On the west of the town.

the other ; but neither that engine nor any other ever did reach the wall, because, when it was being drawn on wheels over the wet and swampy ground, having stuck there through its own weight, it could neither be taken any further nor do any harm.

Moreover the Scots had made many long ladders, which they brought with them for scaling the wall in different places simultaneously ; also a sow¹ for mining the town wall, had they been able ; but neither sow nor ladders availed them aught. Also they made great numbers of fascines of corn and herbage to fill the moat outside the wall on the east side, so as they might pass over dry-shod. Also they made long bridges of logs running upon wheels, such as being strongly and swiftly drawn with ropes might reach across the width of the moat. But during all the time the Scots were on the ground neither fascines sufficed to fill the moat, nor those wooden bridges to cross the ditch, but sank to the depths by their own weight.

Howbeit on the ninth day of the siege, when all the engines were ready, they delivered a general assault upon all the city gates and upon the whole circuit of the wall, attacking manfully, while the citizens defended themselves just as manfully, and they did the same next day. The Scots also resorted to the same kind of stratagem whereby they had taken Edinburgh Castle ; for they employed the greater part of their army in delivering an assault upon the eastern side of the city, against the place of the Minorite Friars, in order to draw thither the people who were inside. But Sir James of Douglas, a bold and cautious knight, stationed himself, with some others of the army who were most daring and nimble, on the west side opposite the place of the Canons and Preaching Friars, where no attack was expected because of the height [of the wall] and the difficulty of access. There they set up long ladders which they climbed, and the bowmen, whereof they had a great number, shot their arrows thickly to prevent anyone showing his head above the wall. But, blessed be God ! they met with such resistance there as threw them to the ground with their ladders, so that there and elsewhere round the wall some were killed, others taken prisoners and others wounded ; yet throughout the whole siege no Englishman was killed, save one man only who was struck by an arrow (and except the man above mentioned), and few were wounded.

Wherefore on the eleventh day, to wit, the feast of S. Peter ad

¹ A siege engine which was constructed to contain men, who, when the sow was wheeled up to the wall, should proceed to sap the foundation under shelter.

Vincula,¹ whether because they had heard that the English were approaching to relieve the besieged or whether they despaired of success, the Scots marched off in confusion to their own country, leaving behind them all their engines of war aforesaid. Some Englishmen pursuing them captured John de Moray, who in the aforesaid battle near Stirling² had for his share twenty-three English knights, besides esquires and others of meaner rank, and had taken very heavy ransom for them. Also they captured with the aforesaid John, Sir Robert Bardolf, a man specially ill-disposed to the English, and brought them both to Carlisle Castle; but they were ransomed later for no small sum of money.

In the octave of the Epiphany³ the King of Scotland came stealthily to Berwick one bright moonlit night with a strong force, and delivered an assault by land and by sea in boats, intending to enter the town by stealth on the waterside between Brighthouse and the castle, where the wall was not yet built, but they were manfully repulsed by the guards and by those who answered to the alarm, and a certain Scottish knight, Sir J. de Landels, was killed, and Sir James of Douglas escaped with difficulty in a small boat. And thus the whole army was put to confusion.

About the same time, on the morrow of the Conception of the Blessed Mary,⁴ my lord Henry de Burgh, Prior of Lanercost, died, and was succeeded by Sir Robert de Meburne.

About the feast of the Nativity of S. John the Baptist⁵ the Scots invaded England, burning as before and laying waste all things to the best of their power; and so they went as far as Richmond. But the nobles of that district, who
A.D. 1316. took refuge in Richmond Castle and defended the same, compounded with them for a large sum of money so that they might not burn that town, nor yet the district, more than they had already done. Having received this money, the Scots marched away some sixty miles to the west, laying waste everything as far as Furness, and burnt that district whither they had not come before, taking away with them nearly all the goods of that district, with men and women as prisoners. Especially were they delighted with the abundance of iron which they found there, because Scotland is not rich in iron.

Now in that year there was such a mortality of men in

¹ 1st August.

³ 14th January, 1315-16. It was full moon.

⁵ 24th June.

² Bannockburn.

⁴ 9th December.

England and Scotland through famine and pestilence as had not been heard of in our time. In some of the northern parts of England the quarter of wheat sold for forty shillings.

After the Scots had returned to their own country, their King Robert provided himself with a great force and sailed to Ireland, in order to conquer that country, or a large part thereof, for his brother Edward. He freely traversed nearly all that part of it which was within the King of England's dominion, but he did not take walled towns or castles.

About the same time died Master William de Grenefeld, Archbishop of York, to whom succeeded my lord William de Meltoun; who, albeit he was one of the king's courtiers, yet led a religious and honourable life. Also in the same year there died my lord Richard de Kellow, Bishop of Durham, to whom succeeded my lord Louis de Belmont, a Frenchman of noble birth, but lame on both feet, nevertheless liberal and agreeable. He was appointed by the Pope, as was reported, because of a deceitful suggestion, whereby the Pope was led to believe that he [Louis] himself would hold the March of England against the Scots.

After the feast of S. Michael,¹ the Earl of Lancaster with his adherents marched toward Scotland as far as Newcastle in compliance with the king's behest; but the king declined to follow him as they had agreed upon together, wherefore the earl marched back again at once; for neither of them put any trust in the other.

In the month of October in that year, in the night after the day of S. Remigius,² and rather more than an hour after midnight, there was a total eclipse of the moon, and the whole moon was hidden for the space of one hour.

About the same time a certain knight of Northumberland, to wit, Sir Gilbert de Middleton, seized and robbed two cardinals who had landed in England not long before, because they came in the company of the aforesaid Louis de Belmont in order to consecrate him Bishop of Durham, as had been commanded by the Pope.

Also at the same time a certain knight of Richmond county, to wit, Sir John de Cleasby, having gathered together a number of malefactors and rogues, rose and devastated the district, plundering, robbing, and wasting, at his own and his people's pleasure, just as Sir Gilbert was doing in Northumberland with

¹ 29th September.

² 1st October.

his accomplices and rogues. But, by God's ordinance, both of them were soon taken. Sir John was put to his penance,¹ because he refused to speak when brought before the justiciaries, and he soon afterwards died in prison. Sir Gilbert, after [suffering] other punishments, was cut into four quarters, which were sent to different places in England.

About Pentecost² the King of Scotland returned to his own land from Ireland. In the same year before noon on the sixth day of September there was an eclipse of the sun.

A.D. 1317. After the feast of S. Michael³ the Pope sent a bull to England wherein he advised a truce between England and Scotland to last for two years after the receipt of the said bull. Now the English received the said bull with satisfaction, both on account of the dissension between the king and the Earl of Lancaster and because of excessive molestation by the Scots arising out of the said dissension, and they hung the bull according to the Pope's command in the cathedral churches and other important places. But the Scots refused to accept it, and paid it no manner of respect, and therefore came deplorably under the sentence of excommunication delivered by the Pope and contained in the said bull.⁴

In the middle of the said truce Pope Clement the Fifth died, and Pope John the Twenty-second was elected.

On the second day of the month of April, in mid-Lent, about midnight on Saturday, the Scots treacherously took the town of Berwick through means of a certain Englishman, Peter of Spalding, living in the town, who, being bribed by a great sum

¹ *Positus est ad pœnitentiam suam.*

² 22nd May.

³ 29th September. This is the famous bull which King Robert refused to read, as described by the Cardinals in their letter to the Pope (printed in *Fœdera* and given in abstract by Lord Hailes, ii. 74). The Pope's letter contained the following apology for not addressing Robert as king. 'Forasmuch as the matter of dispute regarding the kingdom of Scotland is still pending between thee and the aforesaid king [of England], we cannot with propriety address to thee the name of the royal title, and thy wisdom will not take it amiss that we have omitted to name thee as King of Scots in the same letters; especially as the council of our brethren would by no means sanction a denomination of that kind: nor would thy mother the Roman Church, who weigheth all her course and actions in the balance of equity, be doing according to her practice if she interfered between disputants to the detriment of either.'

⁴ The sentence of excommunication is printed in *Fœdera*. King Edward obtained it from the Pope by representing to him that King Robert and Edward Bruce were the only obstacles to his undertaking a crusade as recommended by the Council of Vienna.

of money received from them and by the promise of land, allowed them to scale the wall and to enter by that part of the wall where he himself was stationed as guard and sentry. After they had entered and obtained full possession of the town, they expelled all the English, almost naked and despoiled of all their property; howbeit, in their entrance they killed few or none, except those who resisted them. A.D. 1318.

Also the castles of Wark and Harbottle, to which they had already laid siege, were surrendered to them in that season of Lent,¹ because relief did not reach them on the appointed day. Also they took the castle of Mitford by guile, and subdued nearly the whole of Northumberland as far as the town of Newcastle, except those castles which have not been mentioned above. Howbeit the castle of the town of Berwick defended itself manfully against the town, but at length capitulated through want of victual.

About the same time there arrived in England for the first time the seventh book of Decretals, and the statute of Pope Boniface VIII. was renewed—*Super cathedram et cætera*—dealing with the relations between prelates of the churches and the Orders of Preachers and Minorites, and the statute of Pope Benedict XI. was revoked, because it seemed to be too much in favour of the Friars. Also there came the decree of Pope John XXII., under a bull and with the addition of severe penalty, that no cleric should have more than one church; whereas before that time a single rector or parson of a church could accept and hold as many churches as different patrons might be willing to confer upon him, notwithstanding that each such church depended upon his ministrations alone. During the whole of that time these two cardinals remained in England.

In the month of May the Scottish army invaded England further than usual, burning the town of Northallerton and Boroughbridge and sundry other towns on their march, pressing forward as far as the town of Ripon, which town they despoiled of all the goods they could find; and from those who entered the mother church and defended it against the Scottish army they exacted one thousand marks instead of burning the town itself.

After they had lain there three days, they went off to Knaresborough, destroying that town with fire, and, searching the woods in that district whither the people had fled for refuge with their

¹ *In illo tempore inedio.*

cattle, they took away the cattle. And so forth to the town of Skipton in Craven, which they plundered first and then burnt, returning through the middle of that district to Scotland, burning in all directions and driving off a countless quantity of cattle. They made men and women captives, making the poor folks drive the cattle, carrying them off to Scotland without any opposition.

In the same year, about the Nativity of the blessed John the Baptist,¹ there arrived in Oxford a certain unknown and ignoble individual, who, establishing himself in the king's manor (where the Carmelite Friars now dwell), made claim to the kingdom of England, alleging that he was the true heir of the realm as the son of the illustrious King Edward who had long been dead. He declared that my lord Edward, who at that time possessed the kingdom, was not of the blood royal, nor had any right to the realm, which he offered to prove by combat with him or with any one else in his place. When this was reported the whole community became excited and greatly wondered, certain foolish persons yielding adherence to this fellow, all the more readily because the said lord Edward resembled the elder lord Edward in none of his virtues. For it was commonly reported that he [Edward II.] had devoted himself privately from his youth to the arts of rowing and driving chariots, digging pits and roofing houses; also that he wrought as a craftsman with his boon companions by night, and at other mechanical arts, besides other vanities and frivolities wherein it doth not become a king's son to busy himself.² So when the said report reached the king, who was then at Northampton, he commanded that this man should be brought before him. When he came, the king addressed him derisively—'Welcome, my brother!' but he answered—'Thou art no brother of mine, but falsely thou claimest the kingdom for thyself. Thou hast not a drop of blood from the illustrious Edward, and that I am prepared to prove against thee, or against any one else in thy room.'

When he heard these rough words, the king commanded that he should be imprisoned as guilty of lese-majesty, and took counsel with his advisers what should be done with him. After a few days, when the council had been held and a very large

¹ 24th June.

² When John XXII. became Pope he addressed a long letter to Edward II. rebuking him for his fondness for light and boyish pursuits, and reminding him that, now he was king, he should put away childish things.

number of the people had been assembled, he was brought before the king's steward sitting in judgment, who asked the said man before the people what was his name. He answered that he was called John of Powderham. Whereupon the steward straightway pronounced sentence upon him, saying—'John of Powderham, whereas, either by the most wicked counsel of some other, or out of the iniquity and device of thine own heart, thou hast dared falsely and presumptuously to usurp and claim for thyself the right of inheritance of the realm of England, and whereas thou hast no right in that realm, but art an ignoble and unknown man, I pronounce upon thee as doom that thou be first drawn at the heels of horses, and secondly be hanged on the gallows, and thirdly be burnt.'

When this sentence had been pronounced and horses had been brought up to draw him, he, seeing none of the succour at hand which had been promised to him, and perceiving that he had been deceived, he besought a hearing for the love of God the Lord of Heaven. Having obtained a hearing he began to relate how a certain evil spirit¹ had appeared to him in dreams on various occasions before that time, and had promised him carnal pleasures and many other things that he desired; and always those things which that spirit promised him came to pass shortly afterwards. On one occasion as he was going to walk abroad alone in the fields, a certain man met him, who, after some little familiar conversation, asked him—'Wouldst thou become rich?' When he replied in the affirmative, the other enquired further whether he would like to be King of England. And when he, greatly wondering, replied that he would like to reign if that were by any means possible, the other said to him—'I, who now appear to thee in the likeness of a man, am that spirit which hath often before this appeared to thee in dreams'; and then he added—'Hast thou ever found me untruthful? Have I not fulfilled in act all that I promised thee in words?' He answering said—'I have found no falsehood in thee, but all that thou hast promised thou hast faithfully fulfilled.' Then said the other—'Nor shalt thou find me faithless now. Do homage unto me and I will cause thee to reign. And if the king, or any one else in his name, will offer to fight thee for the realm, I will assist thee and cause thee to conquer.'

Whereupon he made homage to him, who said—'Go to Oxford,

¹ *Spiritus Domini*, in Stevenson's edition, probably a misreading for *spiritus demonis*.

taking with thee a dog, a cock and a tom-cat; enter the king's manor, and there publicly claim thy right to the realm of England, and I will cause the hearts of the people to turn to thee, forasmuch as King Edward is by no means deeply beloved by the people.'

And when he [John] had related these things—'Thus did that evil spirit beguile me, and behold! I die a shameful death.' After this confession had been listened to, he was immediately drawn to the gallows, hanged there and afterwards burnt. Wherefore let everybody beware of the devil's falsehood and his cunning, nor pay any heed to the dreams which he may dream, according to the precept of Jeremy the prophet, as is said in the Book of Wisdom—'Dreams excite the unwary, and as one who catcheth at a shadow and pursueth the wind, so is he who taketh heed to the deceptive visions of a dream.'

In the same year, about the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin,¹ the Cardinals, who then were still in England, wrote to all the prelates of England that in every solemn mass on ordinary days as well as festivals, they should thrice denounce Robert de Brus, with all his counsellors and adherents, as excommunicate; and, by the Pope's authority, they proclaimed him infamous and bereft of all honour, and placed all his lands and the lands of all his adherents under ecclesiastical interdict, and disqualified the offspring of all his adherents to the second generation from holding any ecclesiastical office or benefice. Also against all prelates of Scotland and all religious men, whether exempt or not exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, who should adhere to the said Robert or show him favour they promulgated sentence of excommunication and interdict, with other most grievous penalties. Howbeit the Scots, stubbornly pertinacious, cared nothing for any excommunication, nor would they pay the slightest attention to the interdict. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that afterwards the weighty vengeance of God, in the appearance of a true heir of the realm, visited so rebellious a people, whose head (I will not call him king, but usurper) showed such contempt for the keys of Holy Mother Church.

Let us now hear what happened to his brother Edward in Ireland. Within fifteen days after the feast of St. Michael,² he came to the town of Dundalk with his Irish adherents and a great army of Scots which had newly arrived in Ireland to enable

¹ 8th September.

² That is, 14th October, the actual date of the battle of Dundalk.

him to invade and lay waste that land and [to harass] the King of England's people to the best of their power. But by God's help, nearly all these were killed by a few of the commonalty, excepting only those who saved themselves by flight; for they were in three columns at such a distance from each other that the first was done with before the second came up, and then the second before the third, with which Edward was marching, could render any aid. Thus the third column was routed, just as the two preceding ones had been. Edward fell at the same time and was beheaded after death; his body being divided into four quarters, which quarters were sent to the four chief towns of Ireland.

About the feast of the Nativity of S. John the Baptist the Christians were defeated by the Saracens in Spain.¹

Also in the same year a permanent agreement, as A.D. 1319. was thought, having been come to between the king and the Earl of Lancaster, they entered Scotland together, with a large army, about the feast of the Assumption of the Glorious Virgin, and set themselves to attack the town of Berwick, and almost scaled the wall in the first assault delivered with great fury, which when those within the wall perceived, many of them fled to the castle; but later, when the English slackened their attack, the inhabitants regained courage and defended themselves with spirit, manning the walls better than before and burning the sow² which had been brought up to the wall to mine it.

Meanwhile my lord Thomas Randolf, Earl of Moray and Sir James of Douglas, not daring to encounter the King of England and the earl [of Lancaster], invaded England with an army, burning the country and taking captives and booty of cattle, and so pressed as far as Boroughbridge. When the citizens of York heard of this, without knowledge of the country people and led by my lord Archbishop William de Meltoun and my lord the Bishop of Ely, with a great number of priests and clerics, among whom were sundry religious men, both beneficed and mendicant, they attacked the Scots one day after dinner near the town of Mytton, about twelve miles north of York; but, as men unskilled in war, they marched all scattered through the fields and in no kind of array. When the Scots beheld men rushing to fight against them, they formed up according to their custom in a single schiltrom, and then uttered together a tremendous shout to terrify the English, who straightway began to take to their heels at the sound. Then the Scots, breaking up their schiltrom

¹At Granada, on 24th June.

²See note to p. 389, *supra*.

wherein they were massed, mounted their horses and pursued the English, killing both clergy and laymen, so that about four thousand were slain, among whom fell the mayor of the town, and about one thousand, it was said, were drowned in the water of Swale. Had not night come on, hardly a single Englishman would have escaped. Also many were taken alive, carried off to Scotland and ransomed at a heavy price.¹

When the King of England, occupied in the siege of Berwick, heard of such transactions in his own country, he wished to send part of his forces to attack the Scots still remaining in England, and to maintain the siege with the rest of his people; but by advice of his nobles, who objected either to divide their forces or to fight the Scots, he raised the siege and marched his army into England, expecting to encounter the Scots. But they got wind of this and entered Scotland with their captives and booty of cattle by way of Stanemoor, Gilsland and those western parts. Then the king disbanded his army, allowing every one to return home, without any good business done.

But the excommunicate Scots, not satisfied with the aforesaid misdeeds, invaded England with an army commanded by the aforesaid two leaders, to wit, Thomas Randolf and James of Douglas, about the feast of All Saints,² when the crop had been stored in barns, and burnt the whole of Gilsland, both the corn upon which the people depended for sustenance during that year and the houses wherein they had been able to take refuge; also, they carried off with them both men and cattle. And so, marching as far as Borough under Stanemoor, they laid all waste, and then returned through Westmorland, doing there as they had done in Gilsland, or worse. Then, after ten or twelve days, they fared through part of Cumberland, which they burnt on their march, and returned to Scotland with a very large spoil of men and cattle.³

Howbeit, before the Nativity of our Lord, the wise men of both nations met, and by common consent arranged a truce between the kingdoms, to last for two years, and that truce was

¹This affair was called 'the Chapter of Mytton' because of the number of clergy engaged.

²1st November.

³These incessant raids provide very monotonous reading; but nothing short of constant repetition could give any adequate notion of the horror and cruelty of this kind of warfare, or of the utterly defenceless condition into which the lamentable rule of Edward II. allowed the northern counties to fall.

proclaimed on the march on the octave of the Nativity of our Lord.¹

At the same time the plague and the murrain of cattle which had lasted through the two preceding years in the southern districts, broke out in the northern districts among oxen and cows, which, after a short sickness, generally died ; and few animals of that kind were left, so that men had to plough that year with horses. Howbeit, men used to eat cattle dying in the aforesaid manner, and, by God's ordinance, suffered no ill consequences. At the same time sea fishes were found dead on the shores in great multitude, whereof neither man nor other animal nor bird did eat. Also in the southern parts of England the birds fought most fiercely among themselves, and were found dead in great numbers ; and all these three [phenomena] seem to have happened either in vengeance upon sinners or as omens of future events.

About the feast of S. Michael² a mandate came from the Pope for the denunciation of Robert de Brus as excommunicate with all who held intercourse with him. This, however, was no addition to the sentence pronounced before ; and he ^{A.D. 1320.} [Robert] paying no attention thereto, remained as obstinate as ever.

¹ 1st January, 1320.

² 29th September.

(To be continued.)

Spanish Reports and the Wreck at Tobermory

THE announcement that the timbers of a Spanish ship have been found on the spot which tradition fixes as the scene of the destruction of a vessel of the Armada gives fresh interest to the attempt to identify her. Hitherto students have been content to accept the statement of the late Captain Fernandez Duro that she was the *nao*, or ship, San Juan Bautista, attached to the squadron of Castilian galleons. Recently, however, doubts have been expressed as to whether Duro had any good authority for his statement, and it has been suggested that it was, perhaps, nothing but a surmise based on the Scottish tradition. The truth is, however, that his authority was of a very different character, and it is only due to the memory of an historian to whom we are indebted for so much new light on the Armada campaign that it should be recorded.

The source on which he relied is a document amongst that part of the papers of Don Bernadino de Mendoza, Ambassador of Philip II. to France, which is still in the Paris archives.¹ It is a letter written by no less a person than Captain Marolin de Juan, Pilot-General of the Armada. He was then at Havre, having put in there with the Santa Anna, the ship from which Recalde, Vice-Admiral of the Armada, had shifted his flag when she was disabled in the action off Portland. It was Christmas time, and on December 26 there came into the port four Scottish vessels, bringing thirty-two Spanish soldiers and a few sailors, the survivors of the great Venetian ship Valencera, which had been wrecked on the coast of Connaught. According to their report they had made their way across country to the Ulster coast, where they had procured boats to pass over to Scotland from 'a gentleman called Sorleboy,' presumably Sorleyboy M'Donnell, Lord of Dunluce. They had been landed on 'an island ten miles from the Scottish coast,' perhaps Islay or Arran, and thence had been passed on to Edinburgh, where after a month's entertainment at

¹ *Spanish Calendar*, 1587, etc. p. 500.

the king's expense, they had been granted a passage in four different ships to France.¹ On reaching Havre they had much information to give about the fate of vessels lost on the Irish coast, and in reporting it Captain Marolin wrote as follows, according to Mr. Martin Hume's translation :

'The ship Saint Juan Bautista, of Ragusa, 800 tons, was burnt in a Scottish port, with Don Diego Manrique on board. They say the only persons who escaped were fifteen, who were on shore at the time.'

Now when we consider how closely this statement agrees with the Scottish local tradition, how long the refugees stayed in Edinburgh, the centre of information, and that no other incident of the kind is recorded, it was no very serious stretching of the documentary evidence for Duro to advance to the statement that the Scottish port was Tobermory. To that extent he relied on Scottish tradition, but to that extent only.

As to the ship herself, it happens that our information is unusually full and precise. She was one of those which were reported as missing on June 25, when the Armada after its first start from Lisbon was driven by stress of weather into Coruña.² From the return then made we know that she had on board three captains—namely, Gregorio Melendez, her commander, with Diego Melgarejo, and Don Diego de Bazan, son of the Marquis of Santa Cruz. Marolin's statement that Don Diego Manrique was on board must be an error, for the name does not occur on any Armada list. True, an officer of that name is said to have returned in Recalde's ship, but from other sources we know this was not Don Diego, but Don Pedro Manrique.³ There were two companies of troops on board, and when she sailed from Lisbon her complement was returned as 227 soldiers and 75 sailors, but on leaving Coruña she had only 183 soldiers and 57 sailors.⁴ Her Ragusan owner or master (not her captain) was a man whose name is given variously as Fernando Horra, Fernando Ome, Fernando de Mero, and Fernan Dome.⁵ Her register was 650 tons 'burden' (equal to about 550 English measurement), and 800 'ton and tonnage.'

So far the evidence of identity is conclusive, but it has been

¹ Statement of Juan de Nova, *ibid.* p. 506.

² Fernandez Duro, *La Armada Invencible*, ii. 138.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 35, 80, 332, 333.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 138, 194.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 128, 181, 195, 321.

objected that there is an account of this ship having been lost in Ireland. The account in question is one written by Marcos de Aramburu, supérintendent and controller of the galleons of Castille, the squadron to which the San Juan Bautista was attached.¹ But if this account be carefully examined it will be found not to bear out the statement for which it is cited. Aramburu relates that with several vessels of his squadron he and Recalde had taken refuge from the weather on September 15 in an uninhabited harbour in Ireland, which he calls 'Vicey,' somewhere on the west coast. There on September 21 they were joined by Melendez and Bazan in the San Juan Bautista. She had lost her mainmast, and her foresail was blown to ribbons as she came in. It seemed hopeless she could carry on, and all the vessels were so short of water and victuals that Aramburu urged Recalde to burn her and get away as quickly as possible. Recalde, he says, consented to take the company of Gonzalo (*sic*) Melendez into his own ship and to distribute that of Diego de Bazan between two pinnaces that were there, but he insisted on staying to try to save the guns. Thereupon Aramburu urged his dire necessity, and Recalde told him he might go on his way with the ships in his charge. Aramburu therefore sailed away for Spain without seeing what happened to the San Juan Bautista. When Recalde came back to Coruña he was officially reported to have on board the company of Don Diego de Bazan which, the return states, had been transferred from the San Juan Bautista, 'which was scuttled in Ireland.'² Nothing is said of the company of Melendez or Melgarejo. The Venetian Ambassador reported the whole story to his Government, saying that in the uninhabited Irish port, a Ragusan had 'gone to the bottom,' though some of her crew and some of her guns were saved.³

Aramburu would certainly have reported her as lost in Ireland, and she is so entered in the official returns, but how she was lost they do not agree. One says she foundered, another that she was scuttled—clearly there was doubt; and in any case we know that these returns, made amidst the confusion of the disastrous homecoming, are full of errors. Vessels are even entered as lost which came home in the end. It is really a question of whether, as a matter of historical evidence, these casual and to some extent contradictory entries can be taken to override the later explicit state-

¹ Fernandez Duro, *La Armada Invencible*, ii. pp. 315 *et seq.*

² *Ibid.* p. 332.

³ *Venetian Calendar*, 1581, etc. p. 405.

ment of the Pilot-General, derived direct from the men who were in the best position to know the facts.

There is at least the possibility that Aramburu and Recalde's men who spread the report may have been mistaken. Aramburu did not see the alleged loss, and Recalde may have believed he left the ship in an almost hopeless condition. But no one seems to have seen her go down, nor is there any report of the return of her second company. It is conceivable, therefore, that when the ship had been lightened she was found still seaworthy, and that the rest of the troops preferred to remain in her to running the hazards of the overcrowded pinnaces. It is conceivable also that her commander may have believed that his best chance was to get back to Scotland, just as Leyva was trying to do when he was lost with all hands. In Scotland the Spaniards believed 'they would obtain succour,' as they said. But the fates were against the *San Juan Bautista*, if indeed it was she. Sir Lauchlan Maclean, into whose hands she fell, had an evil record, and only seven years before an English merchant, one William Nicolas, had petitioned Walsingham to press for the liberation of his ship the *White Hart*, which had been seized in the Isle of Mull by 'Lachlan McLane of the Out-Isles, some of the men being slain and cast to the dogs to be devoured.'¹

The only difficulty that remains is that, according to the Scottish tradition, the name of the ship was 'Florida.' But this in itself is no fatal objection to Marolin's story. In the Mediterranean it was the practice for ships to have two names—one their official or 'Christian' name (that is, the name of their patron saint), and the other the ordinary sea-name by which they were usually known. Thus to quote only two famous cases, the *Santa Maria Encoronada* was known as *La Rata* ('the Rat') and the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion*, which Drake took in the Pacific, was called the *Cacafuego*, or 'Spitfire.'

On the whole, therefore, we can say that the conclusion to which Duro came, on the very high authority of Marolin and the refugees from Scotland, may well be the right one. Every one can judge its validity for himself, and certainly no other conjecture has been made that can be compared to it for probability. The original idea of the Galleon of Florence has been abandoned, since she came home safely. A more recent conjecture, that she was the *Santiago*, 'in which sailed Antonio Pereira,' is based on the recovery of a silver plate bearing the Pereira arms. But here

¹ *Domestic Calendar*, 1581, etc. p. 30.

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we meet the same difficulty. The Spanish account which relates her part in the battle of Portland (from which we know Pereira was on board) tells how well she kept her station with Sidonia's flagship.¹ She must, therefore, have been the Santiago in his, the Portuguese, squadron—not the Santiago in that of Flores, as has been suggested. But that matters little. The Portuguese galleon Santiago returned safely to Santander, and so did both the Santiagos in the squadron of Flores. In the long list of vessels missing the only Santiago that occurs was one of the *urcas*, or hulks, and she is noted as 'lost in Ireland.'²

It may be added in view of the legend that the ship lost at Tobermory was the treasure-ship of the Armada, that two vessels are recorded to have carried the King's treasure to the amount of a hundred thousand ducats. One was the flagship of Don Pedro de Valdes and the other the San Salvador, the vice-flagship of the Guiposcoan Squadron, in which sailed the Paymaster-General. Both these ships were captured in the Channel.

JULIAN CORBETT.

¹ For Pereira, see *Armada Invincible*, i. 44, 500, 514.

² *Ibid.* ii. pp. 328-333.



THE ROMAN WALL IN SCOTLAND.

COINS RELATING TO BRITAIN (PIUS, COMMODUS. AND SEVERUS).