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## Loose and Broken Men

I FOUND the other day an old bundle of papers docketted as above in my own hand.

Many years ago I must have come on them at Gartmore, and as in those days it was what the people called a 'sort o' back-lying place,' traditions of the doings of loose and broken men still survived, though vaguely and as in a mist. The loose and broken men, whose fame still echoed faintly in my youth, were those who after the 'Forty-five' either were not included in the general amnesty, or had become accustomed to a life of violence.

Once walking down the avenue at Gartmore with my old relation, Captain Speirs, we passed three moss-grown lumps of pudding-stone that marked the ancient gallows-tree. Turning to it he said :

'Many's the broken man your ancestor, old Laird Nicol, hangit up there, after the Forty-five.' He also told me, just as if he had been speaking about savages, 'When I was young, one day up on Loch Ard-side, I met a Hielandman, and when I spoke to him, he answered "Cha neil Sassenach"; I felt inclined to lay my whip about his back.'

Even then I wondered why, but prudently refrained from saying anything, for the old Captain had served through the Peninsular Campaign, had been at Waterloo, and, as the country people used to say, he had 'an eye intil him like a hawk.'

This antipathy to Highlandmen which I have seen exhibited in my youth, even by educated men who lived near to the Highland

Line, was the result of the exploits of the aforesaid loose and broken men, who had descended (unapostolically) from the old marauding clans.

The enemy came from 'above the pass,' to such as my old uncle, and all the glamour Scott had thrown upon the clans never removed the prejudice from their dour Lowland minds.

Perhaps if we had lived in those times we might have shared it too.

One of the documents in the bundle to which I have referred is docketed 'Information for Mr. Thomas Buchanan, Minister of Tullyallan, heritor of Gouston in Cashlie.' Gouston is a farm on the Gartmore estate, on which I, in years gone by, have passed many long and wet hours measuring drains and listening to complaints. 'Laird, ma barn flure's fair boss.' 'Ye ken a' the grips are wasted.' 'I havena got a gate in the whole farm,' with much of the same kind; complaints no doubt all justified, but difficult to satisfy without Golconda or the Rand to draw upon, are ever present in my mind.

The document itself, one of a bundle dealing with the case, written I should judge by a country writer (I have several documents drawn up by one who styles himself 'Writer in Garrachel,' a farm in Gartmore barony), is on that thick and woolly but well-made paper used by our ancestors, and unprocurable to-day. The writing is elegant, with something of a look of Arabic about its curving lines. It states that:

'Ewan Cameron, Donald M'Tavish in Glenco, Allen Mackay, in thair (in thair, seems what the French would call "une terre vague," but has a fine noncommittal flavour in a legal document), John and Arch. M'Ian, his brethren, Donald M'Ian, alias Donachar, also Paul Clerich, Dugald and Duncan M'Ferson in Craiguchty, Robert Dou M'Gregor and his brethren, John and Walter M'Watt, alias Forrester, in Offerance of Garrochyle belonging to the Laird of Gartmore... came violentlie under cloud of night to the dwelling house of Isabell M'Cluckey, relict of John Carrick, tenant in the town of Gouston with this party above mentioned and more, on December sixteen hundred (the date is blank, but it occurred in 1698), and then on that same night, it being the Lord's Day, broke open her house, stript (another document on the case says "struck," which seems more consonant to the character of the Highlanders) and bound herself and children contrarie to the authoritie of the nation, and took with them her whole

insicht and plenishing,<sup>1</sup> utensils and domicil, with the number of six horses and mares, sixteen great cows and their followers, item thirty six great sheep and lambs and hogs equivalent, and carried them all away violentlie, till they came to the said Craiguchty, where the said Ewan Cameron cohabited.'

I fancy that in Craiguchty, which even in my youth was a wild-looking place, the 'authoritie of the nation' had little sway in those days. From another document in the bundle, it appears

<sup>1</sup> *The subjoined Inventory, dated 1698, shows how thoroughly the work was done. It also shows what a careful housewife Isabell M'Luckie was, and that she was a past mistress of the science of making a 'poor mouth.'*

Ane particular List of what goods and geir utencills and domicills was taken and plundered from Issobell M'Luckie Relict of the decest John Kerick by Eun Cameron and his Accomplices as it was given up by her self :

In primis there was Ane gray meir estat to	040	00	0
Item other three meirs estat to 20 lib p.p. is	060	00	0
It Ane flecked horse and ane black horse estat to 24 lib p.p	048	00	0
It there was taken away ten tydie Coues estat to p.p. 24 lib is	240	00	0
It three forrow Cowes giving milk estat to 20 lib pp is	060	00	0
It two yeild Cowes estat to 12 lib p.p. is	024	00	0
It two twoyeirols estat to 8 lib p.p. is	016	00	0
It there was taken away thirtietwo great southland Sheep estat to thre pound Scots p pice is	096	00	0
It there was fourtein hogs estat to 2 lib 10 sh: p.p is	021	00	0
It of Cloath and wolen yairn estat to	035	00	0
It Eight plyds viz four qrof double and four single estat to	048	00	0
It ane pair of wollen Clats estat to	001	16	0
It Ane pair of Cards estat to 2 mk is	001	6	8
It two heckles viz Ane fyne & ane courser estat to	003	18	0
It of mead neü harn in shirts 30 elns estat to	012	00	0
It of neü Linning in Shirts 24 elns estat to	012	00	0
It ten petticoats estat to	030	00	0
It four westcoats for women estat to	004	6	0
It thre gouns for women estat to	012	0	0
It on ax two womels a borrrall & a hamer estat to	002	10	0
It two brass pans estat	003	12	0
It two dozen & a half of spoons estat to	001	18	0
It on pair of sheetts & on pair blanqwets estat to	005	00	0
It on Covering estat to	004	00	0
It two bibles estat to	003	10	0
It on pair of tongs estat to	000	10	0
It 2 pair shoes & 2 pairs stockings estat to	005	08	0
It two green aprons estat to	003	00	0
It Ane pair of plou Irons and plough graith estat to	012	00	0
It Ane pistoll and a firelock estat to	010	00	0
It of readie Cash	013	06	8

that, not content with driving off the stock and bearing away the 'insicht and the plenishings,' the complainants and their servants 'were almost frichted from their Witts, through the barbarous usadge of the said broken and loose men.'

However, the 'mad-herdsmen,' as the phrase went then, drove the 'creagh' towards Aberfoyle. The path by which they carried it was probably one that I once knew well.

It runs from Gartmore village, behind the Drum, out over a wild valley set with junipers and whins, till after crossing a little tinkling, brown burn, it enters a thick copse. Emerging from it, it leaves two cottages on the right hand, near which grow several rowans and an old holly, and once again comes out upon a valley, but flatter than the last. In the middle of it runs a larger burn, its waters dark and mossy, with little linns in which occasionally a pike lies basking in the sun.

An old-world bridge is supported upon blocks of pudding-stone, the footway formed of slabs of whin, which from remotest ages must have been used by countless generations of brogue-shod feet, it is so polished and worn smooth. Again, there is another little copse, surrounded by a dry-stone dyke, with hoops of withes stuck into the feals, to keep back sheep, and then the track comes out upon the manse of Aberfoyle, with its long row of storm-swept Spanish chestnuts, planted by Dr. Patrick Graham, author of

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It ane buff belt	001 04 0
It two plyds estat to	016 00 0
It of Muslin and Lining and oyr fyn Close estat to	020 00 0
It ten elns of new black felt in yearn & wool	010 00 0
It Six Sack of tueling four elns each	008 00 0
It a canvas eight eln	002 13 04
It a quarter of Butter & half ston	002 00 0

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I flacked horse 4 year old

I bell broun horse 3 whyt feet 8 year old

2 bell broun mares whyt foted whyt nosed 7 year old

Merk of her sheep

prope in ye far lug & only cloven in ye near lug—

Loss of 20 bols of red land whyt corn sowing

It a hundred cups of sheep muck

It Sixtie cups of cows muck

It of silver rent

It of Lorne meal ten bols

It of expenses wt. M<sup>c</sup>Luckie at sevrel trysts

It of spy money

33 13 04
09 00 00
02 00 00
60 00 00
80 00 00
10 00 00
10 00 00

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*Sketches of Perthshire.* From this spot, Ewan Cameron, Donald M'Ian (*alias* Donachar) and Robert Dhu M'Gregor, might have seen, though of course they did not look, being occupied with the creagh, the church and ancient churchyard of Aberfoyle, and the high-pitched, two-arched bridge, under which runs the Avon-Dhu.

All this they might have seen as 'Ewan Cameron cohabited at Craiguchty,' near the Bridge of Aberfoyle. Had they but looked they would have seen the Clachan with its low, black huts, looking like boats set upside down, the smoke ascending from the wooden box-like chimneys,—these they did not mark, quite naturally, as they were the only chimneys they had ever seen; nor did the acrid peat-reek fill their nostrils, accustomed to its fumes, with the same smell of wildness as it does ours to-day.

Craigmore and its White Lady was but a ruckle of old stones to them, and if they thought of any natural feature, it may have been the Fairy Hill to which the Rev. Robert Kirke, their minister, had retired only six years before, to take up habitation with the Men of Peace.<sup>1</sup>

Most probably they only scrugged their bonnets, shifted their targets on their backs, called out to any lagging beast, or without stopping picked up a stone to throw at him. The retiring free-booters 'lay there (Craiguchty) the first night.' One can see them, going and coming about the little shieling, and Ewan Cameron's wife and children, with shaggy hair and uncouth look, coming out to meet them, just as the women of an Arab 'duar' come out to meet a marauding party, raising their shrill cries.

Some of the men must have been on guard all night to keep the animals from straying and to guard against surprise, and as they walked about, blowing upon their fingers to keep them warm, the cold December night must have seemed long to them.

They would sleep little, between the cold and fear of an attack. Long before daylight they would be astir, just as a war party of Indians, or cattle-men upon an expedition in America, who spend the colder hours before the morning seated around the fire, always rise just before the dawn to boil their coffee pots. We know what took the place of coffee with Ewan Cameron and his band, or can divine it at the least.

Next night they reached Achray, 'in the Earl of Menteith's

<sup>1</sup> See the *Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fairies and Fauns*, written in 1691 (?) and supposed to have been first published in 1815. It was reprinted in 1893, with Introduction by Andrew Lang.

land, and lay there in the town.' By this time the 'said hership' (that is, the stolen beasts) must have been rather troublesome to drive, as the old trail, now long disused, that ran by the birch copse above the west end of Loch Dunkie, was steep and rocky, and ill adapted for 'greate coves.'

Both at Craiguchty and Achray they had begun to sell their booty, for the tenants there are reported as not having been 'free of the hership.'

In fact, 'Walter and John M'Lachlin in Blairwosh' bought several of the animals. Their names seem not to have been concealed, and it appears the transaction was looked upon as one quite natural.

One, Donald Stewart, 'who dwells at the wast end of Loch Achray,' also 'bought some of the geare,' with 'certaine' of the sheep, and 'thereafter transported them to the highland to the grass.'

Almost unconsciously, with regard to these sheep, the Spanish proverb rises to the mind, that says, 'a sardine that the cat has taken, seldom or never comes back to the plate.'

So far, all is clear and above board. Ewan Cameron and his band of rogues broke in and stole and disposed of such of the booty as they could, sharing, one hopes, equitably between them the sum of 'fiftie six pounds, six shillings and eight pennies' (Scots) that they found in the house, reserving naturally a small sum, in the nature of a bonus, to Ewan Cameron, for his skill in getting up the raid.

As I do not believe in the word 'stripping,' and am aware that if we substitute the homelier 'striking' for it, no great harm would probably be done in an age when the stage directions in a play frequently run 'beats his servant John,' when speaking of some fine, young spark, all hitherto seems to have been conducted in the best style of such business known on the Highland line.

Now comes in one 'Alexander Campbell, alias M'Grigor,' who 'informs'; oh, what a falling off was there, in one of the Gregarach.

This hereditary enemy of my own family, and it is chiefly upon that account I wish to speak dispassionately . . . 'sed magis amicus veritas' . . . informed, that is he condescended to give his moral support to laws made by the Sassenach 'that Duncan Stewart in Baad of Bochasteal, bought two of the said coves.' Whatever could have come into his head? Could not this Campbell, for I feel he could not have been of the sept of Dougal Ciar Mor, the hero who

wrought such execution on the shaveling band<sup>1</sup> of clerks after Glen Fruin, have left the matter to the 'coir na claidheamh'?

So far from this, the recreant M'Gregor, bound and obliged himself 'to prove the same by four sufficient witnesses'—so quickly had he deteriorated from the true practice of his clan. His sufficient witnesses were 'John Grame and his sub-tenant in Ballanton, his neighbour Finley Dymoch, and John M'Adam, Osteleir in Offerance of Gartmore.' A little leaven leaveneth the whole, and the bad example of this man soon bore its evil fruit.

We find that 'Robert Grame in Ballanton' (that is not wonderful, for he was of a hostile clan and had received none of the spoil as justifiable hush money) also came forward, with what in his case I should soften into 'testimony.' Far more remains to tell. 'Jean, spouse to the said Ewan Cameron,' that very Ewan who so justly received a bonus as the rent of his ability, also came forward and informed. She deponed 'that Walter M'Watt was of the band,' although we knew it all before.

It is painful to me to record that the said M'Watt was 'tenant to said Laird of Gartmore,' for it appears according to the evidence of Ewan Cameron's wife that 'he brocht the said rogues to the said house, went in at ane hole in the byre, which formerly he knew, opened the door and cutted the bands of the said coves and horse.' This man, who after all neither made nor unmade kings, but only served his lord (Ewan Cameron), 'got for his pains, two sheep, a plyde, a pair of tow-cards, two heckles and a pair of wool cleets, with ane maikle brass pan and several other things.' The harrying of the luckless Isabell M'Clucky seems to have been done thoroughly enough, and in a business way. However, punishment possibly overtook the evil-doers, as Thomas M'Callum, 'who changed the said brass pott with the said M'Watt for bute,'<sup>2</sup> testified in confirmation of the above.

'Item Janet Macneall giveth up that she saw him take the plough irons out of a moss hole the summer thereafter with ane pott when he flitted out of Offerance to the waird, and that he sent the plaid and some other plenishing that he got to John

<sup>1</sup> I am well aware that gentlemen of the Clan Gregor have indignantly denied that Dougal Ciar Mor was the author of the slaughter of the students in Glen Fruin. If though we hold him innocent, how is he to be justified in the eyes of fame, for he seems to have done nothing else worthy of remark, . . . except of course being the ancestor of Rob Roy, an entirely unconscious feat of arms on his part.

<sup>2</sup> Bute = spoil.

Hunter his house in Corriegreenan for fear of being known. Item the said Walter M'Watt died tenant to the Laird of Gartmore and his spouse and the said John Hunter took and intromitted with the whole geir. Item Elizabeth Parland spouse to umquihle George M'Muir, Moorherd in Gartmore, informs she being ane ostlere, that they gave a cow that night they lifted the hership to Patrick Graeme in Middle Gartfarran in the byegoing betwixt him and his brother Alexander Graeme in Borland and also that the said Robert M'Grigor and his brethern with the said John M'Watt met them in the way, although they came not to the house.

Item that they sold the rest of the geir at one Nicol M'Nicol's house in the Brae of Glenurchy and the said Nicol M'Nicol got a flecked horse for meat and drink from them and lastly Dugald M'Laren and his brother Alexander got aquaviti among them. This is the true information of the said persons that I have endeavoured to get nottrie att, and if they be not material bonds and grounds of pursuit in it I give it over, but as I think the most material point is in the third article.'

So ends the document, leaving us in the dark as to what happened in the end, just as is usually the case in life.

The names of nearly all the witnesses, as Elizabeth Parlane, John Ffisher, Robert Carrick, Robert M'Laren, Thomas M'Millan, the pseudo-M'Gregor, and of course the Grames, were all familiar to me in the Gartmore of my youth.

All the place-names remain unchanged, although a certain number of them have been forgotten, except by me, and various old semi-Highlanders interested in such things, or accustomed to their sound. Ballanton, Craiguchty, Cullochgairtane (now Cooligarten), Offerance of Garrachel, Gouston of Cashlie, Bochaistail, Gartfarran, Craigieneult, Boquhapple, Corriegreenan, and others which I have not set down, as Milltown of Aberfoyle, though they occur in one or other of the documents, are household words to me.

What is changed entirely is the life. No one, I say it boldly, no one alive can reconstruct a Highlander of the class treated of in my document as Loose and Broken Men.

Pictures may show us chiefs. Song and tradition tell us tricks of manner; but Ewan Cameron, Robert Dou M'Grigor, and their bold compeers elude us utterly. A print of Rob Roy, from the well-known picture once in the possession of the Buchanans of Arden, hangs above the mantelpiece just where I write these lines.



He must have known many a "gallowglass" of the Ewan Cameron breed; but even he was semi-civilised, and of a race different from all my friends. Long-haired, light (and rough) footed, wild-eyed, ragged carles they must have been; keen on a trail as is an Indian or a Black-boy in North Queensland, pitiless, blood-thirsty, and yet apt at a bargain, as their disposal of the 'particular goodes, to wit, four horses and two mares,' the sheep and other 'gear' goes far to prove.

The mares and horses are set down as being worth 'thirtie six pound the piece overhead,' and I am certain Ewan Cameron got full value for them, even although the price was paid in Scots, for sterling money in those days could not have been much used 'above the pass.' It must have been a more exciting life in Gartmore and in Aberfoyle than in our times, and have resembled that of Western Texas fifty years ago. In London, Addison was rising into fame, and had already translated Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Prior was Secretary to the Embassy in Holland, Swift was a parish priest at Laracar, and in the very year (1698) in which Ewan Cameron drove his 'creagh' past the Grey Mare's Tail, on the old road to Loch Achray, Defoe published his *Essay on Projects*, and two years later his *True Englishman*.

Roads must have been non-existent, or at least primitive in the district of Menteith. This is shown clearly by the separation, as of a whole world, between the farm of Gouston, near Buchlyvie, and the shores of Loch Achray, where it was safe to sell in open day, beasts stolen barely fifteen miles away.

Men, customs, crops, and in a measure even the face of the low country through which those loose and broken men passed, driving the stolen cows and sheep, have changed. If they returned, all that they would find unaltered would be the hills, Ben Dearg and Ben Dhu, Craig Vadh, Ben Ledi, Schiehallion, Ben Voirlich, distant Ben More, with its two peaks, and Ben Venue peeping up timidly above the road they travelled on that December night, the Rock of Stirling, the brown and billowy Flanders moss, and the white shrouding mists.

R. B. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM.

## A Forgotten Scottish Scholar of the Sixteenth Century<sup>1</sup>

IN Smollett's comedy, *The Reprisal*, published in 1757, one of the characters, a Scottish ensign in the French service, makes this remark to his companion-in-arms, an Irish lieutenant of the name of Ochlabber, 'Hoot, fie! Captain Ochlabber, whare's a' your philosophy? Did ye never read Seneca *De Consolatione*, or Volusenus, my countryman, *De Tranquillitate Animi*?' It was not very likely that an Irish lieutenant should have heard of Volusenus, and still less likely that he had read his principal work. At least, only six years before the appearance of Smollett's play, a Principal of the university of Edinburgh, Dr. William Wishart, had published a new edition of Volusenus's book, accompanied by a prefatory epistle in which the writer<sup>2</sup> asks this question, 'How many to-day have heard anything of Volusenus?' If we go back a century earlier, we find that Volusenus was then no better known, even in his native country. In 1637 had appeared a previous issue of his book, and the editor, David Echlin, physician to Henrietta Maria, begins his dedication as follows: 'How much not only his parent Scotland, prolific in such geniuses, but all the nations of the earth, owe to Florentius Volusenus, this one little book of his amply testifies.' In view of the immense debt the world owed to Volusenus, however, it is somewhat curious to find the editor taking credit to himself for 'rescuing Volusenus from the jaws of Orcus.' These testimonies may suffice to prove that, though Volusenus may have been known to a few scholars, he had no place in the memories of the mass of his countrymen as one of the distinguished ornaments of their nation. Be it added that of the Scottish historians who wrote in

<sup>1</sup> Delivered as an Introductory Lecture to the Class of Ancient (Scottish) History in the University of Edinburgh.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. John Ward of Gresham College, London.

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, only one, Calderwood, mentions his name.<sup>1</sup>

In recent years, Florence Wilson, for such is his name in the vernacular, has attracted the attention of three distinguished scholars, all of whom recognised in him a rare and choice spirit whom his countrymen do not well to forget. It fell to Professor Robertson Smith to write an account of Wilson for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and he became so interested in the task that he made a special investigation of Wilson's career, with the result that he discovered two productions from his hand which had hitherto escaped notice. The late Dr. R. C. Christie, whose life was devoted to the study of the sixteenth century, and whose biography of the printer Étienne Dolet is the monument of his labours, also found in Wilson a subject of such interest that he contributed a sketch of him to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, in which he throws new light on certain periods of Wilson's career. Finally, a French historian, M. Ferdinand Buisson, well known for his services to primary education in France, has given a picture of Wilson and his surroundings which puts it beyond doubt that he was one of whom his country had reason to be proud.<sup>2</sup>

In the sixteenth century it was not the custom to write a two-volume biography of every person more or less distinguished immediately on his decease. At the close of his long life, George Buchanan wrote a brief sketch of his own career; and it was a wise precaution, since that sketch is the foundation of every biography that can be written of him. In the case of even the most notable scholars, a page or two prefixed to their works by some one more or less intimately acquainted with them is for the most part the sole record we have of their lives. So it is in the case of Florence Wilson, of whom we have a page of biography from the

<sup>1</sup> Calderwood's account of Wilson is as follows: 'Florence Wilsone, a Black frier, in Elgine of Murrey, threw off his monkish habite this yeere, (1539,) and fled out of the countrie. He was a learned man, and of great expectatioun, as Gesnerus gathered, partlie frome his workes, and partlie by conference with him at Lions. The yeere following, as he maketh mentioun in his Bibliothecke, when he was in England, he had some conference with the Bishop of Rochester. The bishop tooke him to have bene a merchaunt. But after some conference he perceived him to be a learned man, and burst forth in these words, "I mervel that the hereticks can interprete the Scriptures so perfytelie!" (*Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, i. pp. 133-4.)

<sup>2</sup> *Sébastien Castellion, sa Vie et son Œuvre* (Paris, 1892), vol. i. pp. 35-6.

hand of one who wrote some seventy years after his death.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately there are other stray sources of information which give us glimpses of him at certain periods of his life that are of special interest and significance. Anything approaching a detailed biography of him, indeed, is impossible with the materials at our disposal, yet, such as it is, our information presents us with a career and a personality which seems to have impressed and fascinated personages of the highest note, equally in the world of learning and of diplomacy.

Of Wilson's parentage we know nothing—his biographer making the bare statement that he was of good family. Nor have we any trustworthy record either of the date or the place of his birth.<sup>2</sup> As to the date, all that we can safely say is that he was born in the opening years of the sixteenth century, and thus was the contemporary of George Buchanan, who was born in 1506 or 1507, and with whom in later life he came to be in friendly relations. From a passage in his chief work we incidentally learn the part of the country with which at least a part of his youth was associated. He there represents himself as walking on the banks of the river Lossie in company with one William Ogilvie, who was to be his life-long friend, and discussing the eternal problems of human life and destiny.<sup>3</sup> As at the period when these discussions took place, he had studied philosophy for four years, we may infer that he had completed his course at some university where philosophy was taught.

In the sixteenth century, in Scotland, households did not frequently migrate from one part of the country to another. Under the conditions of feudal society the successive generations remained of necessity attached to the neighbourhood where they had originally struck root. It seems a fairly safe inference, therefore, that on the completion of his university course Wilson returned to his native district and his paternal home. And if the inference be correct, he was fortunate in the region of his birth. The Scottish historians, who wrote in the sixteenth century, celebrate

<sup>1</sup>The biographer was Thomas Wilson, advocate, son-in-law of Archbishop Adamson. The biography is attached to his edition of Adamson's Works (*Adamsoni Poemata Sacra*, Lond. 1619, 4to).

<sup>2</sup>His biographer gives no date, but specifies the place of his birth as 'the banks of the Lossie, not far from Elgin.' This statement was probably based on a passage in *De Animi Tranquillitate* referred to below.

<sup>3</sup>*De Animi Tranquillitate* (ed. 1751), p. 100.

the district of Moray as the garden of Scotland, unsurpassed elsewhere for the fertility of its soil and the beauty of its scenery. In Wilson's day natural scenery was not the object of aesthetic contemplation which it is in ours, but in a simple, human way they found their own pleasure in it, as their writings abundantly testify. Long afterwards, when settled in France, he recalled the beauties of his early haunts—the hills clothed with woods, the fertile fields and the neighbouring lake, Loch Spynie, frequented by swans.<sup>1</sup>

More important, in view of his subsequent career, is the fact that in the neighbouring town of Elgin he would find advantages which few other towns in Scotland could then offer. There was its cathedral, the most beautiful edifice of its kind in the country, though in Wilson's day it bore the marks of the sacrilegious hand of the Wolf of Badenoch, who in the previous century had avenged himself on the Bishop of Moray by ravaging his temple. In the cathedral and the community of ecclesiastics attached to it he would see the Church of Rome represented in its most august form, and the impression they made upon him appears in his description of the Temple of Peace, constructed of Parian marble, and where heathen virtue found its home.<sup>2</sup> In Elgin, also, towards the end of the previous century, 1489, the Chapter of the cathedral had founded a school which from the richness of the diocese of Moray was likely to have been one of the best in the country. As in all the cathedral schools of the time, Latin would be the main subject of study, and, if it were taught as it was taught in other schools of which we have the record, the aptest pupils would acquire a colloquial use of the Latin language which made them citizens of educated Europe. The Latin taught at Elgin in Wilson's day would, of course, be the mediæval Latin of the Church, and not that language as it had come to be written by the Latin humanists of the fifteenth century. In an interesting passage in his *Dialogue* Wilson expresses the consciousness of his disadvantage in not having been trained in the latest lights of the revival of letters. To the two interlocutors who desire him to expound his philosophy of life he apologises for himself as 'a barbarian, born and reared in an alien tongue and alien manners—that is to say, among the remote Britons; and late and superficially tinctured with that learning which for them is foreign and acquired.'<sup>3</sup> In point of fact, wherever he acquired the accomplishment, Wilson came to write Latin with a correctness

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* pp. 101 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 19.

which gained the applause of his contemporary scholars ; and he even criticises Erasmus for the negligence of his Latin style.<sup>1</sup> And we shall see that at a turning-point of his career the choiceness and elegance of his Latin speech gained him the friendship and patronage of one of the great princes of the Church, accomplished in all the learning of the age.

Indirectly from Wilson himself we learn that he studied at the University of Aberdeen, then the best equipped of the three universities that had been founded in Scotland during the fifteenth century. Under the munificent patronage of Bishop Elphinstone, its founder, it had a staff of thirty-six teachers—all, be it noted, members of the Collegiate Church of Aberdeen. At its head was a scholar of dubious fame in our literary annals, Hector Boyce,<sup>2</sup> who deserves a passing reference as the earliest known representative in Scotland of what is designated humanism. Born in Dundee about 1465, he had studied in Paris, where he subsequently taught philosophy in one of its most famous schools, the Collège Montaigu. Of all the colleges in the University of Paris, Montaigu had the reputation of being most hostile to the new lights of the time, and Erasmus bitterly rails against it as the stronghold of effete studies. The philosophy which Boyce taught in Montaigu, therefore, must have been the trifling dialectic into which scholasticism had degenerated at the close of the fifteenth century. But what is singular is that he writes a Latin style which in vocabulary and construction has nothing in common with the Latin of the schoolmen, as we have it, for example, in the writings of his contemporary, John Major. Boyce had evidently taken as his models the classical writers of Rome, more especially Livy, whom in his *History of Scotland* he obviously sought to emulate. Of that remarkable history this is not the occasion to speak. Here we are only concerned with the fact that Boyce belonged to a class of persons who are found in every age. By his natural instincts he was in full sympathy with the new tendencies of his time, but from early training and associations he could not entirely free himself from the trammels of the past.

As philosophy was the subject on which Boyce prelected, it is probable that it was at his feet Wilson sat during his university

<sup>1</sup> *De Animi Tranquillitate* (ed. 1751), p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter addressed later in life to his friend John Ogilvie, Wilson sends his greetings to Hector Boyce, whom, therefore, he must have known in his youth. *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, viii. Sept. 10, 1859.)

course at Aberdeen. Doubtless, the matter and method of Boyce's discourses were but a repetition of what he had learned in the benighted college of Montaigu. At all events, Wilson does not appear to have thought his four years' study of philosophy at Aberdeen to have been very profitably spent. 'The early part of my life,' he says, 'was passed in learning trifles; would that a good portion of it had been devoted to learning the Greek and Latin tongues. From that neglect I find myself deficient in those advantages which are requisite to one who wishes to succeed in literature.'<sup>1</sup> Here speaks the scholar, for whom the study of classical antiquity was the most desirable discipline for the human spirit. By an interesting coincidence, about the very period when Wilson was listening to Boyce, George Buchanan was studying at St. Andrews under John Major, the schoolman pure and simple. And Buchanan was as irreverent towards his master as was Wilson. 'John Major,' he says, 'wasted our time in dialectic subtleties and sophistical arguments.' It was the meeting of the old world and the new. Wilson and Buchanan were both children of the Renaissance, though each pursued a path of his own. The predilection of Wilson was reflective meditation on the problems of life, while the interests of Buchanan were in literature, and especially in poetry, in which he was to win such a resounding reputation among his contemporaries.

On his completing his university course at Aberdeen, as we saw, Wilson appears to have settled for a time at or near Elgin. When next we hear of him he is in Paris, there, like so many of his contemporaries, completing the studies he had begun in his native country. There was a special inducement for students of the diocese of Moray to proceed to the University of Paris. So far back as 1325 a Bishop of Moray had founded a college there for the instruction and accommodation of youths of his diocese who might choose a career of learning. In time the college had been opened to Scots from all parts of the country, but natives of Moray would have a preferable claim, and it is natural to suppose that, on his first settlement in Paris, Wilson would be a bursar (exhibitioner) of that college.

At this point begins the period of Wilson's career of which we have any direct knowledge, and which brings him before us as one whose gifts and graces gained him the confidence of the greatest persons in Church and State. At some date before 1528 we find that he has made the acquaintance of no less a personage than

<sup>1</sup> *De Animi Tranquillitate*, p. 250.

Cardinal Wolsey, to whose son, euphemistically designated his nephew, he is acting as tutor during his residence in Paris. From the earliest of the few letters we have from Wilson's hand we learn that in the autumn of 1528 he was residing with Wolsey at Richmond, and we may assume that previous to that date there had been more or less intercourse between them.<sup>1</sup> Through his association with Wolsey, Wilson would have the opportunity of knowing the leading men of the time in England, and we have it from himself that he was on familiar terms with Bishops Fisher and Gardiner, and Dr. Fox, afterwards Bishop of Hereford,<sup>2</sup> all of whom were to play their own parts in the momentous events of the next quarter of a century. A kindred spirit to Wilson would have been Sir Thomas More, but More's name does not occur in the list of eminent Englishmen with whom he was associated. Though an acceptable guest at the tables of the great, he steadfastly maintained his independence of mind. On one occasion,<sup>3</sup> he tells us, he found that in his intercourse with a certain exalted personage he was expected to pay court to him in a fashion that compromised his self-respect, whereupon he cut the connection, though this implied the temporary sacrifice of his own fortunes. According to John Major, 'fier comme un Escossois' was a byword in France in his day, and it would seem that Wilson had his share of the national characteristic.

In 1528, when Wilson was his housemate, the fate of Wolsey was trembling in the balance. In the course of the negotiations connected with the divorce of Catherine of Arragon he had incurred the suspicions of his imperious master Henry; in 1529 came his tragic fall; and in November of the following year he died a broken man. The ruin of Wolsey involved a change in the fortunes of Wilson, but he was lucky enough to find a new patron, with whom he was to be associated for the next six or seven years. This new patron was Thomas Cromwell, formerly Wolsey's secretary, but who now took Wolsey's place in the councils of Henry. It is in a new capacity, however, that we now find our wandering Scot. From an entry in the State Papers of Henry VIII. under the date 24th May, 1530, we learn that he is again in Paris, and that Dr. Fox has been commissioned to pay him the sum of £6 13s. 4d. The money had been sent by

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, 1st October, 1528.

<sup>2</sup> He mentions his intimacy with these persons in *De Animi Tranquillitate*.

<sup>3</sup> *De Animi Tranquillitate*, p. 235.



Cromwell, for whom Wilson was now performing certain services in Paris. What these services were appears from letters addressed by Wilson to Cromwell that have been preserved. The first letter,<sup>1</sup> dated 25th April, 1531, is written in English, and is the only specimen preserved of Wilson's composition in the vernacular. The letter has in parts been destroyed by fire, but enough of it has been preserved to show its general purport. The information it conveys is mainly concerned with cases of heretical preaching in France, a subject in which Cromwell would be naturally interested as bearing on his own policy towards the Church. What is more to our purpose, however, are the personal references which the letter contains. We learn from it that Wilson has a benefice in Kent, probably the gift of Cromwell, and that in his absence his duties are performed by a procurator, for whom he prays Cromwell's good offices. He had been commissioned to purchase books for Cromwell in Paris, but his purse is empty (its usual condition, he says), though he is assured by Maister Hampton that he would not lack money for anything that concerned Cromwell's interests. In the course of fifteen or sixteen days he was returning to England, when he would report the rest of his news.

What is noteworthy in this letter is the familiar tone with which he addresses the great minister, now the chief adviser of the King of England.<sup>2</sup> Evidently there had been much previous intercourse between them, and Cromwell, who was noted for his discernment of men, had seen that Wilson possessed the qualities of a useful agent. We see, therefore, the new capacity in which Wilson now found himself. He was one of those many emissaries for whom Cromwell found employment in keeping him informed of all the movements on the continent which might have a bearing on his own policy in the conduct of English affairs.

Other letters of Wilson's belonging to the same period further illustrate the nature of the business which he transacted for Cromwell in Paris. The 'Maister Hampton' just mentioned informs Cromwell that Wilson has spent ten or twelve crowns in buying books for him—a sum he was little able to spare, and which he (Hampton) had made good to him. Wilson was coming to England to look after his benefice in Kent, which is in danger of being taken from him.

<sup>1</sup> This letter, and another addressed to Dr. Starkey, appear in vol. i. of the *Bannatyne Miscellany*.

<sup>2</sup> In a subsequent letter Wilson apologises for the familiarity of his address.

A second letter of Wilson's to Cromwell proves that he was in complete sympathy with Cromwell's ecclesiastical policy. It is dated 19th September, 1535, by which date, it will be remembered, Henry VIII. had definitely broken with the Church of Rome, and Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More had been sent to the scaffold for refusing to acknowledge Henry as Head of the Church in England. The letter further shows that Wilson was known as Cromwell's accredited agent in Paris. The bearer of communications addressed to Henry from Rome had requested Wilson to supply him with credentials to Cromwell, who might secure his access to Henry. And Wilson had his own information to convey to Cromwell regarding the attitude of France towards English policy. A certain Captain Jean Borthwick (evidently a Scotsman in the service of France), who had lately come from England, had made a most favourable report of the state of that country in the presence of the King of France and his leading councillors, and urged them to stand by Henry in his quarrel with Rome. But the most interesting statement in the letter, so far as Wilson is concerned, is in its concluding sentence. 'I leave this day for Italy,' he writes, 'to see if I can gain my living in some university there.'<sup>1</sup> So it would appear that his connection with Cromwell had not put money in his purse.

At this period begins the part of Wilson's life which is of essential interest—the period when he comes before us as a typical scholar of the Renaissance. While resident in Paris he had had other illustrious patrons besides Cromwell, doubtless commended to them by his connection with the English government as well as by his own personal qualities. One was the Cardinal of Lorraine, brother of Mary of Lorraine, second wife of James V. The great family of Guise, to which the Cardinal belonged, had not at this time attained the ascendancy which at a later date made it supreme in the councils of France, but the high rank and ambition of its different members already gave it a foremost place in the kingdom. The Cardinal himself was one of those magnificent ecclesiastics who followed the fashion set by the churchmen of Italy of posing as a patron of learning and learned men, and on Wilson he conferred an annual pension, so intermittently paid, however, that Wilson apparently found it necessary to find a more satisfactory patron.<sup>2</sup> The scholars of the period,

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers of Henry VIII.* 19th Sept. 1535.

<sup>2</sup> The Cardinal of Lorraine may have been the exalted personage who exacted a subservience which Wilson resented.

it is to be remembered, saw no indignity in these relations; in their own estimation they conferred honour on the rich and great who gave them of their superfluity. Such was the plea of men like Erasmus and our own Buchanan when they appealed for pecuniary assistance to enable them to live and pursue their special studies.

Wilson's new patron was Jean du Bellay, Bishop of Paris, and one of the leading French diplomatists of the time. As du Bellay had been ambassador in England during the years following 1527, he had probably made Wilson's acquaintance in the circle of Wolsey and Cromwell.<sup>1</sup> When Wilson informed Cromwell that he was on the point of starting for Italy, he did not add that it was in the suite of the bishop he would accomplish the journey. Such was the case, however, and the fact need not surprise us, as it was then the custom of the great to have a scholar in their train who might entertain them with their learned conversation.<sup>2</sup> Buchanan, for example, accompanied the Maréchal de Brissac in his military campaigns, and was an honoured guest at his table.

We know that Wilson visited Italy at some period of his life, but it was not at this time. While on the road to Rome, he fell ill at Avignon and found himself in circumstances which throw a curious light on the bishop's liberality. He was not only ill, but so destitute of means that he could not even procure the common necessaries of life. On his recovery he recalled a conversation he had had in the previous summer with a friend in London, who had recommended the town of Carpentras as a congenial place for quiet study.<sup>3</sup> But there was an additional inducement that drew him to Carpentras. An important school had lately been established there, and it had come to Wilson's knowledge that the managers were looking out for a master to take charge of one of its departments. As it happened, the person who would have the chief influence in the appointment was one whose reputation as a scholar and a patron of scholars was known to all the learned world. This was Jacopo Sadoletto, Bishop of Carpentras,<sup>4</sup> who on account of the elegance of his Latin style had held the post of Apostolical Secretary to two successive popes. In Sadoletto were combined a genuine piety and a cultivated taste rarely found

<sup>1</sup> Du Bellay was a patron of Rabelais among others.

<sup>2</sup> As we have seen, Wilson's intention was to seek some scholastic appointment in Italy. He had, therefore, no special post in du Bellay's train.

<sup>3</sup> *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, Wilson to Dr. Starkey, 21st Nov. 1535.

<sup>4</sup> Sadoletto was made a cardinal in the following year, 1536.

among the high ecclesiastics of the time. He was one of a small group of eminent churchmen who aimed at a reconciliation between Protestantism and Catholicism on the basis of a liberal religion which would preserve the unity of Christendom, and thus avert the disasters which must follow a divided authority in the Church. But our chief interest in Sadoleto in the present connection is that from his hand we have the only characterisation of Wilson which enables us to realise what manner of man he was.

On a day in November, 1535, Wilson, with recovered health, walked from Avignon to Carpentras, a distance of some twenty miles, and reached Sadoleto's episcopal palace at nightfall. In a letter of Sadoleto we have an account of the interview that followed, and the letter, be it said, is one of the most generally interesting documents of the time that have come down to us. It is a representative specimen of the epistolary style in which the humanists of the period sought to emulate Cicero and Pliny, and it breathes the very spirit of that zeal for classical antiquity which created a bond of union between the scholars of all countries. Moreover, as has been said, it presents us with a portrait of Wilson which explains what it was in him that attracted so many different types of men. The letter was written four days after the arrival of Wilson at Carpentras, and is addressed to a cousin of Sadoleto's who had been commissioned to secure a suitable person for the vacant mastership. The letter is too long to be quoted in full, but even an abridgement of it will convey its general character.

Four days ago, Sadoleto writes, he had sat down for an evening's study, when his chamberlain announced that a stranger, by his gown evidently a scholar, desired to see him. He was annoyed at being disturbed, but he ordered the visitor to be admitted. The cardinal is at once arrested by the stranger's address, and by the refinement and choiceness of his Latinity. Questions then follow. Whence did he come, where had he been educated, what was his past history? To his surprise Sadoleto learns that the stranger comes from Scotland, 'that remotest part of the earth.' His name, he learns, is Volusenus, and he had come from Avignon to Carpentras partly to make the acquaintance of Sadoleto, and partly to offer himself as a candidate for the vacant post in the school at Carpentras. Meanwhile Sadoleto is every moment becoming more and more charmed with the modesty and evident accomplishments of his visitor, and is delighted at the prospect of having such a man in his neighbourhood. On the following day he invites the magistrates of the

town to meet the stranger at dinner, when Wilson displays such gifts and graces that the magistrates there and then offer him the vacant post in their school.<sup>1</sup>

Though introduced to his new position under such happy auspices, Wilson apparently did not find it altogether to his mind. His annual salary was a hundred gold crowns<sup>2</sup>—a sum which Sadoletto must have thought inadequate, as in the following year he besought the Cardinal of Lorraine to renew his former pension to Wilson on the ground that he was as assiduous in his studies in Carpentras as he had been in Paris.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the subjects Wilson had to teach—Latin grammar and the rudiments of Greek—were uncongenial to him, as his own predilection was for the study of philosophy.<sup>4</sup>

How long Wilson retained his post at Carpentras no authority informs us,<sup>5</sup> but what further notices we have of him associate his last years not with Carpentras but with the neighbouring city of Lyons. Lyons was at this time the intellectual capital of France; from its printing-presses issued the most important publications of the day; and scholars from all countries found a society within its walls which was hardly to be found elsewhere. In Lyons Wilson must either have permanently resided, or have paid it long and frequent visits, as he was an esteemed intimate of the most distinguished men who resided there.<sup>6</sup> Two references to him, which belong to this period, deserve to be quoted as showing the quality of his mind and the range of his accomplishments. One is from Conrad Gesner, whose encyclopædic knowledge gave him pre-eminence even in that age of prodigious acquirements. Gesner, who met Wilson in Lyons in 1540, describes him as being then still only a youth, and adds that from his erudition great things were expected to the benefit of all the learned.<sup>7</sup> More specific as to Wilson's accomplishments is the reference of another scholar, who depicts him as having, in addition to his virtues and pleasant manners, not only a knowledge of the arts

<sup>1</sup> *Sadoleti Epistolarum libri sexdecim* (Lugduni, 1554), p. 657.

<sup>2</sup> In the letter just quoted Sadoletto states the salary as 100 gold crowns; Wilson in his letter to Starkey says the sum was 70 crowns.

<sup>3</sup> *Sadoleti Epistolæ*, p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson to Starkey, 21st Nov., 1535.

<sup>5</sup> His death at Vienne on his journey home may imply that he had started from Carpentras, where he may have been residing.

<sup>6</sup> See Buisson, *op cit.* i. pp. 35-6.

<sup>7</sup> *Gesneri Bibliotheca Universalis* (Tiguri, 1545), f. 245-6.

and sciences, but also an acquaintance with six languages—among them being French, Italian, and Spanish—which he had acquired in the countries where they were spoken.<sup>1</sup> From these references and from other sources it is apparent that among the distinguished men in Lyons Wilson was among the most distinguished, and that his society was sought as an honour and a privilege.

The year 1546 is recorded as the date of his death. In that year he set out for his native land, which, so far as we know, he had only once visited since he had first left it. Scotland at this time was not an inviting place for men of Wilson's tastes and ways of thinking. In 1546 George Wishart was burned and Cardinal Beaton murdered, and, as affairs went in Church and State, Wilson who, as we shall see, was neither a sound Protestant nor a sound Catholic, might find himself between two fires. Before starting on his homeward journey, therefore, he consulted Sadoletto as to the course he should follow in a land so distracted by civil and religious strife. Sadoletto's advice was characteristic; the existing religious dissensions in the religious world, he wrote, were such as to try men's faith, but he recommended Wilson, as far as in him lay, to abide by the religion of his fathers and dedicate to its service the gifts which had been bestowed upon him.<sup>2</sup>

But Wilson was not destined to see his native land. On his journey home he died at Vienne on the Rhone, under what circumstances no record tells us. His death was lamented by one who, like himself, represented Scotland in the European society of letters. At some period which we cannot definitely fix, Wilson had met George Buchanan, probably in Paris, and, though their respective careers did not again bring them together, each continued to retain for the other an esteem, of which, as it happens, two memorials remain. In the library of the University of Edinburgh is preserved a Hebrew dictionary with this inscription: *Georgius Buchananus: Ex munificentia Florentii Voluseni*; and from the pen of Buchanan we have an epitaph on Wilson, the poignant brevity of which is the best evidence that it came from the heart.

Hic musis, Volusene, jaces, carissime, ripam  
Ad Rhodani, terra quam procul a patria!  
Hoc meruit virtus tua, tellus quae foret altrix  
Virtutum, ut cineres conderet illa tuos.

<sup>1</sup> *Les emblèmes de Seigneur André Alciat, de nouveau translantz en François, vers pour vers, jouxte la diction Latine*, etc. (Lyons, 1549).

<sup>2</sup> *Sadoleti Epistolae*, p. 639.

The work which preserved Wilson's name among the learned for at least two centuries after his death was his *De Animi Tranquillitate*.<sup>1</sup> That it had a considerable circulation during that period is proved by the fact that it passed through four editions, the first of which appeared in 1543 and the last in 1751. The special charm it had for certain minds can easily be understood. It is written in a Latin style which, though interspersed with unclassical words and phrases, is fluent and easy, and it abounds with literary allusions which appeal to the scholar. But its chief attractiveness is in its fine vein of meditation, suggestive at once of a wide humanity, of refinement, and moral elevation, which we know to have been Wilson's characteristics. The book is written in the form of a dialogue—obviously in imitation of the philosophical dialogues of Cicero. There are three interlocutors, Wilson himself and two friends, who are represented as looking to him as their master, from whom they expect to hear words of wisdom. The scene of the conversation is a garden on the slope of a hill overlooking the town of Lyons and the surrounding country. The main intention of the book, a good-sized octavo, is to show the superiority of the Christian religion, compared with pagan philosophy, in furthering man to his highest good. At the period when the book was written, be it noted, this was not merely an academic thesis: it was an address to the times. In Italy especially, admiration for the Greek and Roman classics had gone so far that the Church itself seemed on the way to be paganised. Cardinal Bembo, one of the devotees of the ancients, warned Sadoletto against reading St. Paul's Epistles for the reason that they would corrupt his Latin style, and Erasmus expressed his fear lest Jupiter should one day be re-enthroned on the Capitoline Hill. In the exposition of his theme Wilson adopts the conventional device of a dream, in which he has a vision of two temples, one symbolising pagan philosophy, the other Christianity. In the first temple he is attended by a philosopher who expounds to him the conditions under which tranquillity is attainable by man's own unaided efforts; in the second, he has for his guide St. Paul, who convincingly shows him that, not by his own good works, but only by the grace of God,<sup>2</sup> can man attain salvation and the highest bliss. The fact

<sup>1</sup> It may be worth noting that a copy of *De Animi Tranquillitate*, which had belonged to Dr. Samuel Parr, was presented to the Elgin Literary and Scientific Association by Dr. Taylor in 1861. I. Taylor, *A Memoir of Florentius Volusenus*. Elgin, 1861.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Robertson Smith says that Wilson 'ultimately reaches a doctrine as to the witness of the spirit and the assurance of grace, which breaks with the

that Wilson chose St. Paul as the exponent of Christian doctrine would seem to indicate his own leanings in the great controversy between Rome and Protestantism. That he had not actually broken with the Church of Rome is proved by the fact that before starting for Scotland, as we have seen, he had consulted Sadoletto as to the course he should follow in that country. It is certain, however, that there was much in that Church with which he was out of sympathy. In his Treatise, which we are considering, he speaks scathingly of the vice and indolence of the higher clergy, and he cordially expresses his approval of certain Italian reformers who were pressing for a religious renewal virtually along the lines of Luther.<sup>1</sup> More significant, however, is the fact that he approved of Henry VIII.'s assumption of the Headship of the Church in England, and that, as we have seen, he actually wrote in defence of Henry's ecclesiastical policy. The truth seems to be that at the time of his death Wilson stood in the same relation to the Church as men like Erasmus and Buchanan. Both Erasmus and Buchanan were unsparing in their denunciations of its abuses, but both remained members of its communion, though in the end Buchanan went over to Protestantism. Had Wilson lived to settle in Scotland, the probability is that he would have done likewise.

From this sketch of Wilson's career, necessarily fragmentary as it is, we may yet conceive what manner of man he was. It is itself a striking tribute to his personality that he was admitted to intimacy with the first men of the age—men who were fashioning the destinies of kingdoms. That he should have commended himself to men so different as Wolsey, Cromwell, Fisher, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and Cardinal Sadoletto, is conclusive proof of the breadth of his interests, of his practical sagacity, of his tact in the ways of the world. But Wilson found his most congenial society, not among statesmen and diplomatists, but among men whose main concern was to make prevail that ideal of a *pietas litterata*, a cultured piety, which should combine the essential teaching of Christianity with the free outlook on life of classical antiquity. By his elevation of mind, his various accomplishments, and his gift of persuasion, Wilson was a natural leader in such a society. If we look for a kindred spirit among his

traditional Christianity of his time, and contains ethical motives akin to, though not identical with, those of the German Reformation.' (Article on Wilson in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.)

<sup>1</sup> *De Animi Tranquillitate*, pp. 3, 5, 242.



countrymen, we may find him in Archbishop Leighton, that 'Christianised Plato,' as Coleridge calls him. In Leighton's discourses delivered as Principal of the University of Edinburgh, we have the same richness of classical culture in a mind 'naturally Christian,' the same spirit of renouncement, which yet did not preclude an active, practical beneficence. Leighton's lot was cast on a time which demanded a more strenuous nature than his, and had Wilson lived to return to his native country, his lot would have been similar. In the civil and religious dissensions which then distracted Scotland, his quietism, like that of Leighton, might have been found an unseasonable virtue. As it was, he was spared the stern test, and he comes before us as one of the select spirits of his nation, somewhat veiled from our gaze, but with lineaments sufficiently distinguishable to justify us in paying tribute to him, as one who in his generation stood for the best that men then felt and knew.

P. HUME BROWN.

## Authorship of the Chronicle of Lanercost<sup>1</sup>

THE authorship of the Chronicle of Lanercost, when the manuscript first came within the cognisance of literary men, was unhesitatingly ascribed to the canons of the house which bears its name, and such origin does not appear to have been doubted till the transcript in the Cotton collection was printed in 1839 as a joint-production of the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs under the care of the Rev. Joseph Stevenson.

Nothing is known of the history of the manuscript of the Chronicle (Cotton MS. Claudius, D. vii.) before the sixteenth century, when it came into the possession of Sir Henry Savile, who published his *Scriptores post Bedam* in 1596. There is little doubt that the manuscript belonged to him before it passed into the collection of Sir Robert Cotton. Not only is there a printed label bearing Sir Henry's name pasted on the fly-leaf, but traces of perusal by him may be ascertained from annotations in the margin. For example, the phrase 'in comitatu Roberti de Sabuil' on folio 97 is underlined in the text, and a note is placed in the margin to call attention to the early occurrence of the name. Indications are not wanting on several folios that the manuscript was used by students and that attempts were made to disclose the constituent parts of the compilation.

The whole manuscript, which is bound in one volume, comprises 242 vellum leaves or 484 folios, arranged in double column and written in a hand apparently of the fourteenth or early fifteenth century. There is some evidence that the hand varies, but not perhaps more than may be ascribed to different sessions by the same writer. In the later portions of the manuscript, say from folio 66, which represents the year 1181, a new style of rubric and illumination begins. Perhaps a uniform style should not be assumed for any large sections of the narrative. The

<sup>1</sup>The references in footnotes, when not otherwise stated, apply to the pages of Sir Herbert Maxwell's forthcoming volume of this translation, of which I have seen a proof copy.

scribe did not always finish his folio before commencing the next. Several columns are blank, occasionally a whole folio. In one instance at least, he had just commenced a new folio (fol. 101) under the year 1190, but before he had proceeded far down the first column and had written 'Deinde Rex Anglie,' he stopped and commenced a new folio with the same words. When he had reached folio 21<sup>b</sup>, the end of the introductory portions, he laid down his pen with the pious sentiment, 'finito libro benedicamus Domino,' leaving a whole leaf blank before he resumed. The abrupt ending of the manuscript has tempted some late student to remark that 'videtur hoc exemplar esse imperfectum.' It may be added that he was not the last to hold a similar opinion.

Students of the manuscript were under no delusion about its authorship. In various places the legend 'historia canonici de Lanercost in comitatu Northumbrie' is met with, which may be taken as the unauthorised interpolation of the reader. The owners, however, may be justly regarded as responsible for the index and table of contents, though not made at the same date or by the same person. The 'elenchus contentorum' appears to be the earlier. Referring to the beginning of the continuous narrative on folio 23, apart from the fragments with which the Chronicle is prefaced, we have 'Larga Anglie historia composita per canonicum de Lanercost in comitatu Northumbrie que descendit ad tempora Edwardi tertii.' The ignorance of the geography of Cumberland, which placed Lanercost in the neighbouring county, is very welcome, inasmuch as it shows that the compiler of the *elenchus* was not a local antiquary prejudiced in favour of the Lanercost authorship.

It is different, however, with the index at the end of the volume, the writing of which appears to be in a later hand, perhaps about the close of the seventeenth century. The compiler of the index was not only a north-countryman interested in northern history, but he held decided views on the authorship. In fact, the index was made for the sole use of historical students of the Border counties, but especially of the county of Cumberland. It embodies the principal local references, notably those relating to the priory of Lanercost and the barony of Gillesland, with very little reference to occurrences elsewhere except when they affected that neighbourhood. The index is entitled, 'Ex manuscripto per quemdam canonicum de Lanercost infra baroniam de Gillisland in comitatu Cumbrie composita.' In referring the reader to the visitation of the priory of Lanercost by the Bishop of Carlisle in

1281, which will be discussed presently, the index-maker remarked that 'constat fol. 206 authorem libri esse canonicum de Lanercost.' The compiler of this addition to the volume appears to have had no doubt about the authorship.

The first writer who printed portions of the manuscript, so far as we have ascertained, was Henry Wharton, librarian at Lambeth, who extracted from it the references to Bishop Grosteste of Lincoln, and published them in 1691 in the *Anglia Sacra* (ii. 341-3). The heading of the chapter indicates Wharton's view of the authorship: 'Vita Roberti Grosthed, ex Annalibus de Lanercost, in Bibliotheca Cottoniana, Claudius D. 7.' But in the preface he has given a more positive opinion. 'Among the unprinted chronicles,' he says,<sup>1</sup> 'the author of the Annals of Lanercost has commemorated (*celebravit*) Bishop Robert the most fully: I have therefore appended his account of Robert's life. The Annals of Lanercost are extant from the coming of the Saxons to the year 1347, exceedingly copious (*valde prolixi*), in the Cotton Library. The monastery of Lanercost is situated in the county of Cumberland near the borders of Scotland. Its annals were written by several persons in succession, as appears at the year 1245, where the writer states that he had committed to the earth the Elect of Glasgow.'

The value of the compilation was known to Dr. William Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle (1702-1718), whose literary activities entitle him to rank among the laborious scholars who adorned the age in which he lived. Writing with his customary precision in 1708, he referred to 'the jingling rhyme on the building of the Roman Wall in the Chronicle of Lanercost<sup>2</sup> (MS. in Bibl. Cott. Claudius D. vii. fol. 14<sup>a</sup>,)' and spoke of 'the learned Canon Regular who was the author of the Chronicle.' The same prelate had no misgivings about the authorship in 1713, when he urged Humfrey Wanley, the famous librarian of the Earl of Oxford,<sup>3</sup> to publish 'a Chronicle by some of the Canons of Lanercost in this diocese,' a manuscript 'in the Cotton Library, Claudius, D. vii.' It was probably owing to the well-deserved reputation of Bishop Nicolson as a scholar of exceptional critical ability that the authorship had not been called in question till the publication of the manuscript by the Scottish Clubs.

Planta, when making a catalogue of the Cottonian collection in

<sup>1</sup> *Anglia Sacra*, ii. pref. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> *Stukeley's Diaries and Letters* (Surtees Soc.), ii. 62.

<sup>3</sup> *Chron. de Lanercost*, pp. xv-xviii.

1801 for the Record Commission, accepted the traditional authorship without demur. His account of the contents of the Chronicle is taken almost wholly from the *elenchus contentorum* of the Cotton manuscript. The introductory fragments are resolved into nine sections, which take up the first 21 folios of the manuscript, as already noticed. The Chronicle itself, beginning on folio 23, is described<sup>1</sup> as 'a history of the affairs of the kings of the Britons and the English from Cassibelanus to 1346, extracted by a canon of Lanercost in the county of Cumberland from William of Malmesbury, Henry archdeacon of Hereford, Gildas, Geoffrey of Monmouth and Helinand.' Though we cannot accept the sources here indicated, the statement is useful as expressing the opinion of the authorities of the Record Commission on the authorship in 1801. It was not till Stevenson had printed the manuscript that the origin of the Chronicle was ascribed to a Minorite friar of Carlisle.

As the manuscript bears no title, and as nothing is known of its early history, a discussion of the probable authorship must rest wholly on internal evidence. But it is difficult to make an exposition of the evidences intelligible to students of the printed text, owing to Stevenson's treatment of the manuscript. He regarded the portion issued by the Scottish<sup>2</sup> Clubs 'as a continuation to the Annals of Roger of Hoveden, beginning where the work of that writer terminates without a break of any description.' For this reason he started his edition of the Chronicle on folio 172<sup>b</sup> in the middle of the column, where the transcriber or author left no mark to indicate a new work. Opinions may differ on the wisdom of such a step, but no authority for the arbitrary division is recognised in the manuscript. For our own part, we prefer the statement of Bishop Stubbs<sup>3</sup> that a copy of Hoveden was 'used as the basis of the Lanercost Chronicle,' that is, of the unprinted portion embracing folios 23-172. Students of the manuscript will agree with the Bishop rather than with the Editor.

Though the question of sources does not arise, it may be permissible to notice a few incidents in order to show the author's historical equipment independent of his use of the exemplars he had before him. Few of the chroniclers, except the historians of Hexham, mention the battle of Clitheroe in 1138 and the subsequent proceedings at Carlisle for the alleviation of the atrocities

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of the MSS. in the Cottonian Library*, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. iii.

<sup>3</sup> Roger de Hoveden (R.S.), i. pref. lxxxiii.

of warfare. Certainly Hoveden has left these matters unrecorded. But our author on folio 60<sup>b</sup> has meditated on that period to some purpose. 'William, son of Duncan, nephew of King David,' he narrates, 'vanquished the English army in Craven at Clitheroe, slaying very many and taking numerous prisoners. At the same time Alberic, a monk of Cluny, then Bishop of Ostia and Legate of the Apostolic See, who had been sent by Pope Innocent to England and Scotland, came to King David at Carlisle and reconciled (*pacificavit*) Bishop Adelulf to King David and restored him to his own (*proprie*) See, as also John Bishop of Glasgow. In addition he obtained from King David that in the feast of St. Martin they should bring all the English prisoners to Carlisle and there give them their freedom. When this was done that city was not inappropriately called *Cardolium*, which means *carens dolore*, because there *captivitas Anglorum caruit dolore*.' If this account is laid alongside what is known from other sources of the incidents of 1138, it will be observed how little the author followed the textual phraseology of the Hexham writers.<sup>1</sup> The etymological adaptation of *Cardolium* to suit the happy incident appears to be quite new to history.

Another passage, indicative of his independence of Hoveden, raises a question of considerable interest in the literary history of England and Scotland. So important is the text that it must be reproduced in the original.

Eodem anno, videlicet, anno domini m<sup>o</sup> c<sup>o</sup> ij<sup>o</sup>, Rex Henricus primus, ut dicitur, per consilium et industriam Matildis regine, constituit canonicos regulares in ecclesia Karleolensi. Quidam vero presbiter, ad conquestum Anglie cum Willelmo Bastardo veniens, hanc ecclesiam et alias plures et aliquas villas circumiacentes, pro rebus viriliter peractis, a rege Willelmo in sua susceperat, Walterus nomine. Henricus [episcopatum<sup>2</sup>] sancte Marie Karleolensis fundavit et non multo post in pace quievit. Cuius terras et possessiones Rex Henricus dedit canonicis [Rex H. *underlined for deletion*] regularibus et priorem eorum primum Adelwaldum, iuvenem quidem etate sed moribus senem, priorem sancti Oswaldi de Nosles constituit, quem postea corrupte Adulfum vocabant.

It is true that this statement is made in the form of a note at the bottom of folio 58<sup>a</sup>, but it is not the interpolation of a sub-

<sup>1</sup> *Priory of Hexham* (Surtees Soc.), i. 82-3, 98-9, 117-21.

<sup>2</sup> There has been an erasure here in a very contracted text, but perhaps of only one letter. A late hand has interlined *ecclesiam*. As the bishopric was founded only a few years before King Henry's death, *episcopatum* was probably in the scribe's mind. The sentence has been misplaced: it should have been written at the end of the passage.

sequent writer. The note is introduced in the same hand and with the same ink as the text in a place reserved for it. The position on the folio only shows that the statement was not in the exemplar the scribe was following for that portion of the narrative. Its resemblance to the famous passage<sup>1</sup> in the *Scotichronicon* (i. 289) on the foundation of the priory of Carlisle will be recognised.

Other passages in the manuscript tell the same tale. The compressed account on folio 51<sup>a</sup> of William the Conqueror's visit to Durham, his foundation of the castle there, his attempted profanation of the tomb of St. Cuthbert, and his meticulous flight beyond the Tese, shows indebtedness to Simeon of Durham as well as to Hoveden. It is not necessary to multiply proofs of Bishop Stubbs' statement that the earlier portion of the manuscript is based on the Chronicle of Roger of Hoveden, and not a mere continuation of it, as Stevenson has suggested. In not a few instances the author has shown his independence by addition, omission, and compression.<sup>2</sup>

That Hoveden was the basis of the compilation for the twelfth century every student of the manuscript will acknowledge. From this circumstance alone we get an important sidelight on the authorship. It is stated in the manuscript on folio 103, under the year 1190, that David, brother of William King of Scotland, married *blank*, sister of Ranulf earl of Chester, and on folio 157 in the list of the bishops assembled in London in 1199 occurs the name of *blank*, Archbishop of Ragusa. Thanks to the masterly collation of the Hoveden manuscripts by Bishop Stubbs, we can identify from *lacunae* like these the actual text of Hoveden that the author of our chronicle had before him. It was the Laudian copy now in the Bodleian, where alone these two omissions in the same manuscript are found. The interest, however, is not

<sup>1</sup> If Abbot Bower of Inchcolm added this note to Fordun's work, as it is generally believed, from what source is it likely that the superior of a Scottish Augustinian house should have obtained such local information? The statement in the *Scotichronicon* that the priory of Carlisle was founded in 1102 was supposed to be unsupported till within recent years. It has now the countenance of an English as well as a French Chronicle. See *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, vi. 354.

<sup>2</sup> The same discretion, used by the author when dealing with the Chronicle of Melrose as his exemplar, will be observed if a collation is made of the early pages of Stevenson's printed text with the corresponding passages of that chronicle. The author appropriated whole slices of the Chronicle of Melrose when they suited his purpose. He did the same with Hoveden for the twelfth century, but perhaps with more frequency and freedom.

confined to this point. The Laudian copy has on its fly leaves transcripts of four documents, all relating to Carlisle. These show, as Bishop Stubbs<sup>1</sup> remarked, that the manuscript 'was at one time, and that probably a very long time, in possession of either the city or the Bishop of Carlisle.' But as one of these deeds is a letter from Henry VI. to Bishop Lumley, dated 23rd November, 1436, 'de custodia ville et castri Karlioli,' we need have no hesitation in ascribing the ownership of the manuscript to that prelate, who was then warden of the Western March. It probably formed part of the episcopal library at Rose Castle. The deeds of this nature, inserted in it, just cover the period of the episcopal residence there up to Bishop Lumley's day. This identification, so far as our inquiry is concerned, localizes the production of our chronicle to the district of Carlisle,<sup>2</sup> the area of the bishop's jurisdiction.

Turning now to Stevenson's printed text, and especially to that portion of it translated by Sir Herbert Maxwell, when we are approaching the *floruit* of the author, no reader can help feeling that, like works of this nature, the Chronicle is a compilation from various sources, and that the materials, which make up the narrative, are of unequal historical value. It cannot be said that the compiler was a skilled artist in the use of his sources. There is no attempt to write continuous history, though a fair semblance of chronological arrangement has been maintained. Duplicate entries are frequent, many of which have been pointed out by the translator, and need not be repeated here. This repetition is evidence enough, if nothing else existed, that the Chronicle at this period was a sort of journal or literary scrap-book for the purpose of jotting down historical events as information had reached the authorities. An entry was made from perhaps imperfect knowledge, either from a written source or oral intelligence: later details arrived or a fuller account was found, and a more extended record of the incident was afterwards made without expunging the previous entry. In most of the duplicate passages

<sup>1</sup> Roger de Hoveden (R.S.), i. pref. pp. lxxiv-lxxx.

<sup>2</sup> But it does far more than this. The scholar, who undertakes to identify the sources of the chronicle on the lines of those issued in the Rolls Series, will have to define its relationship to the *Cronica de Karleolo*, compiled for Edward I. in 1291 by the canons of Carlisle, as well as to Bishop Lumley's copy of Hoveden. It will be an interesting study, and will result in the probable discovery that the Carlisle copy of Hoveden was lent to the canons of Carlisle in 1291, as well as to the canons of Lanercost.



it will be found that the second carries with it more particulars than the first.

The method of the compiler comes into view in the manipulation of his sources about 1290. In dealing with the plutocrat<sup>1</sup> of Milan, 'it pleases me,' he says, 'to add in this place what ought to have found a convenient place in the beginning of the eighth part, forasmuch as it happened at that time, although I did not receive timely notice of this matter.' Passages of this sort furnish some evidence that the work was not undertaken and carried out by the same person at the period in which the story draws to a close. But if the printed portion of the Chronicle was mainly compiled from written sources, to which assumption there is much antagonistic evidence, the duplicate passages offer indubitable proof of the writer's unskilfulness in his craft.

There is strong reason for believing that the body of the Chronicle was not put together in or after 1346. In various passages noticed by the translator, contemporary allusions are made at long distant periods quite incompatible with a single authorship after the close of the work. A few instances must suffice. Under 1293 there is recorded a story<sup>2</sup> from Wells about 'what I know to have happened nine years ago' to a prebendary of that church. 'This event,' the chronicler relates, 'took place in the year (19 March, 1285-6) when Alexander, King of Scotland, departed this life, and was told to our congregation by a brother who at that time belonged to the convent of Bristol.' There is no reasonable doubt that the entry was made in the year to which it refers when the story came to hand. Another incident, not included in this translation, is equally conclusive. It is well known<sup>3</sup> that Nicholas of Moffat was made archdeacon of Teviotdale in 1245, and though twice elected Bishop of Glasgow he died unconsecrated in 1270. With this neglected churchman the author of this portion of the Chronicle was so familiar, that he says he officiated at his funeral.<sup>4</sup> Contemporaneous allusions like these go a long way to show that the compilation was built up continuously, period by period, and cannot be the work of a single compiler in the middle of the fourteenth century.

But it is not so easy to form a definite opinion of the nature of the institution responsible for the continuous production of such a work. It seems to be agreed that the Chronicle emanated from some religious house on the English side of the Border. The tone

<sup>1</sup> P. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 101-102.

<sup>3</sup> Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, pp. 304-6.

<sup>4</sup> *Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 53.

of the composition in its acrimonious hostility to Scottish interests betrays its English origin : the historical setting of the narrative is similarly conclusive of its localisation to the Border counties. The ecclesiastical colour of the incidents cannot be mistaken : the lightning of the churchman coruscates on every page. As these general considerations will be conceded, the difficulty lies in the identification of the particular religious house in which the work was done.

It was a bold and praiseworthy venture of Stevenson to cut himself adrift from the traditional view that the Chronicle emanated from the priory of Lanercost, and to suggest the Greyfriar House in Carlisle as the more probable source. With much acumen has he marshalled his evidence, and with all the moderation of conviction has he defended his own discovery. Without going over in detail the formidable list of evidences in support of the Minorite authorship, it may be here acknowledged that no critical student can fail to be impressed with the cogency of his arguments. The narrative bristles with the exploits and virtues of the Friars Minor. One would think that it was specially composed in glorification of that Order. — The passages are too numerous for special discussion: they are all of the same character: on every occasion, in season and out of season, the merits of the brothers of St. Francis are lauded to the skies.

While this much is admitted without reserve, the weak side of Stevenson's proposition, as it would seem, presents itself when he attempts to identify the Franciscan habitation in which he locates the Chronicle. If the work is due to Minorite authorship, internal evidence gives little encouragement to make Carlisle the headquarters of the particular congregation that gave it birth. So much of the narrative is taken up with affairs, political and ecclesiastical, in the neighbourhood of that city, that the editor was constrained, as it may be permissible to believe, to fix on that place, in spite of the evidence, as the local habitation. The overwhelming evidence for a Greyfriar authorship is more conclusively in favour of Berwick than of Carlisle.

It will be observed that the references to this Mendicant Order are for the most part very general. News about the Order came from all points of the compass in the shape of prattle and legend : in very few instances can it be said to be local. When local news protrudes itself, the scene is at Berwick or elsewhere, not at Carlisle. Some specific instances of the compiler's connexion

with Berwick are very striking. In his vision<sup>1</sup> after Mass on the Lord's Day in 1296, 'as I was composing my limbs to rest,' he saw an angel with a drawn sword, 'brandishing it against the bookcase in the library, where the books of the friars were stored, indicating by this gesture that which afterwards I saw with my eyes, viz. the nefarious pillaging, incredibly swift, of the books, vestments and materials of the friars.'

At the following Easter King Edward sacked Berwick, when a most circumstantial account is given of the siege and slaughter. 'I myself,' the chronicler<sup>2</sup> adds, 'beheld an immense number of men told off to bury the bodies of the fallen.' The description of the siege of Berwick by Bruce in 1312 is equally personal and explicit. It is unmistakably the account of an eye-witness. The Scottish scaling-ladders, he says,<sup>3</sup> were of wonderful construction, 'as I myself, who write these lines, beheld with my own eyes.' Personal testimony<sup>4</sup> is again advanced in the description of the battle at the same town in 1333. If the authorship is exclusively the work of the Minorites, its localisation, on the face of the evidence, must be transferred from Carlisle to Berwick. The former place supplies no local or personal touches to the narrative beyond a few isolated facts, with little bearing on the authorship, which can be explained in another way.

But a new order of things is introduced when we approach the local affairs of the priory of Lanercost. Their prominence in the Chronicle after 1280 can scarcely be explained without assuming that the author or successive authors were connected with the house, or had some annals or domestic memoranda of the institution at hand. The internal affairs of the priory loom largely in the narrative. It is not merely great events touching the place, like those of Berwick, that are recorded, events known to fame and of general interest, but the local colour is more clearly manifested by incidental remarks, quite undesigned, let fall as it were by chance, known to very few and of no particular concern, which betray the locality. No external writer could be the mouthpiece of such minute intelligence, nor is it likely, had it come to his knowledge, that he would have thought it worthy of record. Some of these incidental allusions will be noticed later on.

Without following Stevenson throughout his category of allusions to Lanercost, it may be here said that the influence of the canons on the authorship is not to be estimated by a single incident or a number of incidents of a general nature, but by the

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. de Lanercost*, pp. 132-3.   <sup>2</sup> Pp. 134-5.   <sup>3</sup> P. 201.   <sup>4</sup> Pp. 278-80.

particular attention which the compiler or compilers gave to that house as compared with similar institutions or localities in the Border district. No other place or immediate neighbourhood has had the same search-light from the author's pen thrown upon it. One of these incidents evidently puzzled Stevenson, and though he tried valiantly to make it fit his hypothesis, it must be acknowledged that he has grievously failed. The year 1280-81 was memorable in the annals of the house. It signalled a victory for the canons in the local baronial court: witnessed a gracious visit of King Edward and Queen Eleanor: and brought Ralf of Ireton, the new Bishop of Carlisle, on a visitation of the priory. In the record of these events we have, it is true, no gushing or embroidered narrative, but we have particulars in abundance to connote the interested spectator. The very day on which the local court declared the immunity of the canons from manorial taxation is recorded: <sup>1</sup> the canonical dress of the prior and his brethren, when the royal party was received at the gate of the priory, and the nature of the royal bounty are duly described. The contents of the King's game-bag, which helped to get Stevenson out of his difficulty, need give no trouble. It was naturally recorded on hearsay evidence, and was thrown in with the account of the royal visit on the gossip of the community.

The Bishop's visitation of the convent has even more personal notice. It took place on 22 March, 1281: he was met at the gate like the King and Queen: he first gave the benediction and then the kiss of peace to all the brethren: after his hand had been first kissed he gave them a kiss on the lips. Then the Bishop entered the chapter-house and preached: the very text of his discourse has been preserved. At the conclusion of the sermon, he proceeded with his visitation, the object of his presence there, 'in which we were compelled (*coacti sumus*),' says <sup>2</sup> the narrator, 'to accept new constitutions.' It is only candour to say that Stevenson misunderstood the procedure of an episcopal visitation of an Augustinian house. It had nothing to do with a general visitation of the diocese. It was when the preaching was ended that the visitation began—inquiry into the mode of doing divine service, ministrations in their parochial churches, their conduct of the secular affairs of the community, the hearing of complaints and the adjusting of irregularities. Other visitations of Lanercost are on record, and the mode of procedure is well known. The graphic touches of the simple narrative could only come from one

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. de Lanercost*, pp. 23-4.

<sup>2</sup> P. 25.

who took part in the function and who could describe its successive phases with ceremonial exactness.

On the previous page of the printed book, but on the same folio of the manuscript, another personal allusion, overlooked by Stevenson, is equally conclusive against Minorite authorship. On 24 October, 1280, the narrator<sup>1</sup> tells that 'a convocation was held in Carlisle Cathedral by Bishop Ralf, and a tenth of the churches was granted to him by the clergy for two years according to the true valuation, to be paid in the new money within a year: wherefore we paid (*solvimus*) him in all twenty-four pounds.' The writer of this passage was clearly subject to ecclesiastical taxation, whereas the friars, having no material resources except the actual buildings they inhabited, were exempt from episcopal subsidies and all kinds of assessment. It was different with the canons, who bore their share of such impositions in common with the parochial clergy. The special assessment here mentioned was a subsidy granted to an incoming Bishop by the clergy, parochial and collegiate, of his diocese. The poet of the Chronicle gave vent to his feelings about the exaction in pungent metre:

Poor sheep, bereft of ghostly father,  
Should not be shorn: but pampered rather.  
Poor sheep! with cares already worn,  
You should be comforted, not shorn.  
But if the shepherd must have wool,  
He should be tender, just and cool.<sup>2</sup>

If the amount of the subsidy be compared with the value of the revenues of Lanercost, as assessed for taxation ten years<sup>3</sup> afterwards, no doubt will be entertained that the *solvimus* of the record exactly tallies with the taxable capacity of the canons of that house.

Though Stevenson was sincere in his exposition of the Lanercost evidence,<sup>4</sup> and enumerated some of the most conspicuous allusions to it in the Chronicle, he has omitted one of the most important,

<sup>1</sup> P. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 23-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* (Rec. Com.), pp. 318-20.

<sup>4</sup> In fact, Stevenson missed the significance of all the Lanercost allusions. For example, the chronicler has much to say about Macdoul's doings in Galloway in 1307, including the capture of Bruce's two brothers and the decapitation of the Irish kinglest and the lord of Cantyre, and the sending of the spoils, quick and dead, to King Edward at Lanercost. But he did not tell that the spoils were first exhibited to the Prince of Wales, then sojourning at Wetherhal near Carlisle, on their gruesome pilgrimage to the King (*Register of Wetherhal*, p. 402, ed. J. E. Prescott). The inference is obvious.

as evidential of the interested onlooker, the account of the pillage of the priory by King David *cum diabolo* in 1346, the year in which the Chronicle ends. The touch of personal indignation in his description of the Scottish King is only of a piece with the account of the arrogance of his soldiery in the devastation of the sanctuary: they threw out the vessels of the church, plundered the treasury, smashed the doors, stole the jewels and annihilated everything they could lay hands on.<sup>1</sup>

It is not, however, in the record of great events, likely to attract general attention, but in the trifles of language and incident, where the student will find his embarrassment if he quarrels with the traditional authorship. The phraseology touching Lanercost, from its first introduction to its last mention, presupposes the local resident. One word only is used to designate a journey to that place. In 1280 King Edward and Queen Eleanor came (*venerunt*) to Lanercost: in 1281 Bishop Ireton came (*venit*): in 1306 King Edward came (*venit*): in 1311 King Robert came (*venit*) with a great army: and in 1346 King David and his rascal rout came (*venerunt*) to the priory of Lanercost and went off (*exierunt*) by way of Naworth Castle. Though the narrator is liberal in his use of the word in expressing locomotion, he frequently interlards the usage with 'went' (*adivii*) or 'passed' (*transivii*) in respect of other places. But so far as Lanercost is concerned there is no variation: always *came*, never *went*, as if the author was resident there.

The migration of brothers from one house to another, an incident of infinitesimal interest outside an ecclesiastical enclosure, is not without instruction. The house from which the brother was transferred is never mentioned. The reticence is such as might be expected if the narrator was an inmate. In all cases, so far as we have observed, intercommunication was restricted to Augustinian communities. Nicholas of Carlisle was sent in 1281 to reside at Gisburn<sup>2</sup> and became an inmate (*professus est*) there. Incidental allusion to another migration is more significant still. In 1288 we are told that brother N. de Mor received the canonical habit, and in 1307 that he was sent by the Queen to Oseney, another Augustinian house.<sup>3</sup> But it is not stated in what house he took the canon's profession nor from what house he was transferred to Oseney. The nature of the profession, however, predicates the canon and not the friar. But when we know that Queen Margaret spent quite half of the latter year at Lanercost, the veil falls from

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> P. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 55, 181.

the transaction. Similar mystery hangs over the conventual apostasy of John of Newcastle, who took the monastic habit in the neighbouring Cistercian house of Holmcultram. In this instance there is no mention of transference, but the renunciation of his first vows brought forth the contemptuous gibe of the Lanercost poet, that

With altered habit, habits too must alter,  
 Much need that John with sin no more should palter.  
 Unless to mend his ways he doth not fail,  
 White gown and snowy cowl will nought avail.<sup>1</sup>

Isolated incidents like these are eloquent of the local chronicler and his mode of record. His familiarity, too, with occurrences in the Austin houses of Gisburn, Oseney, Hexham, and Markby points in the same direction.

The poet of the Chronicle deserves honourable mention. His effusions, always diverting, if not always in the best of metre, are quoted under the name of Brother H., or Henry, or Henry de Burgo. Few readers will gainsay the suggestion that he was first canon and afterwards prior of Lanercost. In 1287 William Grynerig came to live in the community (*inter nos*), and his habits as a vegetarian were a source of perplexity to the house. Brother Henry hit off the situation thus :

You may not seek a canon's dress to wear  
 Who cannot feed yourself on common fare.<sup>2</sup>

The poet let the cat out of the bag when he revealed the *vestis canonicalis* employed *inter nos* : a friar did not wear the canonical habit. Perhaps the most striking of the undesigned coincidences supplied by Henry's muse in favour of Lanercost occurs in his use of the word *garcifer* to express a youth. The chronicler in the same folio uses *garcio* and *garcifer*, which Sir Herbert Maxwell distinguishes in his translation as *page* and *young fellow* ; but it was *garcifer* that Brother Henry adopted for his verse. It is a singular coincidence, as showing the currency of this rare word among the canons of Lanercost, the chartulary of whose house abounds in rare words, that shortly before 1280, when William *garcifer* was slain on one of his moonlight expeditions, the same word was used by one of the canons of that house in his sworn depositions touching a local dispute. Richard, the cook of Lanercost, alleged on oath that a *garcifer* in the kitchen, afterwards chief cook, had oftentimes gone with the canons to the vale

<sup>1</sup> P. 28.

<sup>2</sup> P. 52.

of Gelt to receive the disputed tithes.<sup>1</sup> If this is a mere linguistic coincidence, accidents of this kind seem only to happen at Lanercost.

In 1300 Henry de Burgo, canon of Lanercost, was the bearer of a gift from Edward I. to the high altar of that church<sup>2</sup>: on 14 March, 1303-4, Henry, canon of Lanercost, appeared as proctor for his house in an act before Archdeacon Peter de Insula of Carlisle<sup>3</sup>: he was elected prior about 1310, and died in 1315.<sup>4</sup> As Henry rose in favour among his brethren, and as years lent gravity to his demeanour, it may be permissible to assume that his versification took a similar turn. His rhymes between 1280 and 1290 may be regarded as his best for piquancy and fun. After his elevation to the priorate, verses in his name cease in the Chronicle, and verses with any pretension to local colour vanish altogether after his death.

No discussion of authorship would be complete without reference to the prominence in the Chronicle given to the lords of Gillesland. No franchise, ecclesiastical or secular, receives such attention. In fact the descent of the lordship in the family of Multon is not only unique in the territorial history of the Border counties, but it is singularly accurate. No other lordship has mention of its successive owners. This feature is so obvious that it needs no elaboration. It is odd that Stevenson should have singled out one of those references as incompatible with the Lanercost authorship, whereas the very mention of a paltry suit<sup>5</sup> in the court of Irthington, the capital message of Gillesland in 1280, would seem to suggest the opposite. Though the local verdict was of immense interest to the canons, a glorification of the victory over their neighbour and patron, which Stevenson expected, would have been imprudent, not to say dangerous, if the record had ever met his eye. The canons of Lanercost were well aware of the power of their patrons over them, as we know from the history of that house.

From another quarter a charge of inaccuracy has been brought against the chronicler for his account of the territorial descent of Gillesland. In the same year, we are told,<sup>6</sup> died 'Thomas de Multona secundus,' then lord of Holbeach. It is unlikely, says

<sup>1</sup> Chartulary of Lanercost, MS. xiii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Liber Quot. Garder.* (Soc. of Antiq.), p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Chartulary of Lanercost, MS. xiv. 11.

<sup>4</sup> P. 216.

<sup>5</sup> P. 23.

<sup>6</sup> P. 111.



the objector, that a canon of Lanercost should have fallen into this mistake, as the Thomas de Multon, who died at that time, was the third and not the second who was lord of Gillesland. The objection wholly fails, inasmuch as the Thomas de Multon, who came between the Thomas *primus* and the Thomas *secundus* in the family tree, was never lord of Gillesland at all, his mother, through whom the barony came to that family, having outlived him.<sup>1</sup> Misinterpretation of disjointed entries in this Chronicle has led to much confused chronology. The account<sup>2</sup> of the espousal of the heiress of the last of the Multons in 1313 and her subsequent rape from the castle of Warwick by the first of the Dacres of Gillesland is so picturesque in detail that scholars have worried themselves over the exact meaning of some of its phraseology.

How came the Chronicle to be so full of Lincolnshire news? After describing the avarice of the canons of Markby in 1289, some features of which he had hesitation to explain in detail, the narrator states that he was unwilling to believe the story till he had the particulars from the lips of a nobleman<sup>3</sup> who lived not more than three miles from the place under discussion. Who was this nobleman? Can there be a doubt that Thomas de Multon, lord of Holbeach, who lived in that neighbourhood, was retailer of the news? In keeping with this we have the accounts of sundry occurrences in Lincolnshire, some of them of little interest beyond the ambit of the county, the communication of which may be ascribed to that family.

In holding an even balance between the rival claims to authorship, the geographical and business relationships of Lanercost should not be omitted. The situation was on one of the highways between England and Scotland. To this circumstance alone may be ascribed many of the sufferings it endured. There was no religious house in Cumberland that was more frequently burned by the Scots, and no district that underwent more pillage than Gillesland. In times of peace Scotsmen came into England by the Maiden Way, the old Roman highway from Roxburgh to Cumberland and the valley of the Eden, for the purpose of trade, as did Fighting Charlie in the days of the Wizard of the North. In recording one of these raids, the chronicler shows how much Lanercost occupied his mind when he tells that the Scots passed near the priory of Lanercost on their return to Scotland.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fine Roll, 12 Edw. I. m. 11.

<sup>2</sup> P. 205.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 56-8.

<sup>4</sup> P. 211.

By reason of its business connexions the house had unrivalled opportunities for gathering news relating to the Border districts. Apart from the advantages of its geographical situation, the canons had property in Carlisle, Dumfries, Hexham, Newcastle, and Mitford near Morpeth. From 1202 they were obliged to attend the yearly fair of Roxburgh on St James' Day to pay a pension to the monks of Kelso, issuing from the church of Lazonby, in Cumberland, in which they had a joint interest. Some of their property in Carlisle and Newcastle, not to speak of Dumfries, lay alongside the friaries of the Minorites in these towns. The direct road from Lanercost to Berwick, a town which figures largely in the narrative, passed near Roxburgh and through Kelso,<sup>1</sup> and if a return journey was made to visit their Northumberland estates, Berwick would inevitably be a halting-place. It will be seen, therefore, that within the area of the Lanercost connexions many of the scenes depicted in the printed portion of the Chronicle took place.

If it be admitted that the Chronicle bears evidence of continuous production as the work of more than one author, the presumptions in favour of Lanercost are difficult to set aside. The canon of an Augustinian priory belonged to his house: he was the member of a corporation with historic succession: like a family, his house inherited ancestral traditions. If attachment to the house of his profession was a feature of his rule, the direct opposite was the characteristic of the friar's calling. The friar did not belong to a house: local detachment was his glory: his individuality was lost in his province. He was a wanderer, a sort of parochial assistant, who went about from place to place under the Bishop's licence to give clerical help where required. Like John Wesley in his palmy days, the friar was incapable of localisation: the world was his parish. In addition, the Austin canons in the North of England had a well-deserved reputation as patrons of learning and students of history, for which their constitution well fitted them. Nearly half of their houses in the North produced chronicles, the value of which is appreciated at the present day. Who is not acquainted with the work of John and Richard of Hexham, Alan Frisington of Carlisle, William of Newburgh, Peter Langtoft, Walter of Hemingburgh, John of Bridlington, Stephen Edeson of Wartre, Walter Hilton of Thurgarton, George Ripley, and Robert the Scribe, scholars who shed lustre on the Augustinian institute in Northern England? The

<sup>1</sup> *Britannia Depicta* (1720), pp. 160-162.

Chronicle of Lanercost betrays many symptoms of learning and scholarship in agreement with Augustinian traditions. It requires a robust faith to predicate in the mendicant friar a knowledge of Beda, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Justin Martyr, Gregory, and Augustine, leaving out the Theodosian Code,<sup>1</sup> as the quotation is in some doubt. Whatever imperfections the composition may contain, and nobody wishes to conceal them, the authors may reasonably be acquitted of ignorance of patristic learning. Literary touches of various forms brighten up the dull catena of miracle and legend.

In the light of what has been already stated, it would be hazardous to offer a dogmatic view of the authorship of the Chronicle, but it seems quite reasonable to hold that the preponderance of evidence favours the Augustinian house. In the early vicissitudes of the friars in the Border counties, opportunities for undertaking and continuing such a work simply did not exist. The sources of the Chronicle, so far as they can be conjectured, are a strange mixture of written history and oral tale. Many of the stories there recorded, some of them being in glorification of the Mendicant Orders, were taken down from the lips of a narrator. An Augustinian house with the geographical advantages of Lanercost was well adapted to serve as an emporium of news, and the ubiquitous friars, who often assisted the canons in parochial administration, were convenient agents to collect the supply. But the corpus of the Chronicle, taken as it exists in manuscript, was compiled from written sources, and the institution from which it emanated was well supplied with some of the best materials for the period to which it relates.

JAMES WILSON.

<sup>1</sup>The phrase, *teste theodecto*, which puzzled Sir Herbert Maxwell (p. 128), should be compared with *teste Ezechiele* (p. 126) and *teste Chrysostomo* (p. 135) as clearly correlative. Stevenson should have printed *theodecto* as a proper name, but the spelling is probably corrupt. The print, however, corresponds with the text of the manuscript. The quotation savours of the style of the Theodosian Code.

## Hamilton of Kincavil and the General Assembly of 1563

THE General Assembly of the Church of Scotland has recently obtained possession of a document of more than ordinary interest. The earlier records of the Assembly are unfortunately most imperfect. Neither the originals nor complete transcripts are known to exist. And *The Booke of the Universal Kirke* published by the Bannatyne Club, is largely made up of material from various writers, by whom portions of the records bear to be quoted or summarized. In this compilation (vol. i. p. 36) under date 27th June, 1563, appears a short account of the proceedings of the General Assembly anent the case of James Hamilton of Kincavil. This bears to be taken from Calderwood's *History of the Church of Scotland*.<sup>1</sup> The document which the Assembly has now acquired is an official extract on parchment from the missing Register of the Acts of Assembly, and, as will be seen, it sets forth the proceedings at length.

For its proper understanding a brief statement of facts seems necessary. James, or, as he is generally called, Sir James Hamilton of Kincavil, was the eldest son of Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil, by Margaret Stewart, daughter of the Duke of Albany, and thus the elder brother of Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Fearn, who was burned at St. Andrews on 29th February, 1528. The circumstances surrounding the condemnation and burning of Patrick Hamilton are still obscure. The hostility of Angus the Regent to a Hamilton can easily be understood. But the martyr was closely related to the Betons, and both the Archbishop and his nephew, the future Cardinal, had shown themselves to be friendly. Stranger still, Sir James Hamilton of Finnart—a bastard son of Arran and thus Patrick's own cousin—in spite of all the ties of kinship, was prominent in the proceedings against him. It seems, too, that only the extraordinary rapidity with which the sentence was carried into effect prevented Sir James Hamilton

<sup>1</sup> Woodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 228.

of Kincavil from attempting to rescue his brother by force. Foiled in this he appears to have openly shown his resentment and his desire for revenge, in his wrath probably adopting the propositions attributed to his theological brother and condemned as heretical.

In the result he and his sister were with other alleged heretics cited to appear at Holyrood, in the summer of 1534, before the Bishop of Ross, as Commissioner for the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who, besides being primate, was also the ordinary of the diocese. The story is first told by Foxe,<sup>1</sup> from whom Calderwood and other writers seem to have copied it.

Within a year after the martyrdom of Henry Forest or thereabout was called James Hamelton of Linlithgow, his sister Katharine Hamelton the spouse of the Captain of Dunbar : also another honest woman of Leith : David Straton of the house of Lawristone and Master Norman Gurley. These were called to the Abbey Church of Holyrood House in Edinburgh by James Hay bishop of Ross Commissioner to James Beton Archbishop in presence of King James the Fifth of that name, who upon the day of their accusation was altogether clad in red apparel. James Hamelton was accused as one that maintained the opinion of Master Patrick his brother, to whom the King gave counsel to depart and not to appear for in case he appeared he could not help him, because the bishops had persuaded the King that the cause of heresy did in no wise appertain unto *him*. And so Hamelton fled and was condemned as an heretic and all his goods and lands confiscated and disposed unto others.

Katharine Hamelton his sister appeared upon the scaffold and being accused of a horrible heresy to wit that her own works could not save her, she granted the same : and after a long reasoning between her and Master John Spens the lawyer she concluded in this manner 'Work here work there ; what kind of working is all this ? I know perfectly that no kind of works can save me but only the works of Christ my Lord and Saviour.' The King hearing these words turned him about and laughed and called her unto him and caused her to recant because she was his aunt, and she escaped.

The forfeited estates of Sir James Hamilton were at once granted to a variety of persons, as appears from the Great Seal Register of the time. In particular, Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, then high in favour with the King, on December 10, 1535, obtained a charter of the lands of Kincavil and the office of Sheriff of Linlithgow, then in the King's hands, 'ob Jacobi Hammyltoun olim de Kincavil existentiam convicti et fugitivi a legibus pro heresi.'

<sup>1</sup> *Book of Martyrs*, Edn. 1846, vol. iv. p. 579 ; see also *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic*, *passim*, for references to Hamilton.

But in spite of the bishops the King was still minded to save his kinsman. In a letter to the Pope, dated 29th March, 1537,<sup>1</sup> he asks direct for the offender's pardon. Though printed by Father Theiner, this letter, because of the light it throws on the situation, may appropriately be given here at length. It is as follows :

Beatissime Pater. Ad sanctos pedes officiosam salutem. Hic Iacobus Hammiltonn ex nobili domo originem trahens, et alias nobis familiaris, iuvenili quadam facilitate et rerum imperitia a priscis patrum institutis antea descivit, vocatusque in iudicium non gravate abiuravit omnem heresim et cum detestatione execratus est, sese ut orthodoxum decet vivere velle professus. Postea paucis interpositis annis rursus in iudicium vocatus ob quasdam suspiciones metu periculi e nostro regno discessit. Quare iudicium conspectum fugisse, tandem per contumaciam, ut suspectus iudicatus est, in opiniones abiuratas relapsus. Quoniam autem ipse nobis non vulgare exhibet penitudinis specimen, eo libentius adducimur ut Sanctitatem tuam supplices rogemus, quatenus is, qui insano cuique patet Christi exuperantis clemencie amplexus per tuam Beatitudinem obvis sit : ea tamen lege rogamus, si certe pre se ferre respiciencie constantieque specimen visus fuerit, quod nobis profecto multis magnisque de causis pre se ferre videtur : in summa oramus hanc nostram petitionem frustra non haberi ; etiamsi quedam nostre littere antea forte ad tuam Beatitudinem misse viderentur aliquid durius de homine sentire. Reliquum est ut diu felixque Christi ecclesie regimen vivas precemur. Ex Rothomago **XXIX** Martii anno domini millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo septimo.

E.V.S.

Devotus filius  
Scotorum Rex  
James R.

The royal appeal seems to have been successful, and Sir James, now purged of heresy, was able to return to Scotland. But the sentence against him was not quashed and it appears from subsequent proceedings in Parliament that the Bull which he obtained was without prejudice to the rights of the Crown or other parties in his forfeited estates.<sup>2</sup>

Back in Scotland, he before long found, or made, an opportunity of settling accounts with Sir James of Finnart, whom, in 1540, he delated to the King in respect of an alleged plot some twelve years old. The royal consent to his arrest having been obtained, Sir James of Finnart was tried, condemned, and executed with a celerity that must have reminded him of the fate of the Abbot of Fearn.

It would not have been surprising if, during the troublous

<sup>1</sup> *Vetera Monumenta*, p. 607.

<sup>2</sup> *Acts*, ii. 469.

times that followed, Sir James Hamilton of Kincavil had found some short-hand method of reacquiring his forfeited estates and ignored mere legal formalities. To some extent he appears to have done so. Moreover, when the papal jurisdiction was swept away in 1560, it might also have been expected that the old sentence would have been civilly ignored—and, if remembered at all, been regarded as a mark of distinction. But the Scots have always attached importance to the due observance of legal forms, and accordingly Sir James took steps to have it properly reduced. The method which he adopted is interesting. He ‘purchased edicts’ from the superintendent of Lothian, for trying an action of reduction before the General Assembly, calling as respondents certain persons who appear to have been in possession of his forfeited estates. That action was duly entertained by that Reverend Court, and what happened is told in the extract already referred to, and which is as follows:

At Perth the xxvi day of Junii the zeir of God ane thousand five hundret threscore thre zeris anent ye edictis purchassit and rasit upon ye complaint of James Hammiltoun of Kyncavill Shereff of Linly<sup>q</sup>w fra maister Johnn Spottiswod superintendent of Lotheane the said James reproducit ye saidis edictis in ye public assembly grantit to him be ye said superintendent under his signett and subscriptioun manuall datitt at Edinbur<sup>t</sup> ye ellevint day of Junii instant execute and indorsate be Johnn Knox minster of Edinbur<sup>t</sup> Patrik Kinloquhy minster of Linly<sup>q</sup>w Johnn Duncansoun and Alexander Oswald minster of Streviling and [ ] respective, ye threttene day of ye same mone<sup>t</sup> aganis Patrik Crummye in Carribbin James Gib of Carribder Johnn Cokburn of Clarkingtoun Elizabe<sup>t</sup> Danielstoun his spouse Robert Danielstoun sone and apperand aire to umq<sup>ll</sup> James Danielstoun his tutouris and curatouris gif he any hes James Witherspoun provest of Linly<sup>q</sup>w, William Hammiltoun of Hombye and all uthers havand or pretendand to have any interes to ye actioun and caus eftir following that they and every ane of thame suld compeir before ye generall assembly of ye Kirk of this realme ye xxvi day of this mone<sup>t</sup> w<sup>t</sup> continuatioun of dayes to heire and see ye articlis quhairof James umq<sup>ll</sup> bischope of Ros commissionare to James umq<sup>ll</sup> Archebischope of Sanctandrous w<sup>t</sup> certane utheres his collegis condempnit ye said James Hammiltoun as ane heritik, to be decernit godlie and catholick and naway repugnant to ye scriptures of God and ye said pretendit sentence wrangouslie led and gevin aganis him in penam contumacie to be cassit annullit and decernit wrangouslie gevin and proceditt from ye begynnyng w<sup>t</sup> all yat followit yairupoun and thairfor ye said James (be yair pretendit sentence and decret infamit) to be reponitt agane in integrum to his fame hono<sup>r</sup> and dignitie lik as he wes before ye geving and pronouncing yairof for the causis foirsaidis and uthers to be proponit lik as at mair lenth wes contenit in ye saidis edictis in lik maner ye said James producitt ye foirsaid sentence

gevin be ye said commissione of ye daitt at Halyruidhous ye xxvi day of August in ye zeir of God ane thousand five hundret fourtie foure [sic] zeris signitt and subscrivit be maister Andro Oliphant notare publick and scribe to ye said sentence condempnand ye said James as ane heretik for halding and maintenynge of thir articlis following To witt that umq<sup>n</sup> Patrik Hammiltoun deit as ane gude Christiane and Catholic man being condempnit as ane impenitent heritik and brint be thame and yat he wes content to dee ye same deith That thair is na purgatorie That it aucht not to be prayit for ye deid That he held with him certane buikis condempnit and suspect of heresy That ane man had not fre will That he usit ye lordis prayer publiclie in ye vulgare toung That he contempnit and causit to contempne ye preching of ye freris precheours and farther as ye same sentence at lenth proportit q<sup>lk</sup> altogydder ye said James acceptit in sa fer as they maid for him and na utherways Requiring humillie ye Kirk yair assemblit to proceid and geve fur<sup>t</sup> thair sentence in ye premissis according to ye word of God equitie and justice the q<sup>lk</sup> request ye Kirk thocht just and consonant unto rasone and eftir calling of ye saidis parteis and all uthers having interes oftymes callit and nane comperand the assembly continewit ye advising of the actioun and caus to ye end of yis conventioun and then to decerne thairin and geve fur<sup>t</sup> yair sentence according to Goddis word Tharaftir ye xxvii day of Junii foirsaid comperit personallie in ye said assembly ye said James Hammiltoun of Kincavill sheref of Linly<sup>t</sup>qw and in ye terme assignit be ye said assembly to pronunce and geve fur<sup>t</sup> thair sentence in ye caus before expressit the said James repetit ye saidis edictis and sentence abone mentionate and contentis thairof si et in quantum, etc., Requiring humillie ye Kirk yair assemblit as of before to proceid and geve fur<sup>t</sup> thair sentence according to ye word of God in ye premissis The Assembly eftir calling of ye saidis persons summondit and not comperand eftir also mature deliberatioun and advising of ye saidis edictis sentence product before tham and articlis contenit thairin having God and his evirlasting word before thair ees and eftir lang rasounyng upon ye saidis articlis contenit in ye foirsaid sentence w<sup>t</sup> ane voce and mynd decernit deliverit and for finall sentence pronuncit the saidis articlis contenit in ye foirsaid pretendit sentence to be catholick and godlie and na way repugnant to ye word of God according to godlie interpretouris thairof The proces and pretendit sentence gevin be ye said James umq<sup>n</sup> bishope of Ros commissione foirsaid to have bene from ye begynnyng wickit and ungodlie wrangouslie procedit and gevin aganis ye said James in penam contumacie and thairfor to be cassit annullit and rescindit w<sup>t</sup> all yat followit thairupon and ye said James Hammiltoun to be restorit and reponitt in integrum to his fame hon<sup>r</sup> and dignitie as he wes befoir ye geving of ye said pretendit sentence be said umq<sup>n</sup> commissione and sa to be jugeitt be all faythfule in all tymes cuming be yis sentence gevin at Perth in ye Generall Assembly and thryde sessioun thairof ye xxvii day of Junii ye zeir of God foirsaid at elleven houris before noun Before yir witnessis Johnn Wishart of Pittarro Johnn Bellenden of Auchinnoull Kny<sup>t</sup> Comptrollare and Justice Clerk to our soverane ladye, maister James Makgill of Rankelo<sup>r</sup> nether and clerk of



register to hir hienes w' uthers diverss Extractit out of ye register of ye Acts of ye said Assembly be me Johnn Gray notare public and scribe to yis generall conventioun testifeing ye same be my signett and subscriptioun manuell

J<sup>n</sup>. GRAY. (Subscripsi)

Although this extract speaks for itself, one or two points may be noted. First, the extremely detailed and formal procedure is interesting. Next, it is plain that at that time there was not thought to be any break in the continuity of the Church. The papal jurisdiction had no doubt been abolished by statute, but its previous acts remained unaffected. The old sentence thus stood. But the General Assembly, being now the supreme court of the Church, could reduce it on cause shown. The use of the word Catholic is also to be noted. Further, it is not the Court of Session but the Assembly that is asked to reduce this judicial sentence, now thirty-nine years old—and that although the reduction was obviously intended to have civil consequences.

There is thus, it will be noted, a remarkable distinction between the present case and that of Sir John Borthwick in 1561. Here the inherent jurisdiction of the General Assembly was assumed and acted on by all concerned. There the sentence was reviewed by 'Mr. Ihon Wynram superintendent of Fyff, minister eldaris and diaconis of Cristis Kyrk within the reformed cite of Sanct-androis,' under a remit from the Lords of Secret Council, and quashed after consultation with certain theologians. [St. Andrews Kirk Session Register, *Scottish Hist. Society*, pp. 88 *et seq.*]

J. R. N. MACPHAIL.

## James Mill in Leadenhall Street

1819-1836

THAT the publication of his *History of British India* was followed by his appointment to a lucrative post in the East India House is of course a well-known fact in the life of the elder Mill. Yet none of his biographers gives a clear and connected account of his official career; while the chief of them—Professor Bain—is not always accurate in his scanty references to the subject. In the following examination of this important aspect of Mill's life, the Company's records, now in the India Office at Westminster, have been utilized.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the responsibility of digesting practically the whole of the despatches received from India, and of drafting the Directors' replies, rested on the shoulders of one man, who was officially designated the Examiner of Indian Correspondence; and this individual, Samuel Johnson by name, was supposed to be qualified to advise his employers on all questions—political, revenue, judicial, or military—that were brought to their notice. Naturally, this system came near to breaking down. Although Johnson had a number of assistants, it was found impossible to deal promptly with the rapidly growing correspondence; and it became not unusual for an India letter to remain unanswered for three or four years, or even longer. At last an effort was made to lighten the labours of the Examiner, and in 1804 the duty of dealing with military correspondence was handed over, by a curious arrangement, to the Auditor of Indian Accounts, who was already responsible for correspondence on financial topics. Apparently this change was not found satisfactory; for a few years later the military work was transferred to a secretary specially appointed for that purpose. In 1809 two Assistant Secretaries were introduced, to whom was entrusted the control, under Johnson's supervision, of the judicial and revenue correspondence respectively, while an Assistant Examiner took

charge of the miscellaneous subjects grouped under the head of Public. Political matters, as being the most important, remained under the direct care of the Examiner. Thus matters stood for several years, except that in 1817 Samuel Johnson retired and his place was taken by William M'Culloch, who had been for some time his principal assistant.

In 1819 came a great change. Rundall, the chief Assistant Examiner, and Halhed, one of the Assistant Secretaries appointed ten years before, retired simultaneously; and as the other Assistant Secretaryship had been vacant for some time, the Directors had three appointments to fill up at once in this important department. The matter was carefully considered by the Committee of Correspondence, who on May 12, 1819, made a special report on the subject. In this they pointed out that the work had been for some time falling seriously into arrear; that the business of the department had much increased, and was likely to increase still further; many questions, they said, connected with the internal administration of India had acquired additional importance of late years, and the necessity was apparent for a 'higher than ordinary standard of qualifications for a satisfactory and even a tolerable discharge of that duty.' They had reluctantly come to the conclusion that none of the clerks in the department possessed the requisite attainments, and they recommended therefore the provisional appointment of three gentlemen from outside as Assistants to the Examiner. As some compensation to the clerks who were thus passed over, the creation of a fourth Assistantship was suggested, for which one of their number, Mr. J. J. Harcourt, was proposed, with consequent promotion for each of his juniors.

The three new names submitted by the Committee were those of Mr. Edward Strachey, Mr. James Mill, and Mr. Thomas Love Peacock. The first of these was a retired member of the Bengal Civil Service, who had gone out in 1793, and after serving, mostly in a judicial capacity, at various stations in the North-Western Provinces and Bengal, had returned to England in 1811.<sup>1</sup> Of James Mill the Committee remarked: 'This gentle-

<sup>1</sup> He was the second son of Sir Henry Strachey, Bart., M.P., Clive's former secretary. Carlyle, in his *Reminiscences*, describes him as 'a genially abrupt man; "Utilitarian" and Democrat by creed, yet beyond all things he loved Chaucer and kept reading him. A man rather tacit than discursive; but willing to speak, and doing it well, in a fine, tinkling, mellow-toned voice, in an ingenious aphoristic way; had withal a pretty vein of quizzical, which he seldom indulged in. A man sharply impatient of pretence, of sham and untruth in all forms; especially

man's character is before the public as the author of a *History of India*, and from the research displayed in the course of that work, as also from private testimony, the Committee have every reason to believe that his talents will prove beneficial to the Company's interests.' Thomas Love Peacock had recently sprung into notice by the publication, in rapid succession, of *Headlong Hall*, *Melincourt*, and *Nightmare Abbey*; but city men do not, as a rule, look for business ability in a novelist, and it may be surmised that his appointment was largely due to the influence of his friend, Peter Auber, the Company's Secretary. The canvass for these appointments had been going on for some months; and Auber had done his best to further Peacock's interests by procuring him temporary employment in the Examiner's Department from the preceding Christmas. Mill had made formal application by a letter dated March 22, 1819; but as early as February he had hinted to a correspondent that 'friends of mine among the East India Directors have views in my favour of considerable importance in the East India House,' and by April his supporters, prominent among whom were Ricardo, Hume, and Place, were making every effort to secure his appointment. The 'Chairs' were favourable to him, solely on the ground of his ability and knowledge; and George Canning, then President of the Board of Control, is said to have lent his powerful influence.<sup>1</sup>

The Committee's report was considered by the Directors on May 18, 1819, when the recommendations it contained were discussed and approved. To Strachey was allotted a salary of £1000 per annum; to Mill, £800; and to Peacock, £600.

contemptuous of "quality" pretensions and affectations, which he scattered grinningly to the winds. Dressed in the simplest form; walked daily to the India House and back, though there were fine carriages in store for the women part; scorned cheerfully "the general humbug of the world," and honestly strove to do his own bit of duty, spiced by Chaucer and what else of inward harmony or condiment he had. . . . A man of many qualities: comfortable to be near.' Many of his traits are reflected in the character of the Squire in his son's *Talks at a Country House*; and we are probably not wrong in identifying him with the 'retired Bengal judge' mentioned in that work, of whom it is said that 'such is the force of habit that, when he had occasion to take notes of an important trial at the Somersetshire assizes, he actually wrote them in Persian rather than in the English words in which the evidence was given, just as he had done, many years before, when trying dakoits at Jessore.'

It is scarcely necessary to recall that two of Edward Strachey's sons—Sir John and Sir Richard—added fresh lustre to the family name by their splendid services to India.

<sup>1</sup> Bain's *Life of James Mill*, pp. 167, 185.

Harcourt, the fourth Assistant, was given £800 a year, his previous services being taken into account. All four appointments were to be regarded as probationary, and the arrangement was to be reconsidered at the end of two years. Their specific duties are not mentioned; but it would seem that Strachey took the judicial branch, Mill the revenue, and Harcourt the public, while M'Culloch himself looked after political matters. Peacock probably attended to the miscellaneous subjects which did not come under any of those four heads.

It was a bold measure to entrust important duties of this nature to three men of mature years,<sup>1</sup> of whom two were entirely destitute of the customary training, and the third had had but a few months. One can fancy the general shaking of bewildered heads, and the loudly expressed disgust of the men who had been for years engaged in producing drafts on the pattern sanctioned by the usage of generations—assenting here, carping there, referring to forgotten orders of twenty years previous, or postponing a decision until the receipt of further information. 'The style as we like is the Humdrum,' a Director is reported to have replied to a youthful aspirant who inquired what was the best method to adopt in composing official despatches. Harcourt and his juniors had no doubt cultivated with care the style of the Humdrum; yet here, by a *bouleversement* not to be expected from so eminently conservative a body as the Directors, they were pushed aside for newcomers who probably would not care a straw for tradition or precedent. However, the experiment was fully justified by its success. On April 10, 1821, the Correspondence Committee brought up another report, which stated that the services of the three new Assistants 'have been strongly recommended by the gentlemen who have filled the Chairs since that period, and have been approved by the Committee in various instances wherein they have had an opportunity of witnessing the result of their labors.' They submitted, therefore, 'that those gentlemen be admitted permanently on the establishment of the Examiner's Office.' This the Court approved; and at the same time added £200 to the salary of each, the increase to take effect from the preceding Lady Day.

James Mill was now fairly in the saddle, and quickly made his powers felt. The favourable impression produced by his ability and assiduity was shown by the resolution come to by the Court on April 9, 1823, to raise his salary to £1200 from Lady Day,

<sup>1</sup>Strachey was 45, Mill 46, and Peacock 34 at the time of appointment.

and to grant him the title of Assistant Examiner, his former colleagues (of whom Peacock also received an increase of £200) being subtly distinguished as Assistants *under* the Examiner. This meant of course that he was placed above Strachey, who thereupon handed in his resignation. The Court accepted it, but with such expressions of regret that the way was left open to him to reconsider the matter; and a few weeks later he asked and obtained leave to withdraw his letter and resume his place.

At the same meeting which decided Mill's promotion, it was resolved to add another clerk to the Examiner's department; and the nomination having been placed at the disposal of the Chairman, Mr. James Pattison, he gave it to John Stuart Mill, who thus got his foot on the official ladder which his father was climbing with so much success.<sup>1</sup> The actual date of appointment was May 21, 1823, when John Mill had just turned seventeen. The first three years of his service, which ranked as a kind of apprenticeship, were rewarded, as usual, with a gratuity of £30 only; but once past this stage his rise was almost as rapid as his father's had been. In March, 1827, he was given a special gratuity of £200 for his 'zeal and assiduity'; and a year later the Court 'resolved by the ballot that Mr. John Mill, the eleventh clerk in the office of the Examiner of Indian Correspondence, who has been employed in the corresponding department since his first appointment and who has been reported well qualified for that duty, and to whose application, industry, and general good conduct the Examiner has borne the strongest testimony, be removed from his present situation and appointed an Assistant to the Examiner next under Mr. Harcourt, with an addition of £200 to his present salary, making his total allowance £310 per annum.' He thus jumped over the heads of the ten clerks above him, though his salary remained a comparatively small one. This, however, was partially remedied by a special gratuity of £200, which was given to him each year from 1829 up to 1834, when the allowance

<sup>1</sup>Since 1814 the Mill family had been residing at No. 1 Queen's Square, Westminster (now 40 Queen Anne's Gate), and thence father and son would walk daily to the office, probably with many a discussion on the way. In 1831 a move was made to a large detached villa in Vicarage Place, Kensington, afterwards called Maitland House. From about 1822 James Mill was in the habit of taking a summer residence in Surrey, his chosen headquarters in later years being the village of Mickleham, between Leatherhead and Dorking. There the family would remain for six months in each year, and there Mill spent the six weeks of his annual holiday. The rest of the time he went thither from Friday to Monday, while John, who (not being the head of a department) had to make the usual Saturday attendance, would come down on the Saturday afternoon.

was made a permanent addition to his salary, which had by that time reached £420.

With James Mill's outside work—important as it was—we have here nothing to do, but we must record a few more facts about his official career. On September 16, 1829, 'as a mark of the Court's approbation of the great attention and ability with which he has discharged the duties of his office,' his salary was increased by £300, to date from the 29th of that month. A year later M'Culloch intimated his intention of retiring<sup>1</sup> and the Committee of Correspondence advised that Mill should be appointed to succeed him. The matter was debated by the Directors at a meeting held on December 8, 1830, when considerable opposition was manifested. It was urged that M'Culloch's post should not be filled up—meaning apparently that Mill was to do the work on his existing salary. This, however, was negatived; and it was resolved that he should be made Examiner from Christmas, at £1900 a year, and that the vacancy thus created should not be filled, but Strachey and Peacock should be appointed Senior Assistants on £1200 (a rise of £200 for the latter).<sup>2</sup>

The next event of importance in the history of the department was the death of Strachey. This necessitated the appointment of someone to look after the judicial work; and, as Indian experience was apparently considered essential, a new Assistant was introduced (February 8, 1832), to rank next below Peacock, with a salary of £1000. The person chosen was David Hill, who had spent eighteen years in the Madras Civil Service and had recently been Chief Secretary in that Presidency.

The Company was now in the midst of the great struggle which was to terminate its existence as a commercial body. During the period that had elapsed since the last renewal of its charter, public opinion had set strongly against the continuance of its privileges, especially of its monopoly of the China trade. The growth of liberal views, the stimulus given to commerce by the conclusion of a general peace, and the consequent cry for new markets, had made the merchants of England unanimous in

<sup>1</sup> Professor Bain says that he was told 'that M'Culloch's reputation as an administrator was very high, his despatches being accounted perfect models and even superior to Mill's.' As, however, this statement is traceable to Horace Grant, a clerk in the Examiner's department who bore a grudge against James Mill, the Professor thinks that the comparison is not altogether to be trusted.

<sup>2</sup> These particulars, and some of the others given above, correct in several respects Professor Bain's statements in his *Life of James Mill*.

demanding unrestricted access to the ports of the Far East ; and in this they could count on the hearty support of the general public, aggrieved by the high price of tea. The chief plea urged by the Company in defence of its monopoly was that from the profits of this trade came not only the dividends of the proprietors, but also the wherewithal to meet the deficits of the Indian administration ; but this provoked the obvious retort that there was no reason why the nation should pay a high price for an article of prime importance in order to find funds for these two purposes. As early as 1820 Committees of both Houses of Parliament had reported in favour of a relaxation of the restrictions imposed by the Company ; but the Government of the day refused to take action, and attempts made nine years later to raise the question afresh were foiled in like manner.

However, action of some sort was so clearly necessary, in order to satisfy public opinion, that early in the session of 1830 Committees were appointed both in the Lords and Commons 'to inquire into the present state of the East India Company and the trade between the East Indies, Great Britain, and China.' In July both Committees submitted preliminary reports, dealing chiefly with the China trade ; but the further prosecution of their inquiries was stopped by the dissolution entailed by the death of the King, and the matter was not taken up again until February, 1831—this time by a Committee of the Commons alone. Even then, the conflict over the Reform Bill brought about a fresh appeal to the country in April, and a third Committee was not constituted until the end of June.

Ministers had already avowed their intention of throwing open the trade with China, and consequently the Committee turned its attention chiefly to the details of Indian administration. James Mill was called in August, and his evidence lasted through eight sittings. It was restricted to revenue matters, and is remarkable for its thoroughgoing defence of the existing system. He strongly condemned the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, and suggested as a partial remedy the purchase by Government of the *zamindari* rights as they came into the market, to be followed by a resettlement with the tenants on the old hereditary principle. Asked as to the probity or otherwise of the subordinate native officials, he replied that there was 'a total absence of a moral feeling in the country. . . . It is not shameful to be dishonest in a public trust.' These and other answers appear to have irritated certain of the members opposed to the Company, and



on the last day of his examination he was pointedly asked : ‘Do you conceive that it is possible for any person to form an adequate judgment of the character of a people without being personally acquainted with them?’ to which he made the quiet reply : ‘If the question refers to myself, I am far from pretending to a perfect knowledge of the character of the people of India.’

The Committee briefly reported, on October 11, 1831, the evidence they had taken ; but everybody’s attention was absorbed by the struggle over the Reform Bill—which the Lords had thrown out three days before—and no attempt was made to deal with the question of India during the rest of the session. On January 27, 1832, the appointment of a Committee was once again moved and agreed to. This time sub-committees were formed, who took up the subject in six branches. On four of these Mill was again examined. He expressed himself in favour of relieving the Supreme Government from the task of conducting the local administration of Bengal ; he also advocated the substitution of Lieutenant-Governors for the Governors of Madras and Bombay, and the amalgamation of the Presidential armies. He strongly supported the recommendation of the Indian Government for the establishment of a Legislative Council, which he would constitute of one or more experienced civilians, one lawyer, one native, and an individual ‘thoroughly versed in the philosophy of man and of government.’ The existing exemption of Europeans from the jurisdiction of the Company’s courts he severely condemned, as well as other defects in the judicial system. He considered the use of Persian in the law courts an absurdity, but the substitution of English would have an equally bad effect ; the only proper course was to employ judges familiar with the vernacular. He approved the opening of the civil service to public competition (of the Haileybury system he had come to an opinion ‘by no means favourable’), and would also do what was possible to educate the natives. As regards the employment of the latter in Government service, he would observe strict impartiality, taking the best man for the post, whether a native or a European. On revenue topics, he repeated his conviction of the ‘pernicious’ effects of the Permanent Settlement, and opposed the abolition of the salt duty (‘I know of no substitute for the tax on salt which would be so little onerous to the people’); while as regards opium he could ‘see no objection to the present mode at all.’ Questioned as to the

native states, he expressed strong opinions regarding the misery caused by their misgovernment—a misgovernment which, he thought, the policy in vogue did much to perpetuate by abstaining from any real interference in the internal administration of those states, whilst guaranteeing their rulers against the natural remedy, rebellion. Either, he said, the states should be left entirely alone (a course which he admitted was in most cases out of the question) or the administration should be taken over and the princes reduced to the position of pensioners.

The Committee reported to the House on August 16, 1832 ; but the close of the session prevented further action. Meanwhile a long and elaborate correspondence went on between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control regarding the terms to be allowed to the Company by the Government ; and in this Mill of course bore a leading part. We need not enter into the details of the controversy, except to say that the honours of debate appear to have fallen to the Company's representatives, and that considerable concessions were obtained as the result of their efforts.

The Bill was introduced in the Commons at the end of June, 1833, and was read a second time on July 10, when Macaulay, as one of the Commissioners of the India Board, made a masterly speech in its favour. Part of his task was to justify to the Reformed Parliament the abstention of the Government from any attempt to provide India with representative institutions ; and in doing this he made a clever use of the evidence given by Mill, whom he characterised as a 'gentleman extremely well acquainted with the affairs of our Eastern Empire, a most valuable servant of the Company, and the author of a *History of India* which, though certainly not free from faults, is, I think, on the whole the greatest historical work which has appeared in our language since that of Gibbon.' 'That gentleman,' he said, 'is well known to be a very bold and uncompromising politician. He has written strongly, far too strongly I think, in favour of pure democracy. He has gone so far as to maintain that no nation which has not a representative legislature, chosen by universal suffrage, enjoys security against oppression. But when he was asked, before the Committee of last year, whether he thought representative government practicable in India, his answer was : "utterly out of the question."'

The Bill emerged from Committee practically unaltered, and was carried up to the Lords at the end of July. A few

amendments were made, in which the Commons concurred, and in August the measure became part of the law of the land.

The passing of the Act was followed by the appointment of Macaulay to the newly created post of Legal Member of the Governor-General's Council—an appointment generously supported by Mill, who bore no malice for the attacks which the younger man had made on him in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*.<sup>1</sup> 'The late Chairman,' wrote Macaulay to his sister, 'consulted him about me; hoping, I suppose, to have his support against me. Mill said, very handsomely, that he would advise the Company to take me; for, as public men went, I was much above the average and, if they rejected me, he thought it very unlikely that they would get anybody so fit.' Between Macaulay's appointment and his sailing, he and Mill held frequent conferences. Another consequence most welcome to the latter was the nomination of a small commission to inquire into the Indian judicial system, with Macaulay as president. One of the commissioners, Mr. Charles Hay Cameron (afterwards himself Legal Member), was an old friend of Mill, who eight years before had endeavoured, but without success, to get him elected to the chair of philosophy in the newly founded University of London. He too availed himself of every opportunity of consulting Mill before setting out to take up his post. In August, 1834, the latter writes to Brougham: 'Cameron has been down with me for some days, mainly with a view to go into the details of his magnificent charge. He views it with the proper spirit; and I doubt not India will be the first country on earth to boast of a system of law and judicature as near perfection as the circumstances of the people would admit.' How well this anticipation was fulfilled by the Criminal Code, which was the outcome of the Commission's labours, is now a matter of common knowledge.

In 1835 a writership in the Bengal Presidency was procured for Mill's second son, James Bentham Mill. He went through the ordinary routine of appointments, serving mostly in the North-Western Provinces; retired in 1852; and died ten years later. A younger son, George Grote Mill, was appointed a clerk in the India House in 1844. He is described as very able and of a genial temperament, but constitutionally delicate. Having

<sup>1</sup>With equal generosity Macaulay refused to include these articles in his *Collected Essays*, and in the preface expressed regret for his 'unbecoming acrimony' and his satisfaction that Mill 'was, when his valuable life closed, on terms of cordial friendship with his assailant.'

contracted lung disease through overtaking his strength in a Swiss walking tour, he was obliged to give up his post in 1850, and died at Madeira three years later. Some account of him will be found in an article by David Masson on *Memories of London in the Forties*, which appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* for February, 1908.

Early in 1836 several changes were made in the Examiner's department, in consequence of the retirement of Harcourt, whose place was not filled up. James Mill's salary was raised to £2000; the title of Assistant Examiner was revived and given to Peacock with £1500 a year; while the salaries of Hill and John Mill were made £1200 and £800 respectively. John Mill was not yet thirty years of age.

James Mill was now nearly sixty-three, and his life of strenuous toil had of late told rapidly on his health. In August, 1835, he had had an ominous hemorrhage of the lungs, followed by considerable weakness; and although he got back to London from Mickleham in the autumn, he was unable to resume his duties at the India House. However, he was still hopeful, and wrote to Lord Brougham in January 'they tell me that, if I take care till the good weather comes, I shall be well again.' But he grew weaker and weaker, and before long it became evident that he would never see Leadenhall Street any more. As the end drew near, his affection for his children showed through the mask of reserve which he had hitherto chosen to wear. John was in bad health, and had been ordered by the doctor to Brighton; James was in India; and only George and Henry remained with the stricken father. 'Although,' wrote Henry, 'he seldom said anything about it, never by way of complaint, yet he sometimes, when he thought he should not recover, used to say to me or George that he would very willingly die, if it were not that he left us too young to be sure how we should turn out.' In June his friend Place wrote: 'Stayed too long with poor Mill, who showed much more sympathy and affection than ever before in all our long friendship. But he was all the time as much of a bright, reasoning man as he ever was—reconciled to his fate, brave and calm.' After a time bronchitis supervened, and on June 23, 1836, the sufferer passed away. He was buried in the old parish church at Kensington, and a marble tablet erected to his memory. The church has since been rebuilt, and the tablet is now to be found in the porch.

To the question how the elder Mill appeared to his Leadenhall

Street associates and what manner of man he was during business hours, tradition gives little answer. We gather, however, that he was a strict disciplinarian, scrupulously observing office rules himself, and expecting others to observe them likewise. Genial and patient towards his subordinates he is not likely to have been, considering his natural coldness of disposition and irritability of temper; but one may feel sure that he was inflexibly just in his dealings with them, and anxious to encourage and reward those who displayed industry and ability. 'One thing is certain,' writes Professor Bain, 'that Mill acquired a very great amount of influence and authority with the Court of Directors. It is doubted whether anyone before or since obtained the same share of their confidence. It has been said that, he being dead when the Macaulay Commission brought over their new Code for India, the Directors could not trust their own judgment so far as to put it in force.' And this influence was not merely that which an official of long-standing would naturally have with a heterogeneous body like the Court; it was due largely to Mill's exceptional force of character. 'He was a born leader—a king of men,' says Professor Bain with enthusiasm; and even that coolest of filial critics, his eldest son, bears similar testimony: 'My father's . . . senses and mental faculties were always on the alert; he carried decision and energy of character in his whole manner and into every action of life; and this, as much as his talents, contributed to the strong impression which he always made upon those with whom he came into personal contact.'

Of the elder Mill's services to India, his son writes: 'The influence which his talents, his reputation, and his decision of character gave him with superiors who really desired the good government of India, enabled him to a great extent to throw into his drafts of despatches, and to carry through the ordeal of the Court of Directors and Board of Control, without having their force much weakened, his real opinions on Indian subjects. In his *History* he had set forth, for the first time, many of the true principles of Indian administration: and his despatches, following his *History*, did more than had ever been done before to promote the improvement of India and teach Indian officials to understand their business. If a selection of them were published, they would, I am convinced, place his character as a practical statesman fully on a level with his eminence as a speculative writer.'

## Chronicle of Lanercost<sup>1</sup>

WHEN the King of England reached Poissy, he found the bridge broken and guarded by 1000 knights and 2000 cross-bowmen, so that it might not be repaired to enable the King of England to cross. But the King of England, having killed the guards, speedily repaired the bridge, and crossed over with his army. Then he proceeded through Picardy to Ponthieu; his enemy followed him to Crécy-en-Ponthieu, where, on the seventh of the kalends of September,<sup>2</sup> by the help of the Lord, he defeated his enemy in a great battle. For the action began on the afore-said day, to wit, the Saturday after the feast of S. Bartholomew, and continued until noon on the following day, and was brought to a close, not by human, but by divine, power. Among those slain and captured there were the King of Bohemia<sup>3</sup> and the King of Majorca, also the Duke of Lorraine, the Archbishop of Sens and [the bishop of] Nimes,<sup>4</sup> the Comte d'Alençon, who was the King of France's brother, the Abbot of Corbeil, besides the Count of Flanders, the Comte d'Albemarle [?],<sup>5</sup> the Comte *Sauvay*, the

<sup>1</sup> See *Scottish Historical Review*, vi. 13, 174, 282, 383; vii. 56, 160, 271, 377; viii. 22, 159, 276, 377; ix. 69, 159, 278, 390; x. 76.

<sup>2</sup> 26th August.

<sup>3</sup> Froissart describes thus the death of this gallant old King Charles of Bohemia. 'Having heard the order of battle, he enquired where was his son the lord Charles. His attendants answered that they did not know, but believed he was fighting. The king said to them—"Gentlemen, you are all my people, my friends and brethren in arms this day; wherefore, as I am blind, I beseech you to lead me so far into the battle that I may deal one blow with my sword." The knights replied that they would lead him forward at once; and, lest they should lose him in the mellay, they fastened all the reins of their horses together, and put the king at their head, that he might gratify his wish. They advanced against the enemy; the king rode in among them and made good use of his sword. He and his companions fought most gallantly; but they pressed forward so far that they were all killed; and on the morrow they were found on the ground, with their horses all tied together.' (*Froissart*, ch. cxxix.).

<sup>4</sup> *Archiepiscopus Senonensis Neminensis*. Nimes was not an archiepiscopal see.

<sup>5</sup> *Comes Daumarle*.

Comte de Blois, the Comte de Mont Villiers, the Comte de *Sainiers* and his brother, the Prior-in-chief of the Hospital of Jerusalem, the High Lord of Rosenburg and chief man in all France after the King, the Vicomte de Turnas, the Lord de Morles, the Lord of Righou, the Lord of Saint-Vinaunt, and many other knights and esquires. More than 20,000 were killed, and people without number of other nations; many were captured and imprisoned, King Philip [saved himself] by flight in arms.

After this the King of England undertook the siege of Calais, which was from old time most hurtful to the English.

Blessed be the Lord God of Israel! who hath visited and redeemed his people and raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of David, from our enemy!

In the same year, that is 1346, to wit on the vigil of S. Luke the Evangelist,<sup>1</sup> from the root of iniquity in Scotland sprang a stem of evil, from which tree certain branches broke forth, bearing, I trow, a crop of their own nature, the buds, fruit and foliage of much confusion. For in those days there went forth from Scotland the sons of iniquity, persuading many people by saying, 'Come, let us make an end of the nation of England, so that their name shall no more be had in remembrance!' And the saying seemed good in their eyes. Wherefore on the sixth day of October, the Scot assembled, children of accursed Belial, to raise war against God's people, to set a sword upon the land, and to ruin peace. David, like another Ahab deceived by an evil spirit [ ],<sup>2</sup> strong men and eager and most ready for war, earls, barons, knights and esquires, with two thousand men-at-arms and 20,000 commonalty of the villages, who are called 'Hobelers' among them, and of foot soldiers and archers it was calculated there were ten thousand and more. Impelled by pride and led by the devil, these invaded England with a lion-like rush, marching straight upon the fortress of Liddel. Sir William of Douglas arrived with his army at the said fortress in the morning, and David in the evening, laid siege thereto on the aforesaid day. For three days running they lay there in a circle, nor did they during the said days allow any attacks to be made on the threatened<sup>3</sup> fortress. But on the fourth day, having armed themselves before sunrise with spears, stones, swords and clubs, they delivered assaults from all quarters upon the aforesaid fortress and its defenders. Thus both those within and without the fortress fought fiercely, many being wounded and some slain; until at

<sup>1</sup> 17th October.

<sup>2</sup> Words missing in original.

<sup>3</sup> Prælibato.

length some of the Scottish party furnished with beams and house-timbers, earth, stones and fascines, succeeded in filling up the ditches of the fortress. Then some of the Scots, protected by the shields of men-at-arms, broke through the bottom of the walls with iron tools and many of them entered the said fortress in this manner without more opposition. Knights and armed men entering the fortress killed all whom they found, with few exceptions, and thus obtained full possession of the fortress.

Then Sir Walter de Selby, governor of the fortress, perceiving, alas ! that his death was imminent and that there was no possible means of escape for him, besought grace of King David, imploring him repeatedly that, whereas he had to die, he might die as befitted a knight, and that he might end his last day in the field in combat with one of his enemies. But David would not grant this petition either for prayer or price, being long demented with guile, hardened like another Pharaoh, raging, furious, goaded to madness worse than Herod the enemy of the Most High. Then the knight exclaimed, 'O king, greatly to be feared ! if thou wouldst have me behold thee acting according to the true kingly manner, I trust yet to receive some drops of grace from the most felicitous fountain of thy bounty.'

O, infamous rage of this wicked king ! Alas ! he would not even allow the knight to confess, but commanded him to be beheaded instantly ; and he had hardly ceased speaking when those limbs of the devil, the tyrants torturers who were standing by, carried out in act what he had ordered in speech. And thus these evil men, shedders of blood, wickedly and inhumanely caused human blood to flow through the field. Wherefore shortly after God poured forth upon them abundantly his indignation. Thus, therefore, did these wretches, *ut alteri filii*, bragging over the fate of a just man, stamp their feet and clap their hands, and they marched forth rejoicing, horse, foot and men-at-arms, David and the devil being their leaders.

Coming then to the priory of Lanercost, where dwell the canons, venerable men and servants of God, they entered arrogantly into the sanctuary, threw out the vessels of the temple, plundered the treasury, shattered the bones, stole the jewels, and destroyed as much as they could. Thence these sacrilegious men marched by Naworth Castle and the town of Redpath, and so the army arrived in Tynedale. But the English of the Carlisle district had a truce with the Scots at that time, so that in that march they burnt neither towns nor hamlets nor castles within the



bounds of Carlisle. David then came to Hexham Priory, where the Black Canons dwell, and, as is to be deplored, on that occasion and on others David utterly despoiled the aforesaid priory; for the Scottish army lay there for three whole days, and David took delight in burning, destroying and wrecking the church of God.

Not this the David whom the Lord  
To honour did delight;  
But quite a different David who  
To Christ did show despite.  
He proved his evil kind when he  
God's altar did defile;  
Blacker his guilt when to the flames  
He gave the sacred pile.<sup>1</sup>

It was, then, not David the warrior, but this David the defæcator who, for some reason or other, strictly ordered that four northern towns should not be burnt, to wit, Hexham, Corbridge, Darlington and Durham, because he intended to obtain his victual from them in the winter season; but a certain proverb saith, 'The bear wanteth one way and his leader another.' Wherefore, although the man himself had laid his plans, we were patiently hoping for something different.

The Scots marched from Hexham to the town of Ebchester, ravaging all parts of the country. Thence, praised be God! they crossed toward the wood of Beaurepair<sup>2</sup> for our deliverance and

<sup>1</sup> *Non tamen ille David quem Christum sanctificavit,  
Sed erat ille David qui Christum inhonoravit.  
Quod bene probavit cum super altare cacavit;  
Sed plus peccavit quando sacra templa cremavit.*

The reference is to an accident which, it was alleged, happened to the infant David at his baptism. It is characteristic of the monkish spite against everything Scottish that this little mishap was made the subject of unseemly reproach throughout King David's reign. The following lines, which will not bear translation, and seven others which I do not care to quote even in the original Latin, occur in a monkish poem on the Battle of Neville's Cross. (*Political Poems and Songs of the 14th Century*, vol. i. p. 48. Rolls Series. 1859.)

Dum puerum David præsul baptismate lavit,  
Ventrem lavavit, baptisterium maculavit.  
Fontem foedavit in quo mingendo cacavit;  
Sancta prophanavit, olei fæces reseravit.  
Brus nimis emunxit, cum stercore sacra perunxit,  
Se male disjunxit, urinæ stercore junxit.  
Dum baptizatur altare Dei maculatur,  
Nam super altare fertur mingendo cacare,  
Fac singularis puer hic cælestibus aris  
Optulit in primis stercora fœda nimis.

<sup>2</sup> Now Beaupark.

their confusion. David abode in the manor of Beaurepair, sending forth his satellites in all directions, bidding them drive off cattle, burn houses, kill men and harry the country. In like manner as [that other] David seized the poor man's lamb, although he himself possessed sheep and oxen as many as he would; wherefore, according to Scripture, his son died; so did [this] David, a root of iniquity, believing himself like another Antiochus, to possess at least two kingdoms,<sup>1</sup> suddenly attack towns and hamlets, inflict injury upon the people, gather spoil, destroy houses, carry women into captivity, seize men and cattle, and, worst of all, command churches to be burnt and books of law to be thrown into the flames, and thus, alackaday! did he hinder work in the vineyard of the Lord. He caused, I say, a great slaughter of men, and, uplifted in pride, he declared that he would assuredly see London within a very short time; which purpose the Searcher of Hearts caused to fulfil his fate.<sup>2</sup> Thus this most cruel David was ill at ease, being inspired by the devil and destitute of all kingly grace through his exceeding moroseness.

Who can describe the pride of old men? Scarcely can any one now living reckon up the scourges of the feeble mourners, the groanings of the young people, the weariness of the weepers, the lamentation and wailing of all the humbler folk; for thus [the Scripture] had been actually fulfilled, 'A voice is heard in Rama, and would not be comforted.' Goaded by memories sad and joyful<sup>3</sup> I shall not waste time in many words, but pass on briefly to the course of events. Every husband uttered lamentation, and those who were in the bonds of matrimony mourned cheerlessly; young and old, virgins and widows, wailed aloud. It was pitiful to hear. Little children and orphans, crying in the streets, fainted from weeping. Wherefore when the [arch] bishop of York beheld the extreme grief of the people together with the lamentations of the commonalty, he, like, for instance, that other noble priest, the mourning Mattathias, with his five sons, Abaron and Apphus, Gaddis, Thasi and Maccabeus, did not take to flight like a mercenary, but like a good shepherd went forth against the wolves with Sir Henry de Percy, Sir John de Mowbray, Sir Rafe de Neville, Sir Henry de Scrope and Sir Thomas de Rokeby, and chose out of the north men prudent and apt for war, in order to

<sup>1</sup> 1 Maccabees, ch. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad suum fortunum disposuit implere*, appears to be a misreading of *suam fortunam*.

<sup>3</sup> *Præ memoris stimulo jam dolens gaudendo*, seems to be a corrupt reading.

deliver his sheep from the fangs of the wolves. He went to Richmond, and lay there several days with his army; but my lord de Percy, with many other valiant men from all parts remained on watch in the country.

The [arch] bishop, then, moved out of Richmond with his army on the day before the Ides of October,<sup>1</sup> and directed his march along the straight road to Barnard Castle, and on the morrow he and the other commanders reckoned up their force of men-at-arms, cavalry, foot-soldiers and fighting men upon a certain flat-topped hill, near the aforesaid castle. Also the leaders did there set their army in order of battle, etc., as was proper. They arranged themselves in three columns, whereof Sir Henry de Percy commanded the first, Sir Thomas de Rokeby the second, and the [arch] bishop of York the third—a wise father, chaste and pious, shepherd of his flock. These men marched cautiously to the town of Auckland, in no spirit of hatred as Cain [felt] when he slew Abel, nor inflated with any such pride as Absolom's who hung in the tree, putting their trust, not in swords, helmets, lances, corselets, or other gilded armour, but only in the name of Christ, bent upon no invasion but only upon resisting the invaders. Pitching their tents in a certain beautiful woodland near the aforesaid town, the English army spent the whole night there.

At dawn next morning, that is on the vigil of S. Luke the Evangelist,<sup>2</sup> William de Douglas rode forth from the Scottish army with 500 men to harry the country and gather spoil. Thus the Scots seized their prey in the early morning, but in the evening the English divided the spoil.

On that morning, while the Scots were plundering the town of Merrington, suddenly the weather became inclement, with thick fog. And it came to pass that when they heard the trampling of horses and the shock of armoured men, there fell upon them such a spasm of panic that William and all those with him were utterly at a loss to know which way to turn. Wherefore, as God so willed, they unexpectedly stumbled, to their astonishment, upon the columns of my lord the Archbishop of York and Sir Thomas de Rokeby, by whom many of them were killed, but William and two hundred with him who were on armoured horses, escaped for the time, but not without wounds. Then Robert de Ogle, who is of great strength and not without skill in the art of war, followed them over hill and dale, killing many of the enemy with his own hand, and would not stop until beside a great pool in a

<sup>1</sup> 14th October.

<sup>2</sup> 17th October.

certain deep woodland glen his charger, being utterly at a standstill, was quite unable to go further. Now came William, greatly heated, to the Scottish army, crying aloud with much excitement, 'David! arise quickly; see! all the English have attacked us.' But David declared that could not be so. 'There are no men in England,' said he, 'but wretched monks, lewd priests, swineherds, cobblers and skinners. They dare not face me: I am safe enough.' But they *did* face him,<sup>1</sup> and, as was afterwards evident, they were feeling his outposts.

'Assuredly,' replied William, 'oh dread king, by thy leave thou wilt find it is otherwise. There are diverse valiant men [among them]; they are advancing quickly upon us and mean to fight.'

But just before he spoke two Black Monks came from Durham to treat with David for a truce. 'See,' said David, 'these false monks are holding conference with me guilefully. For they were detaining me in conclave in order that the English army might attack us while we were thus deceived.'

He ordered them, therefore, to be seized and beheaded at once; but all the Scots were so fully occupied at the time that the monks escaped secretly, serene and scatheless, footing it home without any loss.

On that day David, like another Nebuchadnezzar, caused the fringes of his standard to be made much larger, and declared himself repeatedly to be King of Scots without any hindrance. He ordered his breakfast to be made ready, and said that he would return to it when he had slain the English at the point of the sword.<sup>2</sup> But soon afterwards, yea very soon after, all his servants had to hurry, allowing the food to fall into the fire. Thus David, prince of fools, wished to catch fish in front of the net, and thereby lost many and caught but few. Therefore he failed to carry out the plan he had laid, because, like Aman and Achitophel, that which he had prepared for us befel himself. So David, having reckoned up his forces, called the Scots to arms—the folk that were eager for war and were about to be scattered; and like Jabin against Joshua, he marshalled three great and strong columns to attack the English. He set Earl Patrick over the first division; but he, like an ignorant fellow, refused to lead the

<sup>1</sup> *Sed illum respexit, should be respexerunt.*

<sup>2</sup> Reminding one of Napoleon's taunt to Soult on the morning of Waterloo. 'Parceque vous avez été battu par Wellington vous le regardez comme un grand général. Et, moi, je vous dis que Wellington est un mauvais général, que les Anglais sont de mauvaises troupes, et que ce sera l'affaire d'un déjeuner.'

first line, demanding the third, more out of cowardice than eagerness.<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Moray forthwith undertook his [Earl Patrick's] duty, and so held chief command in the first division of the army, and afterwards expired in the battle. With him were many of the valiant men of Scotland, such as the Earl of Stratherne, the Earl of Fife, John de Douglas, brother of William de Douglas, Sir Alexander de Ramsay,<sup>2</sup> and many other powerful earls and barons, knights and esquires, all of one mind, raging madly with unbridled hatred against the English, pressing forward without pause, relying on their own strength, and, like Satan, bursting with over-weening pride, they all thought to reach the stars.

King David himself commanded the second division—not, however that David of whom they sang in the dance that he had put ten thousand to flight in battle, but that David of whom they declared in public that his stench and ordure had defiled the altar. With him he took the Earl of Buchan,<sup>3</sup> Malcolm Fleming, Sir Alexander de Straghern (father and son without the holy spirit),<sup>4</sup> the Earl of Menteith,<sup>5</sup> and many others whom we do not know, and whom if we did know, it would be tedious to enumerate. In the third division was Earl Patrick, who should have been more appropriately named by his countrymen 'Non hic.'<sup>6</sup> He was late in coming, but he did splendidly, standing all the time afar off, like another Peter; but he would not wait to see the end of the business. In that battle he hurt

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the meaning of the passage, whence some words have probably dropped out. *Sed ipse, sicut sciolus abnegans principium fiet postulavit.*

<sup>2</sup> He means Sir William de Ramsay. Sir Alexander had been starved to death by 'the Flower of Chivalry' in Hermitage Castle.

<sup>3</sup> There was no Earl of Buchan at this time. Sir Henry de Beaumont was recognised as Earl in 1312 in right of his wife, a niece of John Comyn, last Earl of Buchan in the Comyn line; but Sir Henry died in 1340, and his son, Sir John, never claimed the title.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld was created Earl of Wigtown in 1341. The name of his son is not known. Sir Malcolm survived him, and was succeeded in the earldom by his grandson Thomas.

<sup>5</sup> Sir John Graham, Earl of Menteith in right of his wife, who inherited from her uncle Murdach, eighth earl in the Celtic line, killed at Dupplin Moor in 1332. John Earl of Menteith was taken prisoner at Neville's Cross and executed in London in March, 1347.

<sup>6</sup> Patrick, 9th Earl of Dunbar. In Stevenson's text the sense of this pleasantry is marred by the misplacement of a comma after *patria*. The passage should run, *Comes Patrik, sed melius vocaretur de patria non hic.*

no man, because he intended to take holy orders and to celebrate mass for the Scots who were killed, knowing how salutary it is to beseech the Lord for the peace of the departed. Nay, at that very time he was a priest, because he led the way in flight for others.<sup>1</sup>

His colleague was Robert Stewart ;<sup>2</sup> if one was worth little the other was worth nothing. Overcome by cowardice, he broke his vow to God that he would never await the first blow in battle. He flies with the priest [Earl Patrick], and as a good cleric, will assist the mass to be celebrated by the other. These two, turning their backs, fought with great success, for they entered Scotland with their division and without a single wound ; and so they led off the dance, leaving David to dance as he felt inclined.

About the third hour the English army attacked the Scots not far from Durham, the Earl of Angus<sup>3</sup> being in the first division, a noble personage among all those of England, of high courage and remarkable probity, ever ready to fight with spirit for his country, whose good deeds no tongue would suffice to tell.

Sir Henry de Percy, like another Judas Maccabeus, the son of Mattathias, was a fine fighter. This knight, small of stature but sagacious, encouraged all men to take the field by putting himself in the forefront of the battle. Sir Rafe de Neville, an honest and valiant man, bold, wary and greatly to be feared, fought to such effect in the aforesaid battle that, as afterwards appeared, his blows left their marks upon the enemy. Nor was Sir Henry de Scrope behindhand, but had taken his post from the first in the front of the fight, pressing on the enemy.

In command of the second division was my lord the Archbishop of York, who, having assembled his men, blessed them all, which devout blessing, by God's grace, took good effect. There was also another bishop of the order of Minorite Friars, who, by way of benediction, commanded the English to fight manfully, always adding that, under the utmost penalty, no man should give quarter to the Scots ; and when he attacked the enemy he gave them no indulgence of days from punishment or sin, but severe penance and good absolution with a certain cudgel. He had such power

<sup>1</sup> Another sarcasm, which cannot be rendered in English, the play being on the words *Presbyter* and *præbuit iter*.

<sup>2</sup> King David's nephew and heir-presumptive : afterwards Robert II.

<sup>3</sup> Gilbert de Umfraville, 4th Earl of Angus in the English line, g.-grandson of Matilda, who succeeded to the earldom from her uncle Malcolm, 5th and last earl in the Celtic line

at that time that, with the aforesaid cudgel and without confession of any kind, he absolved the Scots from every lawful act.

In the third division Sir John de Mowbray, deriving his name *a re*, was abounding in grace and merit. His auspicious renown deserves to be published far and wide with ungrudging praise, for he and all his men behaved in such manner as should earn them honour for all time to come. Sir Thomas de Rokeby, like a noble leader, presented such a cup to the Scots that, once they had tasted it, they had no wish for another draught; and thus he was an example to all beholders of how to fight gallantly for the sacred cause of fatherland. John of Coupland dealt such blows among the enemy that it was said that those who felt the weight of his buffets were not fit to fight any longer.

Then with trumpets blaring, shields clashing, arrows flying, lances thrusting, wounded men yelling and troops shouting, the conflict ended about the hour of vespers, amid sundered armour, broken heads, and, oh how sad! many laid low on the field. The Scots were in full flight, our men slaying them. Praise be to the Most High! victory on that day was with the English. And thus, through the prayers of the blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Cuthbert, confessor of Christ, David and the flower of Scotland fell, by the just award of God, into the pit which they themselves had dug.

This battle, therefore, as aforesaid was fought between the English and the Scots, wherein but few Englishmen were killed, but nearly the whole of the army of Scotland was either captured or slain. For in that battle fell Robert Earl of Moray,<sup>1</sup> Maurice Earl of Stratherne, together with the best of the army of Scotland. But David, so-called King of Scotland, was taken prisoner, together with the Earls of Fife, of Menteith, and of Wigtown, and Sir William of Douglas and, in addition, a great number of men-at-arms. Not long afterwards, the aforesaid David King of Scots was taken to London with many of the more distinguished captives and confined in prison, the Earl of Menteith being there drawn and hanged, quartered, and his limbs sent to various places in England and Scotland. But one of the aforesaid captives, to wit, my lord Malcolm Fleming, Earl of Wigtown, was not sent to London by reason of his infirmity, but, grievous to say! was allowed to escape at Bothall through the treachery of his guardian, a certain esquire named Robert

<sup>1</sup>His name was not Robert, but John. He was second son of Thomas Randolph, 1st Earl of Moray, and succeeded his brother Thomas as 3rd Earl in 1332.

de la Vale, and thus returned to Scotland without having to pay ransom.

After the aforesaid battle of Durham, my lord Henry de Percy being ill, my lord of Angus and Ralph de Neville went to Scotland, received Roxburgh Castle on sure terms, patrolled the Marches of Scotland, exacting tribute from certain persons beyond the Scottish sea, received others to fealty, and returned to England, not without some losses to their army.

- Explicit Chronicon de Lanercost.