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## Lord Elgin in Canada.<sup>1</sup> 1847-1854.

EARLY chapters in the history of the British Empire have as their heroes desperadoes, soldiers, men of exciting personality and external achievement; for in an irrational world the drum and trumpet play a very real part. But when warfare has died down into administration, and administration has begun to assume its more democratic forms, the new leaders, who lack the bustle and circumstance of the earlier men, make less impression on the popular mind, and the modern world enters into the fruit of their labours forgetful of men too civilized to be impressive.

Of such too readily forgotten statesmen, the eighth earl of Elgin and Kincardine is one of the foremost. He dominated Canada during seven critical years in the most critical period of Canadian history—1841-1867; but since his work was not that of war but only of its prevention, and of the creation of Canadian self-government, he has been relegated to the background of history, to make room for more romantic figures. It is time to restore him to his rightful place of pre-eminence.

The Canadian episode in Elgin's career furnishes the most perfect and permanently useful service rendered by him to the

<sup>1</sup> I desire to acknowledge the debt which this sketch owes to Dr. A. G. Doughty of the Dominion Archives, Ottawa, through whose courtesy I was permitted to read all the Elgin Papers deposited with him. The volumes of Elgin-Grey Correspondence, at present being prepared at Ottawa for publication by Dr. Doughty and Dr. Adam Shortt, will be one of the most important contributions to the history of the Empire made in recent years.

Empire. Although he gathered laurels in China and India, and earned a notable place among the diplomatists of Britain, nothing that he did is so representative of the whole man, so useful to others, and so completely rounded and finished off as are the seven years of hard work in Canada. Elsewhere he did work which others had done, or might have done, as well. But in the history of the self-governing dominions of Britain, his name is almost the first of those who assisted in creating an Empire the secret of whose strength was to be local autonomy.

Elgin belonged to the greatest group of nineteenth century politicians—early Victorians their self-appreciative critics now call them. With Gladstone, Canning, Dalhousie, Herbert, and others, he served his apprenticeship under Sir Robert Peel. All of that younger generation reflected the sobriety, the love of hard fact, the sound but progressive conservatism, and the high administrative faculty of their great master. It was an epoch when changes had to come; but the soundest minds tended, in spite of a vehement English party tradition, to view the work ahead of them in a non-partizan spirit. Gladstone himself, for long, seemed about to repeat the party-breaking record of Peel; and three great proconsuls of the group, Dalhousie, Canning, and Elgin, found in imperial administration a more congenial task than Westminster could offer them. Elgin occupies a mediate position between the administrative careers of Dalhousie and Canning, and the Parliamentary and constitutional labours of Gladstone. He was that strange being, a constitutionalist proconsul; and his chief work in administration lay in so altering the relation of his office to Canadian popular government, as to take from it much of its initiative, and to make a great surrender to popular opinion. Between his arrival in Montreal at the end of January, 1847, and the writing of his last official despatch on December 18, 1854, he had established on sure foundations the system of democratic government in Canada.

Following on a succession of short-lived and troubled governorships, Elgin was faced, on his accession to power in 1847, with the three great allied problems with which Canada then confronted her English governors—the character of the government to be conceded to the colonists, the question of the recognition to be given to, or withheld from, French nationalist feeling, and the nature of the connection with her colonies, which surrenders to local feeling on the first and second points, would leave to the mother country. All three difficulties took additional significance



from the fact that the example of Canada was certain, *mutatis mutandis*, to be followed by the other greater colonies of the British race.

On the first issue Elgin found opinion in a highly aggravated condition. The rebellion of 1837 had made it plain that the former grant of semi-representative government was useless, unless British statesmen were willing to let representative government be followed by its necessary consequence—a ministry representing the majority in the popular assembly, accepted and consulted by the local representative of the Crown. But neither Whigs nor Tories were prepared to make so complete a surrender to local autonomy. A considerable section of the colonists had but lately made armed resistance to British government, and many, especially among the French leaders, had been at least suspects in 1837 and 1838. The Canadian community was still in its immature youth, and its leaders had had few opportunities of learning political methods—except perhaps, which was worse than ignorance, some democratic crudities from the United States. The population was composed of Frenchmen who had already rebelled, Irishmen whose conduct at home and in America under the stimulus of famine and nationalist agitation could hardly have been more threatening, and if there were Scotch and English in Upper Canada, the majority had come from the unenfranchised classes in Britain, and were of the submerged three-fourths—the helots of English politics. At best, government could be entrusted only to very carefully selected representatives of this sub-political mass. A popular assembly might state its views, but how could the Governor-General accept its dictation in the making of his Executive Council?

A constitutional subtlety complicated the general situation, arising from the difference between the relations of the ministers to the Crown in Britain, and of the ministers to the Governor-General in Canada. Lord John Russell defined the point in a famous despatch to Poulett Thomson, the first governor of the United Provinces.<sup>1</sup> 'The power for which a minister is responsible in England is not his own power, but the power of the Crown, of which he is for the time the organ. It is obvious that the executive councillor of a colony is in a situation totally different. The Governor, under whom he serves, receives his orders from the Crown of England; but can the colonial council be the advisers of the Crown of England? Evidently not, for

<sup>1</sup> Russell to Poulett Thomson (later, Lord Sydenham), 14 October, 1839.

the Crown has other advisers, for the same functions, and with superior authority.'

This constitutional point, operating in conjunction with the natural unwillingness of Britain to let colonists usurp too much authority in what were, after all, imperial concerns, created a curious dilemma for Russell, fresh from democratic innovations in Britain itself. Russell centred his hopes on mutual forbearance—'The Governor must only oppose the wishes of the Assembly when the honour of the Crown, or the interest of the empire are deeply concerned; and the Assembly must be ready to modify some of its measures for the sake of harmony, and from a reverent attachment to the authority of Great Britain.'<sup>1</sup>

But opportunism is useless where a direct political principle is at stake, where the home government has avowedly gone half way towards concession, and where they refuse, on principle, to complete their surrender. The very reason which drives them to resist further concession, must force the colonial democrats to insist on their rights. From 1841 to 1846, a battle royal raged over this ground.<sup>2</sup> Sydenham, one of the ablest servants of the empire in his time, accepted Russell's principle, and, combining in his own person the offices of Governor-General and Prime Minister, attempted at once to maintain the dignity of the Governor, that is, the predominance of the mother country, and by management and occasionally by subtle corruption, to placate the local Progressive party. After a brilliant Parliamentary session—that of 1841—he found his cabinet on the brink of defeat; only a premature death saved him from confessing his failure. His successor, Bagot, surrendering in the face of orders to the contrary from the colonial office, was endured at home for a short year; and, on his retirement through ill health, Sir Charles Metcalfe, who followed him, came to maintain, and more than maintain, Lord John Russell's *status quo*, backed by the entire approval of Stanley, who was then administering the Colonial Office with all his power of brilliant and doctrinaire short-sightedness. Unfortunately for Metcalfe and Stanley, a Progressive party had organized itself in the province of Upper and Lower Canada, with the demand for 'responsible government' as the main plank in their platform—Robert Baldwin, a conscientious, sure-footed Whig lawyer, leading Upper Canadian

<sup>1</sup> Russell to Poulett Thomson, 14 October, 1839.

<sup>2</sup> For the conflict, see Scrope, *Life of Lord Sydenham*; Kaye, *Life of Metcalfe*; and Dent, *Forty Years of Canada*.



resistance to Government, and Lower Canada finding in La Fontaine a French leader who had learned, and could teach his followers, how to resist on constitutional lines. The personal influence of Metcalfe, based on his great generosity and single-mindedness, the assistance of all the old Canadian Tories, and the uncomfortable feeling that the Progressives were, somehow or other, disloyal, held Canada in a state of unstable equilibrium. But this could hardly endure.

When Elgin arrived in 1847 the alternatives were a grant of really responsible government, or a rebellion, with annexation to the United States as its probable end. The new Governor saw very clearly the dangers of his predecessor's policy. 'The distinction,' he wrote at a later date, 'between Lord Metcalfe's policy and mine is twofold. In the first place he profoundly distrusted the whole Liberal party in the province—that great party which, excepting at extraordinary conjunctures, has always carried with it the mass of the constituencies. He believed its designs to be revolutionary, just as the Tory party in England believed those of the Whigs and Reformers to be in 1832. And secondly, he imagined that when circumstances forced the party upon him, he could check these revolutionary tendencies by manifesting his distrust of them, more especially in the matter of the distribution of patronage, thereby relieving them in a great measure from that responsibility which is in all free countries the most effectual security against the abuse of power, and tempting them to endeavour to combine the rôle of popular tribunes with the prestige of ministers of the crown.'<sup>1</sup>

And Metcalfe's anti-democratic policy had been something more than the expression of a personal mood; for when Gladstone, then for a few months Colonial Secretary, wrote to instruct Cathcart, who was acting Governor in succession to Metcalfe, he assured him that 'the favour of his sovereign and the acknowledgment of his country, have marked (Metcalfe's) administration as one which, under the peculiar circumstances of the task he had to perform, *may justly be regarded as a model for his successors.*'<sup>2</sup> In truth, the British Colonial Office was not only wrong in its working theory, but ignorant of the boiling tumult of Canadian opinion in these days, the steadily increasing vehemence of the demand for true home rule, and the enormous risk which existed,

<sup>1</sup> Elgin-Grey Corr.: Elgin to Grey on Grey's Colonial Policy, 8 October, 1852.

<sup>2</sup> Gladstone to Cathcart, 3 February, 1846. The italics are my own.

that French nationalism, Irish nationalism, and American aggression, would be united in the agitation until the political tragedy should find its consummation in another Declaration of Independence.

Never was man better fitted for his work than Elgin. He came, a Scotsman to a colony one-third Scottish, and the name of Bruce was itself soporific to a perfervid section of the reformers. His wife was the daughter of Lord Durham, whom Canadians regarded as the beginner of a new age of Canadian constitutionalism. He had been appointed by a Whig Government, and Earl Grey, the new Colonial Secretary, was already learned in liberal theory, both in politics and economics, understanding that Britons, abroad as at home, must have liberty to misgovern themselves. 'However unwise as relates to the real interests of Canada their measures may be,' he wrote to Elgin *a propos* of an early crisis, 'they must be acquiesced in, until it shall pretty clearly appear that public opinion will support a resistance to them.'<sup>1</sup> Besides all this, Elgin's personal qualities were precisely those best fitted to control a would-be self-governing community. He had the Scottish gifts of caution and pawky humour. He had, to an extraordinary degree, the power of seeing both sides, and more especially the other side, of any question. In Canada, too, as later in China and India, he exhibited qualities of humanity which some might term quixotic, and which are certainly often lacking in proconsular minds.<sup>2</sup> And, as will be illustrated very fully below, his gifts of tact and *bonhomie* made him one of the most notable diplomatists of his time, and gave Britain at least one clear diplomatic victory over America.

His solution of the constitutional question was so natural and easy that the reader of his despatches forgets how completely Elgin's task had baffled all his predecessors, and that several generations of colonial secretaries had refused to admit what in his hands seems a self-evident constitutional truth. He came to Canada with a traditional suspicion of the French Canadians and the British Canadian Progressives, and within a year he had accepted a cabinet composed entirely of these two sections. On his way to the formation of that cabinet he had not only brushed aside old suspicions, but he had refused to surrender to the seductions of the eclectic principle, whereby his predecessors had

<sup>1</sup> Elgin-Grey Corr. : Grey to Elgin, 22 February, 1848.

<sup>2</sup> Walrond, *Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin*, p. 424. 'During a public service of twenty-five years I have always sided with the weaker party.'



evaded the force of popular opinion by selecting representatives of all shades of that opinion—a plan which in practice secured individuals, but severed them in sympathy from the parties which they were supposed to represent. It was important, he saw, to remove that ‘most delicate and debatable subject’ responsible government from the region of party politics; and he did this by conceding the whole position. ‘I never cease,’ he wrote of Sydenham’s policy, ‘to marvel what study of human nature, or of history, led him to the conclusion that it would be possible to concede to a pushing and enterprising people, unencumbered by an aristocracy, and dwelling in the immediate vicinity of the United States, such constitutional privileges as were conferred on Canada at the time of the Union, and yet to restrict in practice their powers of self-government as he proposed.’<sup>1</sup>

When his first general election proved beyond a doubt that Canadians desired a Progressive ministry, he made the change in 1848 with perfect success. It was the year of revolution, and the men whom he called to advise him were ‘persons denounced very lately by the Secretary of State to the Governor-General as impracticable and disloyal’;<sup>2</sup> but before the year was out he was able to boast ‘that when so many thrones are tottering and the allegiance of so many people is waxing faint, there is less political disaffection in Canada than there ever was before.’<sup>3</sup> From 1848 until the year of his recall he remained in complete accord with this Liberal administration, and never was constitutional monarch more intimately and usefully connected with his ministers than was Elgin, first with Baldwin and La Fontaine, and then with Hincks and Morin.

Elgin gave a rarer example of what fidelity to colonial constitutionalism meant. In these years of Liberalism, ‘Old Toryism’ faced a new strain, and faced it badly. The party had supported the empire, when that empire meant their supremacy. They had befriended the representative of the Crown, when they had all the places and profits. When the British connexion took a liberal colour; when the Governor-General acted constitutionally towards the undoubtedly progressive tone of popular opinion, some of the Tories became annexationists; many of them, as will be shown later, encouraged a dastardly assault on the person of their official head; and all of them, supported by gentlemen of Her

<sup>1</sup> Elgin-Grey Corr. : Elgin to Grey, 26 April, 1847.

<sup>2</sup> Elgin-Grey Corr. : Elgin to Grey, 5 February, 1848.

<sup>3</sup> Elgin-Grey Corr. : Elgin to Grey, 29 June, 1848.

Majesty's army,<sup>1</sup> treated the representative of the Crown with the most obvious lack of courtesy. Nevertheless, when opinion changed, and when a coalition attacked and unseated the great Progressive ministry of 1848-1854, Elgin, without a moment's hesitation, turned to the men who had insulted and miscalled him. 'To the great astonishment of the public, as well as to his own,' wrote Laurence Oliphant, who was then on Elgin's staff, 'Sir Allan M'Nab, who had been one of his bitterest opponents ever since the Montreal events, was sent for to form a ministry—Lord Elgin by this act satisfactorily disproving the charges of having either personal or political partialities in the selection of his ministers.'<sup>2</sup>

But the first great constitutional Governor of Canada had to interpret constitutionalism as something more than mere obedience to public dictates with regard to his councillors. He had to educate these councillors, and the public, into the niceties of British constitutional manners, and he had to create a new vocation for the Governor-General—the exchange of dictation for rational influence. He had to teach his ministers moderation in their measures, and, indirectly, to show the opposition how to avoid crude and extreme methods in their fight for office. When his high political courage, in consenting to a bill very obnoxious to the opposition, forced them into violence, he kept his temper and his head, and the opposition leaders learned, not from punishment, but from quiet contempt, to express dissent in modes other than those of arson and sticks and stones. For seven years, in modes so restrained as to be hardly perceptible even in his private letters to Grey, he guided these first experimental cabinets into smooth water, and when he left, he left behind him politicians trained by his own efforts to govern Canada according to British usage.

At the same time his influence on the British Cabinet was as quiet and certain. He was still responsible to the British Crown and Cabinet, and a weaker man would have forgotten the problems which the new Canadian constitutionalism was bound to create there. Two instances will illustrate the point, and Elgin's clear perception of his duty. They are both taken from the Rebellion Losses Bill episode, and the Montreal riots, of 1849. The Bill which caused the trouble

<sup>1</sup> He refers to 'military men; most of whom, I regret to say, consider my ministers and myself little better than rebels' (11 June, 1849).

<sup>2</sup> *Episodes in a Life of Adventure*, p. 75.



had been introduced to complete a scheme of compensation for all those who had suffered loss in the late Rebellion, whether French or English, and had been passed by majorities in both houses; but while there seemed no valid reason for disallowing it, Elgin suspected trouble—indeed, at first, he viewed the measure with personal disapproval.<sup>1</sup> He might have refused permission to bring in the Bill; but ‘only imagine,’ he wrote, ‘how difficult it would have been to discover a justification for my conduct, if at a moment when America was boiling over with bandits and desperadoes, and when the leaders of every faction in the Union, with the view of securing the Irish vote for the presidential election, were vying with each other in abuse of England, and subscribing funds for the Irish Republican Union, I had brought on such a crisis in Canada by refusing to allow my administration to bring in a bill to carry out the recommendation of Lord Metcalfe’s commissioners.’<sup>2</sup> He might have dissolved Parliament, but ‘it would be rather a strong measure to have recourse to it (dissolution) because a Parliament elected one year ago under the auspices of the present opposition passed by a majority of more than two to one a measure introduced by the Government.’<sup>3</sup> He might have reserved the bill for rejection or approval at home; but ‘I should only throw upon Her Majesty’s Government, or (as it would appear to the popular eye here) on Her Majesty herself, a responsibility which rests, and ought I think to rest, on my own shoulders.’<sup>4</sup> He gave his assent to the Bill, suffered personal violence at the hands of the Montreal crowd and the opposition, but, since he stood firm, he triumphed, and saved both the dignity of the Crown and the friendship of the French for his government.

The other instance of his skill in dovetailing Canadian autonomy into British supremacy is less important, but, in a way, more extraordinary in its subtlety. As a servant of the Crown, he had to furnish despatches, which were liable to be published as Parliamentary papers, and so to be perused by Canadian

<sup>1</sup>The obvious point, made by the Tories in Canada, and by Gladstone in England, was that the new scheme of compensation was certain to make recompense to many who had actually been in arms in the Rebellion, although their guilt might not be provable in a court of law. See Gladstone’s speech, *Hansard*, 14 June, 1849.

<sup>2</sup>Elgin to Grey, concerning Grey’s Colonial Policy, 8 October, 1852. Metcalfe’s policy on the rebellion losses had really forced Elgin’s hand.

<sup>3</sup>Elgin-Grey Corr., 14 March.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*

politicians. Elgin had therefore to reckon with two publics—the British Parliament, which desired information, and the Canadian Parliament, which desired to maintain its dignity and freedom. Before the outrage, and when it was extremely desirable to leave matters as fluid as possible, Elgin simply refrained from giving details to the Colonial Office. ‘I could not have made my official communication to you in reference to this Bill, which you could have laid before Parliament, without stating or implying an irrevocable decision on this point. To this circumstance you must ascribe the fact that you have not heard from me officially.’<sup>1</sup> Even more shrewdly, at a later date, he made Grey cancel, in his book on Colonial Policy, details of the outrage which followed the passing of the Act; for, said he, ‘I am strongly of opinion that nothing but evil can result from the publication, at this period, of a detailed and circumstantial statement of the disgraceful proceedings which took place after the Bill passed. . . . *The surest way to arrest a process of conversion is to dwell on the errors of the past, and to place in a broad light the contrast between present sentiments and those of an earlier date.*’<sup>2</sup> In constitutional affairs manners make, not merely the man, but the possibility of government; and Elgin’s highest quality as a constitutionalist was, not so much his understanding of the instrument of government, as his knowledge of the constitutional temper, and the need within it of humanity and common-sense.

Great as was Elgin’s achievement in rectifying Canadian constitutional practice, his solution of the nationalist difficulty in Lower Canada was possibly a greater triumph of statesmanship; for the present *modus vivendi*, which still shows no signs of breaking down, dates from the years of Elgin’s governorship. The earlier nineteenth century was pre-eminently the epoch of nationalism. Italy, Germany, and Hungary, with Mazzini as their prophet, were all struggling for the acknowledgment of their national claims, and within the British Islands themselves, the Irish nationalists furnished, in Davis and the writers to *The Nation*, disciples and apostles of the new gospel. It is always dangerous to trace European influences across the Atlantic; but there is little doubt that the French rebellion of 1837 owed something to Europe; and the arch-rebel Papineau’s paper, *L’Avenir*, echoes, in an empty blustering fashion, the cries of the nationalistic revolution

<sup>1</sup> Elgin-Grey Corr., 12 April, 1849.

<sup>2</sup> Elgin to Grey concerning Grey’s Colonial Policy, 8 October, 1852. The italics are my own.



of 1848.<sup>1</sup> The defeats of 1837 and 1838, followed by the union of Quebec with Upper Canada, seemed to have settled matters by external force ; but the French were far from being satisfied.

Durham, in his *Report*, had calculated on the problem being solved by the absorption of the stationary French nation in a rapidly increasing British population. But he had forgotten that from the Quebec Act of 1774 England had systematically fostered French and Catholic feeling as against American democracy ; and—a mere physical inconvenience, but one hard to remedy—that the French birth-rate was in excess of that of the Anglo-Saxon colonists. Sydenham, the initiator of union, acted in accordance with Durham's speculations ; and, finding no readiness among the French to meet his wishes, contrived to array against him the whole 'Canadian' nation. In the words of his successor, under whose short regime there were some signs of improvement, 'he treated those [Frenchmen] who approached him with slight and rudeness, and thus he converted a proud and courteous people—which even their detractors acknowledge them to be—into personal and irreconcilable enemies.'<sup>2</sup> More perhaps by accident than by real political affinity, the French under their great Parliamentary leader, La Fontaine, made a close alliance with the British reformers under Robert Baldwin, which not all the efforts of wily Tory managers could destroy. Hence, in the fierce struggle for responsible government under Sir Charles Metcalfe, the French fought side by side with their reforming allies, and the temporary check to constitutionalism was also a new reason for keener French nationalist feeling.

Elgin, then, found on his arrival that British administration (and it must be remembered that Stanley at home had been as blameworthy as Metcalfe in Canada) had flung every element in French-Canadian politics into headlong opposition to itself. How dangerous the situation was, one may gather from the disquieting rumours of United States ambitions, and from the Irish troubles and passions which floods of unkempt and wretched immigrants were bringing with them to their new homes in America. Elgin's second year of office, 1848, was *the* year of nationalism in Europe ; and he had to face the possibility of a '48 rising under the old leaders of '37. His solution of the difficulty proceeded *pari passu* with his constitutional work. In the

<sup>1</sup> Elgin kept very closely in touch with the sentiments of the Canadian press, French and English. See his letters, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Bagot to Stanley [confidential], 26 September, 1842.

latter, he had seen that he must remove the disquieting subject of 'responsible government' from the party programme of the Progressives, and the politic surrender of 1847 had gained his end. Towards French nationalism he acted in the same spirit. Of the French politicians he wrote: 'They seem incapable of comprehending that the principles of constitutional government must be applied against them as well as for them; and whenever there appears to be a chance of things taking this turn, they revive the ancient cry of nationality, and insist on their right to have a share in the administration, not because the party with which they have chosen to connect themselves is in the ascendant, but because they represent a people of distinct origin.'<sup>1</sup>

But how could this pathological phase of nationalism be ended? His first Tory advisers suggested the old trick of making converts—*les Vendus* their countrymen used to call them—but the practice had long since been found useless. His next speculation was whether the French could, as Liberals or Tories, be made to take sides, apart altogether from nationalist considerations. But, after all, the political solidarity of the French had only been a kind of trades-unionism to guard French interests against an actual menace to their very existence as a nation within the empire; and they were certain to act only with Baldwin and his friends, the one party which had regarded them as being other than traitors, or suspects, or at best tools.

No complete solution of the problem was possible, but when Elgin surrendered to the Progressives, he was conceding also to the French—by admitting them to a recognised place within the constitution, and doing so without reservation. From that moment he and Canada were safe. He remained doubtful during part of 1848, for the notorious Papineau had been elected by acclamation to the Parliament which held its first session that year; and he 'had searched in vain . . . through the French organs of public opinion for a frank and decided expression of hostility to the anti-British sentiments propounded in Papineau's address.'<sup>2</sup> He did not at first understand that La Fontaine, not Papineau, was the French leader, and that the latter represented only himself and a few *Rouges* of vague and unsubstantial revolutionary opinions. Nevertheless, he gave his French ministers his confidence, and he applied his singular powers of winning men to appeasing French discontent. As early as May, 1848, he saw

<sup>1</sup> Elgin-Grey Corr. : Elgin to Grey, 28 June, 1847.

<sup>2</sup> Elgin-Grey Corr. : Elgin to Grey, 7 January, 1848.



how the land lay—that French Canada was fundamentally conservative, and that discontent was mainly a consequence of sheer stupidity and error on the part of England. ‘Who will venture to say,’ he asked, ‘that the last hand which waves the British flag on American ground may not be that of a French Canadian.’<sup>1</sup>

But his final settlement of the question came with 1849, and the introduction of that Rebellion Losses Bill which has been already mentioned. The measure was, in the main, an act of justice to French sufferers, for they had naturally shared but slightly in earlier and partial schemes of compensation; and the opposition was directed quite frankly against the French inhabitants of Canada as traitors, who deserved, not recompense, but punishment. Now there were many cases like that of the village of St. Benoit, the safety of which Sir John Colborne had guaranteed when he occupied it for military purposes, but which, in his absence, the loyalist volunteers had set on fire and destroyed. The inhabitants might be disloyal, but in the eyes of an equal justice a wrong had been done, and must be righted. The idea of the bill was not new—it was not Elgin’s bill; and if his predecessors had been right, then the French politicians were justified in claiming that its system of compensation must be followed till all legitimate claims had been met.

It would be disingenuous to deny that Elgin knew what an effect his support of the bill would have in Lower Canada. ‘I was aware of two facts,’ he told Grey in 1852: ‘Firstly, that M. La Fontaine would be unable to retain the support of his countrymen if he failed to introduce a measure of this description; and secondly, that my refusal would be taken by him and his friends as a proof that they had not my confidence.’ But it seems to me that his chief concern was to hold the balance level, to redress an actual grievance, and to repress the fury of British-Canadian Tories whose unrestrained action would have flung Canada into a new and complicated struggle of races and parties. ‘I am firmly convinced,’ he told Grey in June, speaking of American election movements at this time, ‘that the only thing which prevented an invasion of Canada was the political contentment prevailing among the French Canadians and Irish Catholics’; and that political contentment was the result of Elgin’s action in supporting his ministers. Judicial restraint raised to a heroic degree had enabled Elgin to do the French what they counted a great service; and the rage and disorder of the opposition only

<sup>1</sup> Elgin-Grey Corr. : Elgin to Grey, 4 May, 1848.

played the more surely into the Governor's hands, and established, beyond chance of alteration, French loyalty to Elgin.<sup>1</sup>

From that day to this, although there have been incidents, party moves, and imprudences, French and British in Canada have played the political game together. It was in the great Baldwin-La Fontaine ministry that the joint action, within the Canadian parties, of French and British, had its substantial beginning; and while the traditions and idiosyncrasies of Quebec were too ingrained and notable to suffer change beyond a certain point, the constitutional system was henceforth based on the mutual support, whether among Tories or Liberals, of French and English. It was from this point too that Elgin was able to discern the conservative genius of the French people, and to prophesy—when once Baldwin's Whig influence had withdrawn—the union between the French and the moderate Conservatives, on which John A. Macdonald based his long and imperial control of power in Canada.

The nationalist question is so intermingled with the constitutional, that it is not always easy to separate the two issues; but a careful study of the Elgin-Grey correspondence proves that the same qualities which settled the latter difficulty ended also French grievances—saving common-sense which did not refuse to do the obvious thing; *bonhomie* which understood that a well-mannered people may be wooed from its isolation by a little humouring; a mind resolute to administer to every British subject equal rights; and an austere refusal to let arrogant and self-appreciative Toryism claim to itself a kind of oligarchic glory at the expense of citizens less Anglo-Saxon than itself.

There is a third aspect of Elgin's work in Canada, of wider scope than either of those already mentioned, and one in which his claims to distinction have been almost forgotten. That is, his services to the working theory of the British Empire. He was one of those earlier sane imperialists, whose claims some recent noisy demonstrators have found it easy to disregard. It is not too much to say that, when Elgin came to Canada, the future of the British colonial empire was a very open question. Politicians at home had placed in front of themselves an awkward dilemma. According to the stiffer Tories, the colonies must be held in with a firm hand—how firm, Stanley had illustrated in his administration of Canada. Yet Tory stiffness naturally produced colonial

<sup>1</sup> See an interesting reference in a letter from India to Sir Charles Wood; Walrond, *op. cit.* pp. 419-20.



discontent, and a very natural doubt at home as to the possibility of holding the colonies by such methods. On the other hand, there were those, like Cobden, who while they believed with the Tories that colonial home-rule was certain to result in colonial independence, were nevertheless too loyally *laissez faire* men to resist colonial claims. They looked to an immediate but peaceful dissolution of the empire.

It is curious (the more so because of the great names connected with this view) to find Grey writing in 1849 to Elgin: 'Unfortunately there begins to prevail in the House of Commons, and, I am sorry to say, in the highest quarters, an opinion (which I believe to be utterly erroneous) that we have no interest in preserving our colonies, and ought therefore to make no sacrifice for that purpose. Peel, Graham, and Gladstone, if they do not avow this opinion as openly as Cobden and his friends, yet betray very clearly that they entertain it, nor do I find some members of the Cabinet free from it.'<sup>1</sup> It never seemed to strike anyone but a few Radicals like Durham and Buller, that Britons still retained British sentiments, even across the seas, and that they desired both to 'live under the flag,' and, at the same time, to retain those popular rights in government which they possessed at home. A Canadian Governor-General, then, had to deal with British Cabinets, which alternated between foolish rigour and foolish slackness, and with politicians who never reflected on the responsibilities of empire when they flung before careless British audiences irresponsible discussions on colonial independence—as if it were an academic subject and not a critical issue.

Elgin had imperial difficulties, all his own, to make his task more complicated. Not only were there French and Irish nationalists ready for agitation; but the United States lay across the southern border; and annexation to that mighty and flourishing republic seemed to many the natural euthanasia of British North American rule. Peel's great reforms in the tariff had rekindled annexationist talk; for while Lord Stanley's bill of 1843 had 'attracted all the produce of the west to the St. Lawrence' by its colonial preference, 'Peel's bill of 1846 drives the whole of the produce down the New York channels of communication... ruining at once mill-owners, forwarders, and merchants.'<sup>2</sup> And every petty and personal disappointment, every error in Colonial Office administration, sent a new group to cry down the British

<sup>1</sup> Elgin-Grey Corr.: Grey to Elgin, 18 May, 1849.

<sup>2</sup> Elgin-Grey Corr.: Elgin, 16 November, 1848.

system, and to call for a peaceful junction with the United States.

Elgin had not been long in Canada before he saw one important fact—that the real annexationist feeling had commercial, not political roots. Without diminishing the seriousness of the situation, the discovery made it more susceptible of rational treatment. A colony suffering a severe set-back in trade found the precise remedy it looked for in transference of its allegiance. ‘The remedy offered them,’ wrote Elgin, ‘is perfectly definite and intelligible. They are united to form part of a community which is neither suffering nor free-trading . . . a community, the members of which have been within the last few weeks pouring into their multifarious places of worship, to thank God that they are exempt from the ills which affect other men, from those more especially which affect their despised neighbours, the inhabitants of North America, who have remained faithful to the country which planted them.’<sup>1</sup> With free-trade in the ascendant, and possibly correct, Elgin had to dismiss schemes of British preference from his mind; and, towards the end of his rule, when American economics and politics were irritating the Canadian mind, he had even to restrict the scope within which Canadian retaliation might be practised.<sup>2</sup> There could be no imperial Zollverein. But he said that a measure of Reciprocity might give the Canadians all the economic benefits they sought, and yet leave them the allegiance and the government which, in their hearts, they preferred. The annexationist clamour fell and rose, mounting highest in Montreal, and in the dire year of the Rebellion Losses disturbance; but Elgin, while sometimes he grew despondent, always kept his head, and never ceased to hope for the Reciprocity which would at once bring back prosperity, and still the disloyal murmurs. Once or twice, when the annexationists were at their worst, and when his Tory opponents chose support of that disloyal movement as the means of insulting their Governor, he took very justifiable means of repressing an unnatural evil. ‘We intend,’ he wrote in November, 1849, after an annexation meeting in which servants of the State had taken part, ‘to dismiss the militia officers and magistrates who have taken part in these affairs, and to deprive the two Queen’s Counsels of their silk gowns.’ But he held to the positive

<sup>1</sup> Walrond, *op. cit.* p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing is clearer in Grey’s letters to Elgin than his refusal to countenance retaliation in any shape, except perhaps as restricting American use of Canadian waters.



side of his policy, and few statesmen ever gave Canada a more substantial boon than did Elgin when, just before his recall, he came to Washington on that mission which Laurence Oliphant has made classic by his description, and concluded by far the most favourable commercial treaty with the United States ever negotiated by Britain.

There is perhaps a tendency to underestimate the work of his predecessors and assistants, but no one can doubt that it was Elgin's persistence in urging the treaty on the home Cabinet, and his wonderful diplomatic gifts, which ultimately won the day. Oliphant, certainly, had no doubt as to his chief's share in the matter. 'He is the most thorough diplomat possible—never loses sight for a moment of his object, and while he is chaffing Yankees, and slapping them on the back, he is systematically pursuing that object';<sup>1</sup> and again, 'There was concluded in exactly a fortnight a treaty to negotiate which had taxed the inventive genius of the Foreign Office, and all the conventional methods of diplomacy, for the previous seven years.'<sup>2</sup>

It was a long, slow process by which Elgin restored the tone of Canadian loyalty. Frenchmen who had dreamed of renouncing allegiance he won by his obviously fair mind, and the place accorded by him to their leaders. He took the heart out of Irish disaffection by his popular methods and love of liberty. Tory dissentients fell slowly in to heel, as they found their Governor no lath painted to look like iron, but very steel; to desponding Montreal merchants his Reciprocity treaty yielded naturally all they had expected from the more drastic change. It is true that, owing to untoward circumstances, the treaty lasted only for the limited period prescribed by Elgin; but it tided over an awkward period of disaffection and disappointment.

He did more, however, than cure definite phases of Canadian disaffection; his influence through Earl Grey told vehemently for a fuller and more optimistic conception of empire. With all its virtues the bureaucracy of the Colonial Office did not understand the government of colonies such as Canada; and where colonial secretaries had the ability to will, they had not knowledge sufficient to lead them into paths at once democratic and imperial. Even Grey had his moments of falling from the optimism which empire demands of its statesmen. It was not simply that he emphasized the wrong points—military and

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Oliphant, *Life of Laurence Oliphant*, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> Laurence Oliphant, *Episodes in a Life of Adventure*, p. 56.

diplomatic issues, which in Canada were minor and even negligible matters ; but at times he seemed prepared to let things go.

In 1848 he had impaled himself on the horns of one of those dilemmas which present themselves so frequently to absentee governors and governments—no reciprocity with America and Canadian rebellion, or, reciprocity, and in consequence Americanization!<sup>1</sup> In 1849, 'looking at these indications of the state of feeling in Canada, but the equally significant indications as to the feeling of the House of Commons respecting the value of our colonies,' he had begun to despair of their retention.<sup>2</sup> But there were greater sinners than those of the Colonial Office. While Elgin was painfully removing all the causes of trouble in Canada, and proving without argument, but in deeds, that the British connexion represented normal conditions for both England and Canada, politicians insisted on making foolish speeches ; until an offence by the Prime Minister himself drove Elgin into a passion unusual in so equable a mind, and which, happily, he expressed in the best of all his letters. 'I have never been able to comprehend why, elastic as our constitutional system is, we should not be able, now more especially when we have ceased to control the trade of our colonies, to render the links which bind them to the British Crown at least as lasting as those which unite the component parts of the Union. . . . You must renounce the habit of telling the colonies that the colonial is a provisional existence. . . . Is the Queen of England to be the sovereign of an empire, growing, expanding, strengthening itself from age to age, striking its roots deep into fresh earth and drawing new supplies of vitality from virgin soils ? Or is she to be for all essential purposes of might and power monarch of Great Britain and Ireland merely, her place and that of her land in the world's history determined by the productiveness of 12,000 square miles of a coal formation which is being rapidly exhausted, and the duration of the social and political organization over which she presides dependent on the annual expatriation, with a view to its eventual alienization, of the surplus swarm of her born subjects ?'<sup>3</sup> That is the final question of imperialism ; and an age which prides itself on its imperial creations, may well ask whether the man who first wrought out in hard labour an optimistic answer to the question

<sup>1</sup> Elgin-Grey Corr. : Grey to Elgin, 27 July, 1848.

<sup>2</sup> Elgin-Grey Corr. : Grey to Elgin, 20 July, 1849.

<sup>3</sup> Elgin-Grey Corr. : 23 March, 1850. The letter, which may be found in Walrond's volume, pp. 115-120, ought to be read from its first word to its last.



before he asked it, and who then put it with vehemence to the Colonial Office and the Prime Minister, when they offended, does not merit some remembrance.

Space forbids any mention of the more human chapters of Elgin's Canadian adventure; his whimsical capacity for getting on with men, French, British, and American; the sly humour of his correspondence with his official chief; the searching comments made by him on men and manners in America; the charm of such social and diplomatic episodes as Laurence Oliphant has sketched in his letters and his *Episodes in a Life of Adventure*. It only remains to sum up such impressions as may be gathered from his *opera majora* recorded above.

I began by calling him Victorian, and the phrase seems fitting. He was too human, easy, unclassical, and, on the other hand, too little touched with Byronic or revolutionary feeling, even to suggest the age of Pitt, Napoleon, Canning; he was too sensible, too orthodox, too firmly based on fact and on the past, to have any affinity with our own transitional politics. Like Peel, although to a less degree, he had at once a firm body of opinions, a keen eye for new facts, and a sure, slow capacity for bringing new fact to bear on old opinion.

He was able, as few have been, to set the personal equation aside in his political plans, administering to friends and foes with almost uncanny fairness, and astonishing his petty enemies by his moderation. His mind could regard not merely Canada but also Britain, as it reflected on future policy; and he sometimes seems, in his letters, the one man in the empire at the time who understood the true relation of colonial autonomy to British supremacy. Not even his foolishlest eulogist will attribute anything romantic to his character. There was nothing of Disraeli's 'glitter of dubious gems' about the honest phrases in which he bade Russell think imperially. Unlike Mazzini, it was his business to destroy false nationalism, not to exalt that which was true, and for that cool business the glow and fervour of prophecy was not required. We like to see our leaders standing rampant, and with sulphurous, or at least thundery, backgrounds. But Elgin's ironic Scottish humour forbade the pose, and it was his business to keep the cannon quiet, and to draw the lightning harmless to the ground. The most heroic thing he did in Canada was to refrain from entering Montreal at a time when his entrance must have meant insult, resistance, and bloodshed, and he bore quietly the taunts of cowardice which his enemies flung at his head.

He was far too clear-sighted to think that statesmanship consists in decisions between very definitely stated alternatives of right and wrong. 'My choice,' he wrote in characteristic words, 'was not between a clearly right and clearly wrong course—*how easy is it to deal with such cases, and how rare are they in life*—but between several difficulties. I think I chose the least.'<sup>1</sup> His kindly, shrewd, and honest countenance looks at us from his portraits with no appeal of sentiment or pathos. He had given the greatest of British dependencies the government fittest to its needs; he had saved a little people from the disasters of false nationalism; he had corrected the imperial practice of a great Government. He asked of men that which they find it most difficult to give—moderation, common-sense, a willingness to look at both sides, and to subordinate their egoisms to a wider good; and was content to do without their worship. Such as he was, he seems to me the greatest in the long line of Canadian viceroys; for at a crisis in Canadian history, he did, without a single slip, exactly that which was necessary, and he refused to stain the national triumph with any personal vainglory.

J. L. MORISON.

<sup>1</sup> Elgin-Grey Corr. : Elgin to Grey, 7 October, 1849.



## The Scottish Progress of James VI

AFTER his accession to the English throne James VI. paid but one visit to Scotland, in 1617. His journey towards London fourteen years earlier aroused Carlyle to enthusiasm not for its own sake, but on account of certain notable doings at Hinchinbrook in Huntingdonshire.<sup>1</sup> He did not consider the Scottish progress so memorable, although it created much commotion north of the Tweed. The reason is not far to seek. In the hero-worshipper's eyes the bare possibility that little Oliver, who had in 1603 just completed his fourth year, may have waved a welcome to the shambling monarch appears to be of greater significance than the fact that Laud accompanied James to Scotland in 1617 with the express purpose of enforcing Episcopacy on its unwilling inhabitants.

As at the present day a royal progress entailed considerable labour and forethought on the authorities, although different considerations, of course, arose in the seventeenth century. The preparations for his Majesty's reception occupied more than a year, and the Privy Council of Scotland and their subordinates were hard at work during this trying period supervising the repair of the roads and royal palaces, issuing proclamations for the suppression of vagabonds and the preservation of game, and making elaborate arrangements for the transport of the king's luggage from place to place. Road mending was not apparently a congenial task to the local magnates, and we find that just before James arrived in Scotland certain border lairds were severely reprimanded for neglecting to obey the Council's orders, and directed to repair the highway within ten days under pain of rebellion.<sup>2</sup> In May, 1616, an Act was passed empowering the Master of the Works to rebuild certain portions of the Palaces

<sup>1</sup> *Historical Sketches of Notable Persons and Events in the Reigns of James I. and Charles I.* 1898, pp. 9 and 134.

<sup>2</sup> *Register of Privy Council of Scotland*, xi. 1616-1619, 1894, p. 92.

of Holyrood, Stirling and Falkland,<sup>3</sup> while the statutes relating to mendicity are especially interesting. The vagabonds, who resorted to the capital, had become an intolerable nuisance, and it was feared that they might be a source of annoyance to the haughty English visitors in the king's train. The first act for their suppression had no effect; and two further proclamations were issued against these 'stronge idle and maisterfull beggaris, counterfute bairdis and foollis,' who were to be found everywhere begging and extorting alms. They were ordered to address themselves to their own parishes on pain of scourging and other refined tortures on their first conviction, and of death for the next offence. All noblemen and gentlemen were directed to have a pair of 'fast lokket stokkis' for punishing the offenders, and each parish had to provide 'one or tua strong able men' to walk 'athorte' the town and apprehend them.

While the beggars were being hunted, a close time was ordered for game. The king himself, writing from Newmarket on February 19, 1616, gave strict directions that the laws against the shooting of deer, hares and wildfowl should be rigorously enforced, as he and his retinue wished to enjoy good sport. The Privy Council seem to have had some difficulty in carrying out these commands. The Earl of Linlithgow and his son, Lord Livingston, were summoned to appear before them at the instance of the Earl of Perth for encroaching on the Royal Forest of Glenarnay,<sup>4</sup> and a commission was granted to the Earl of Tullibardine to try poachers in Perthshire.<sup>5</sup> In January, 1617, a proclamation was made against the killing of bucks which might stray from the park of Falkland Palace,<sup>6</sup> and heavy penalties were exacted in proportion to the rank of the offenders.

The exact numbers of the retinue and transport accompanying the king are uncertain, but they fell far short of 5000, for whom the townspeople of Edinburgh were told to prepare. We may picture the consternation of the unhappy Provost and Bailies when they were directed 'to mak a perfyte survey of the haill ludgeingis and stabellis within the burgh of Edinburgh, the Cannogait, Leythe Wynd, Pleasance, Potterraw and Weste Porte, and to foirsee and provide that thair be good ludgeingis within the said boundis for fyve thousand men and stablis for fyve thousand horse.'<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the lodgings were to be furnished with good clean bedding and linen, and the stables provided with abundance

<sup>3</sup> *Register of Privy Council of Scotland*, x. 1613-1616, 1891, p. 517.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* x. p. 570. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* x. p. 597. <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* xi. p. 7. <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* x. p. 683.



of corn, hay and straw. As the late Professor Masson said, 'About the Christmas time of 1616, it was evident Auld Reekie must have been driven nearly to the end of its wits,'<sup>8</sup> and the municipal authorities must have blessed the day when they saw the last of James and his courtiers. The Scottish nobility and gentry, who had already secured rooms in the Canongate, were curtly told by the Council to find accommodation elsewhere.

Having so large a train the transport of his Majesty's baggage was no easy matter. It involved an enormous amount of labour, for James retraced his steps several times. In the various shires the Justices of the Peace were instructed to arrange for relays of horses and carts to be ready at prescribed times, and the rates of hire were fixed in each case. Two general constables were appointed for every shire, and their subordinates were required to see that the necessary conveyances were forthcoming.<sup>9</sup> The onerous duties cast upon the authorities were not eagerly performed. The Justices of Stirlingshire refused to act, and were summoned before the Council to answer for their conduct under pain of death; whilst the Constabulary of Haddington, being rather dilatory, were threatened with horning, unless they accepted their offices by a certain day. The royal route was mapped out stage by stage, and the exact distances between each stopping place were carefully tabulated.

Much attention was also paid to the furbishing and renewal of the king's wardrobe. Various portions of tapestry were said to be in the possession of several Scottish noblemen, and these relics of ancient days were hunted up. But Mr. John Auchmutie, Master of the Wardrobe, had very bad luck, and there is a touch of comedy in the pleas urged by the peers in excuse. The Lord Chancellor Dunfermline produced ten pieces, much worn, embroidered with 'the storie of Aeneas, the storie of Troy and the storie of Mankynd'; the Earl of Linlithgow alleged that the tapestry which he held had been 'cuttit through be umquhile Andro Cokburne, foole'; the Earl of Home said that his four pieces had been given him by the king for 'tua hunting horsis'; and the Lords of Loudoun and Balmerino denied having any of his Majesty's belongings at all.<sup>10</sup> Auchmutie, however, found four beds, probably at Holyrood, one depicting the labours of Hercules; another of crimson velvet and gold; another of gold, silver and silk; and another, incomplete, 'sewit

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* x. Intro. p. cxiv.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* xi. Intro. p. xii.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* x. p. 521.

be his Majestie's mother,' of the same material, which were sent to England to be repaired.<sup>11</sup>

Early in 1617, Captain David Murray was instructed to sail for London 'at the first occasioun of wynd and wedder' with the royal pinnace, *The Charles*, for the purpose of collecting tapestry, silverplate, household stuff, furniture, and other provisions for the king's use; and by his directions a special messenger was sent to James in all haste with his Scottish 'robe royal' in order that his Majesty might ascertain whether the precious garment was fit to be worn 'in ony grite solempnitie' or whether he should provide himself with a new one 'efter the fassioun of the auld.'<sup>12</sup> It is noteworthy that James did not leave this momentous question to Sir Gideon Murray, the Treasurer Depute, who was authorised to search the royal wardrobe, but preferred to see the robe himself.

The works at Holyrood seem to have proceeded in a rather leisurely fashion; the Privy Council began to get anxious as the time for the king's arrival approached, and charged the magistrates of Dundee, St. Andrews, Dysart, and Pittenweem to appear before them with twenty-six craftsmen, whose names appear on the Register, to assist in completing the repairs.<sup>13</sup> From time to time similar urgent messages were sent to different bodies for more skilled labour.

In March, 1617, James left Whitehall, but his progress through England was slow. He stayed at various places on the way, including Newcastle, Bothall Castle, the seat of Sir Charles Cavendish, and Alnwick Abbey, and he did not cross the border till May 13. The king was accompanied by Ludovick, second Duke of Lennox, his kinsman and principal attendant at Gowrie House in 1600; Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, the friend whom Raleigh shortly afterwards besought on the scaffold to justify his memory before James; Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, the brilliant patron to whom Shakespeare dedicated *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*; two brothers, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery; the notorious George Villiers, then Earl of Buckingham; and Edward la Zouch, Lord Zouch. Besides these peers there were three High Church Prelates, Dr. Lancelot Andrews, Bishop of Ely, Dr. Richard Neile, Bishop of Lincoln, and Dr. James

<sup>11</sup> *Register of Privy Council of Scotland*, x. p. 624.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* xi. p. 66.

<sup>13</sup> See further as to the repairs at Holyrood, *Royal Palaces of Scotland*, edited by R. S. Rait; London, 1911, p. 113.



Montague, Bishop of Winchester, with a number of knights and other gentlemen. Inferior in rank, but certainly not in importance, was Dr. William Laud, 'a small chaplain, lean little tadpole of a man, with red face betokening hot blood,' as Carlyle limns him.

From Berwick James went to Dunglas in Haddingtonshire, the seat of the Earl of Home, and at his first stopping-place he had to listen to a long Latin speech by Mr. Alexander Hume. By May 15 he was at Seton House, where he was received by the Earl of Winton, and was presented with a poem by William Drummond of Hawthornden entitled *Forth Feasting, a Panegyric to the King's Most Excellent Majesty*. It is a delightful example of this loyal author's playful fancy. The Forth is awakened from slumber by the sounds of joy and sport which herald the royal progress, and by the glittering throngs which crowd its banks. Earth and sky, mountain and stream, river-naïad and sea-god are bidden to join in welcoming the returning monarch.

And you my Nymphs, rise from your moist Repair ;  
Strow all your Springs and Grots with Lillies fair ;  
Some swiftest-footed, get them hence, and pray  
Our Floods and Lakes come keep this Holy-day.

\* \* \*

To Virgins, Flow'rs ; to Sun-burnt Earth, the Rain ;  
To Mariners fair Winds amidst the Main ;  
Cool Shades to Pilgrims, which hot glances burn,  
Are not so pleasing as thy blest Return.

\* \* \*

Ah why should Isis only see Thee shine ?  
Is not thy Forth, as well as Isis thine ?  
Though Isis vaunt she hath more Wealth in store,  
Let it suffice thy Forth doth love thee more.

These lines, taken at random from a long poem, are obviously the outcome of genuine admiration, lavish as is Drummond's praise of James. There is nothing artificial about his verse, for he has gone direct to nature for inspiration, and has avoided those fulsome and servile phrases of which the authors of the various addresses were guilty. Moreover there is a graceful allusion to the Union of the Crowns, which could only have been written by an adept in the art of diplomacy—

The Christal-streaming Nid, loud bellowing Clyde,  
Tweed which no more our Kingdoms shall divide.

—and it is unfortunate that the local magnates did not take Drummond for their model in framing their speeches. ‘Magniloquent loyal Addresses more than one, on this occasion, full of drowsy Bombast, like tales told by an idiot, I have read and will not remember,’ groans Carlyle, and two extracts may suffice to prove that his scorn was amply justified. ‘This is that happy day of our new birth, ever to be retained in fresh memory . . . wherein our eyes behold the greatest human felicity our hearts could wish, which is to feed upon the royal countenance of our true Phoenix, the bright star of our northern firmament, the ornament of our age, wherein we are refreshed, yea revived with the heat and beams of our sun,’ exclaims Mr. John Hay, Town Clerk Depute of Edinburgh. ‘What heart would not break? what eye would not drown itself in tears for the so long absence of so well beloved and so much loving a Prince, a King second unto no other, and far from any second, matchless in birth and royal descent but more in heroical and amazing virtues?’ gushes Mr. Robert Murray of Stirling. Such crude and childish sentiments James doubtless swallowed with a solemn countenance as befitting a Scottish Solomon.

Passing through Leith, he entered Edinburgh on May 16, where he was greeted by the Provost, Magistrates and Town Council, attired, according to the Chronicler of Perth, in black gowns.<sup>14</sup> It seems strange that they should have donned this funereal garb; and in a letter dated a week later from Mr. John Chamberlain, in London, to his friend Sir Dudley Carleton, British Ambassador at the Hague, a different and more graphic account of the ceremony is given. ‘We have little out of Scotland since the king’s being there. . . . Some speech there is how the burghers of Edinburgh received him in scarlet gowns and more than 100 in velvet coats and chains of gold and 300 musketeers in white satin doublets and velvet hose and that they presented him with 10,000 marks in gold.’<sup>15</sup>

The populace were horrified by the ritual at Holyrood. Organs pealed, choristers sang, and surplices were worn. Then the king went to his Palace of Falkland to hunt, afterwards staying at Kinnaird in Perthshire, and receiving poems and addresses of welcome at Dundee. Between June 11 and 14 he visited the Earl of Morton at Dalkeith, his transport consisting of 80 carts

<sup>14</sup> *The Chronicle of Perth, 1210 to 1668*, Maitland Club, Edin. 1831, p. 19.

<sup>15</sup> *The Court and Times of James the First*, vol. ii. 1848, p. 13.



and 240 horses.<sup>16</sup> Back in Edinburgh again he lectured his countrymen at the opening of Parliament, frankly telling them that they were a barbarous people.<sup>17</sup> He only hoped that they would be as ready to adopt the good customs of their Southern neighbours as they had been eager to become their pupils in the arts of smoking tobacco and of wearing gay clothes. The speech is the reverse of conciliatory, and the authors of the addresses must have wished that they had modified their language. It was on this occasion that David Calderwood, minister of Crailing, was banished for protesting against James's policy in ecclesiastical affairs. Continuing his progress by Stirling and Perth he convened a meeting at St. Andrews on July 13, at which the bishops and ministers were present.

During a second visit to Stirling he received a deputation from Edinburgh University headed by the Principal, Henry Charteris. For three hours he listened to a disputation in Latin by six learned professors, Adamson, Fairly, Sands, Young, Reid and King, and wound up the debate by complimenting the combatants and indulging in bad puns on their names, as for example that Mr. Young was very old in Aristotle. By the end of July his Majesty had reached Glasgow and Paisley, and he stayed for two days at Hamilton Palace with the Marquis of Hamilton, being also entertained at Sanquhar Castle by Lord Crichton of Sanquhar. Doubtless it was a convenient stopping-place, but the royal visit must have awakened unpleasant memories in the family, since only five years earlier James had condemned his host's predecessor in the title to an ignominious death by hanging before the gates of Westminster Hall on the charge of having instigated a murder, for which the unfortunate sufferer had at least some provocation, seeing that the victim, one Turner, had, whether intentionally or not is uncertain, put out one of his lordship's eyes in a fencing bout. Carlyle, grimly humorous, cites this as an example of James's rough justice. At Drumlanrig he was welcomed by Sir William Douglas with the usual poetical effusions.

The king arrived at Dumfries on August 4, where he presented the inhabitants with a miniature piece of ordnance in silver, which is still preserved in the Town Hall, and ordained an annual wapinshaw, in which the Incorporated Trades took part. The competition was continued till 1831, and it forms

<sup>16</sup> *The Scots Peerage*, edited by Sir J. Balfour Paul, vol. vi. 1909, p. 376.

<sup>17</sup> S. R. Gardiner's *History of England*, vol. iii. 1883, p. 224.

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the theme of John Mayne's spirited poem in five cantos, 'The Siller Gun,' which deals with the gathering of the corporations, the march to the field, the spectators and marksmen and the general festivities. Leaving Annan, accompanied by a large number of Scottish Councillors, James then crossed the border to Carlisle and bade farewell for ever to his ancient kingdom of Scotland.

G. A. SINCLAIR.



## The Origin of the Holy Loch in Cowall, Argyll

A WELL-KNOWN feature of the Firth of Clyde is that branch of it known for ages as the 'Holy Loch.' The old Statistical Account gives its Gaelic equivalent as Loch Shiant. On its shores stands the remains of the old Church of Kilmun, where for 500 years the Campbells of Argyll have buried their dead.

There are several traditions in regard to the origin of the term Holy Loch, some of which have been printed or briefly referred to in print at different times, and others have survived in oral tradition, viz. :

1. That a Lord of Lochow, returning from the Holy Land with a ship loaded with earth and sand from that country, destined for the foundations of S. Kentigern's Cathedral at Glasgow, lost his ship or ran her ashore.

2. That the Lord of Lochow brought the sand from the Holy Land for a burying place at Kilmun, or for building the Church of Kilmun.

3. That it was the Chief of Clan Lamont who came back from Palestine with sand destined for the founding of a burial place at Kilmun.

It will be noticed that the one feature common to the various accounts is the story about sand from the Holy Land or some sacred spot having originated the epithet.

In the following passage dealing with a far more remote age and period, we have a more certain and interesting solution of the origin of the name 'Holy Loch,' and it goes far to show how a story is often brought down to a time nearer to the memories of such as tell it when it has really occurred long before—it is in fact the unconscious modernisation of an incident actually recorded in the ancient life of that very saint who was the primitive founder of the original Celtic Church of Kilmun, viz. Saint Fintan Munnu or Mund (meaning Fintan, my beloved

one), and whom from other evidence the writer has been able to identify as the original patron saint of the Campbell Lords of Lochow.

There is in the lives of those saints, who, though Irish by birth, spent much of their lives in Alba (Scotland), seldom an indication as to which of the two countries was the scene of the specific incidents, miraculous or otherwise, narrated in the different chapters. In S. Adamnan's *Life of S. Columba*, and in that by S. Cuimine the Fair, one of his renowned successors, we find reference to a considerable number of both miracles and ordinary events which took place in Iona and other parts of Argyll (Dalriada). That the same thing must be understood in the *Life of S. Fintan Munnu* is obvious, and we need have no reasonable doubt but that the following incident, forming the twenty-eighth chapter of this saint's life, took place by the shores of the Holy Loch in Scotland, and not at the scene of any of his Irish Foundations, for the reference to a brother, who was a Briton, is just what would be natural in a place like Kilmun, so near to Dunbarton, the Capital of the Kingdom of the Strathclyde Britons. The incident is thus narrated, of which the following is a translation :

Chapter 28. 'A certain monk of the race of the Britons was at S. Munnu's,<sup>1</sup> and had his cell hard by, and dwelt as a hermit. And he was skilled in carpentering, and used to do woodwork and other work for the Brethren. One day Saint Munnu came in the morning to that man's cell, and there was at the time a fire in the house for drying the wooden planks. And the monk knelt before the holy man and said, 'Father, sit down for a short while in the seat by the fire that thy feet may be warmed.' To which the man of God consents, and as he sat by the fire the monk took his brogues (ficones) and found wet sand in them. And lifting it up he wrapped it up in his towel (sudarium), and

<sup>1</sup> Munnu is of course a hypocoristic name, being contracted from Mo-fhinnu. Taghmon in Leinster is his chief foundation in Ireland. The principal Saints mentioned in his life are SS. Brendan of Clonfert, Columba, Cainnech, Baithine of Iona, Comgall, Molua, Molaisse of Leighlin, and Mochoemog, who survived Munnu, dying in 656, and Mr. Plummer has pointed out that in the historical setting of his life there are no inconsistencies.

It is noteworthy that Strachur, anciently Kilmaglass, was evidently founded by or dedicated to S. Molaisse, as an old charter speaks of the Ecclesia Sancti Malaci, and its parish touches Kilmun to the north. Within its bounds lies Glenbranter, which in all old writs is written Glenbrandanane and Glenbrandane, clearly indicating a connection with S. Brandan.



he said to the man of God, 'I ask thee, Father, in the name of God, that thou wilt tell me what that sand is?' To whom the holy man replied, 'Promise me on thy faith that thou wilt not tell it to anyone during my life'; and on his giving the promise the saint saith to him, 'I have in sooth of late arrived from the Land of Promise. With me were Saint Columba and Saint Brendan and Saint Cannich (Kenneth); and God's power led us thither and led us back thence. And from thence brought I this sand for my burial place.' Now that monk, after the death of the man of God, narrated this story, and showed the sand which was placed in the Church Yard, as the Holy man commanded in his lifetime.'

Now the Salmanticensian Codex of this saint's life, preserved at Brussels, gives his words on this occasion in a fuller and more curious manner :

'I have now come from the Land of Promise in which we four gathered together are constituting our places, viz. Columba, Kille and I, our two places are together about the Ford (*duo loca nostra simul circa vadum consistunt*). But Kannech and Brandin Macu Althe have set up their places around the other ford. The name of the place of Columbe Kyle is called Ath Cain (*i.e.* the Fair Ford), and the name of my place Port Subi (viz. Port Joy). The name of Kannech's place is called Set Bethatch (Path of Life), and the name of Brandan's place Aur Phurdus (Brink of Paradise).<sup>1</sup>

'If therefore a temptation come to ye which ye are not able to bear, ye shall set forth to that Holy Land ; and it shall be lawful for ye if there are to ye always twelve new beams with ye and twelve brazen caldrons (*cacabi enei*) for your journey. Ye shall therefore go to the Hill of Stones (Sliabh Liacc) in the region of the race of Bogen<sup>2</sup> to the promontory which extends into the sea, and there ye shall begin to sail. Killing your oxen and it is lawful for you to eat the flesh of the oxen. For it might chance owing to the hurry of your setting out that ye could not prepare food for your journey, and in the skins of your oxen shall ye prosperously sail to the Holy Land of Promise.'

There is obscurity in this curious passage, but it would seem

<sup>1</sup>The writer has not attempted to identify these four place names with their beautiful meanings, which, whether in Ireland or Scotland, evidently lie close to one another, and would be glad to hear where they are.

<sup>2</sup>Tir Bogaine, the barony of Banagh, Co. Donegal. Slieve League is in that Barony (Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*).

that the oxen were not meant to be shipped on to the boat, as their hides were evidently to be themselves employed in making the boat with the twelve new beams, as it is distinctly said that 'in the skins of your oxen ye shall,' etc.

Many a new monastic foundation was symbolically commenced by twelve brethren, and the number of the caldrons ordered seems to point to this practice having been followed by S. Mun's own community.

Among the Argyll Charters dealing with the 'Progress' of the lands of Kilmun, is one under the great seal of King James IV., by which that monarch (for the services rendered to James II. and James III. by Colin, first Earl of Argyll, as well as for the services rendered to himself and for the love he bore the Earl) erected the town of Kilmund into a free burgh of barony for ever. The inhabitants were to be burgesses, and to erect a cross (of which no trace now appears to remain), and hold weekly markets every Monday, and to have two yearly fairs, one on S. Mund's own festival, the 21st October, the other on the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, commonly called Beltane (3rd May), and during the octaves of those feasts.

On the 21st October, the Aberdeen Breviary duly enters the Saint's festival with six lessons briefly recording his life, in which his father's name, Tulchain, and his mother's, Fechele, are accurately given, and they mention his burial at Kilmun. All the Irish Annals record his death, or 'quies,' as they touchingly call it, at this date, in the year 635 or 636. Here for many ages his now lost 'bachuil' was carefully preserved.

When compiling for topographical reference the varying forms of the spellings of the original merklands 'of old extent' in the ancient Barony of Lochow, the writer had noticed that wherever the early Campbells held lands connected with one of their castles or manors, a Chapel or 'Cil' dedicated to S. Mun lay in close proximity. Suspecting that these coincidences were unlikely to be entirely due to chance, he thought it more than likely that just as S. Morich was adopted as the patron saint of the ancient Clan MacNachtan, possibly because he was the first apostle of the faith through whom the conversion of that clan (or their remoter progenitors) had taken place, so S. Mund might quite possibly be the primitive patron of the Campbells or O'Duibhnes.

For instance, close to Innischonnel, the oldest known fortress of the Campbells, Lords of Lochow, we have a Kilmun. Three



miles off, and close to another of their old castles on Locharich, in Lorne, lies another Kilmun. Again, close to the first land which tradition says they acquired in Glenaray (viz. the Field of the Petticoat) lies another Kilmun, where foundations can be distinctly seen to this day, whilst on the Holy Loch in Cowall, close to the Manor Place of Stratheachie, where Duncan, first Lord Campbell, used so often to dwell when on his 'solempne hontynges' in the neighbouring forest of Beinmor, and from which some of his charters are dated, lies the best known and most famous Kilmun of all. It had long existed as a Parish Church, but he, for the repose of the soul of his loved first-born son, Celestine or Gillespick Cambell, and others of his kindred and ancestors, on 4th August, 1442, erected it into a Collegiate Church for Secular Canons, and for whose becoming maintenance he granted certain lands in Mortmain or 'Frankalmoigne.' This then was the aggrandisement of a pre-existing foundation upon a venerated site.<sup>1</sup>

The above supposition as to the early connection between S. Fintan or Mund with the Campbells was strengthened seven years ago by the writer finding at the end of a transcript of the 1442 charter some notes made in 1819 by the industrious senachie, James Campbell of Craignure, on behalf of Lady Charlotte Campbell, in which Craignure plainly and definitely asserts that S. Mund was the accepted patron saint of the early Lords of Lochow.

Constant tradition has affirmed that Celestine Cambell died on his way back to Lochow from studying in Glasgow, and that a great snowstorm prevented the vassals from bearing his body to Inishail on Lochow, where till this event the Campbells had been laid for centuries, as well as their kinsmen the MacArthurs. Further, that it was the great Lamont of all Cowall 'who granted a grave to the Lord of Lochow in his distress.' A Gaelic saying to this day preserves this tradition. Against its truth (unless it was a much earlier Lord of Lochow to whom it happened) must be set the following incontestable fact, viz. that there is absolute proof from an undated charter of circa 1360,<sup>2</sup> that Kilmun and

<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of note that much of the time which this Duncan spent as a hostage in England in the reign of Henry IV. was at Fotheringhay Castle, and the neighbouring Parish Church had recently been erected into a similar collegiate establishment, and it is possible that this gave him the idea for Kilmun.

<sup>2</sup> This charter was confirmed by King David on the 11th October, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign and the Countess having given another charter,

many adjoining lands came into the hands of Guilleaspos (*sic*) Cambell, son of Sir Colin Cambell of Lochow, by a grant from Mary, Countess of Menteith. Now this Guilleaspos was the grandfather of Duncan, who founded the Collegiate Church and establishment. The grant included the Advowson, etc., and as the Countess terms the grantee 'her beloved and special cousin,' there can be no doubt that there was a close blood relationship between the parties. There is charter proof that Guilleaspos married Mariota, daughter of Sir Iain Laumond of that Ilk, and it is significant that the old clan pedigrees assert that his second marriage was to a daughter of Sir John Menteth, second son of Walter Stewart, fifth Earl of Menteith, which is doubtless perfectly correct.

As the Lamonts undoubtedly had held Kilmun in the thirteenth century,<sup>1</sup> the problem remains unsolved as to how the Menteiths acquired it, unless they married a Lamont at some previous date, of which no record appears to remain.

If the tradition about the grant of the grave for Celestine's body be indeed true, it would seem to show that the Lamonts had retained certain burial rights in the chancel, or in some special portion of the pre-Collegiate Church of Kilmun.

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also undated, of some further lands at Kilmun, which were to be held in feu of her for payment of a silver penny at Glasgow fair, King David confirmed it upon 25th May in the thirty-third year of his reign.

The reddendo of the other charter was a pair of Parisian gloves at Glasgow fair if asked for, which shows that both were blench tenures, and in both charters the King's service in war as far as may concern the lands granted is reserved. (Originals in the Argyll Charter Chest.)

Further, the Countess states that she holds Keanloch Kilmun, Correikmore, Stronlonag, Correntie Bernicmore and Stronnahunseon of the Stewart of Scotland. These are the lands named in the second charter to Guilleaspos Cambell.

<sup>1</sup> Between 1230 and 1246 Duncan, the son of Fercher, and his nephew, Lauman, the son of Malcolm, granted to the monks of Paisley those three half-penny lands which they and their ancestors had at Kilmun with the fishing and all other just pertinents and bounds and the whole right of patronage competent to them in the Church of Kilmun. In 1270 Engus, the son of Duncan, the son of Ferkard, confirmed the grant. (*Register of Paisley Abbey*, pp. 132-133.)



## A Mass of St. Ninian

THE following proper for a mass of St. Ninian is written in a sixteenth century hand on the verso of the last leaf of a Roman missal.<sup>1</sup> The missal is a folio printed at Paris by Petit in 1546, and the title page begins *Missale ad sacrosancte Romane ecclesie usum*.<sup>2</sup> There are no Scottish saints' names added in the kalendar, nor are there any other manuscript additions. We have no evidence that the Roman use was ever introduced in the parish churches of Scotland. All surviving books and fragments of Scottish secular use are of the English use of Sarum, and all other evidence goes to show that that use must have been practically universal on the mainland of Scotland. But the Greyfriars generally seem to have used the Roman books whatever country they were in, and it is not impossible that we have here a missal that was used by them. The addition in manuscript of a mass of St. Ninian is not absolute proof that the book containing it was used in Scotland, though it is exceedingly likely.

The Office or Introit is not given. The Collect is the same as that in the Arbuthnott Missal,<sup>3</sup> except for a few unimportant verbal variations. The Collect in the Aberdeen Breviary<sup>4</sup> has the same ending but a different beginning. This is unusual: it is not uncommon to find liturgical forms with the same beginnings but different endings.<sup>5</sup> The Gospel is the same as in Arbuthnott,

<sup>1</sup> In the possession of the Very Rev. F. Llewellyn Deane, D.D., Provost of St. Mary's Cathedral, Glasgow, to whose kindness I am indebted for permission to transcribe the manuscript matter.

<sup>2</sup> This edition is not in *Bibliographia Liturgica*, by W. H. J. Weale, a book which is far from complete.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber ecclesie B. Terrenani de Arbuthnott*, Burntisland, 1864, 369.

<sup>4</sup> *Breviarium Aberdonense*, 1509-10, repr. 1854, *Pars estiva*, fo. cvij v.

<sup>5</sup> For example, many of the collects in the Aberdeen breviary have the same beginnings as those in the earlier Fowlis-Easter breviary (*Breviarium Bothanum*, London 1901), and it may be that Elphinstone retained the old familiar openings, altering the rest in accordance with the taste of the day, just as Dr. Sancroft did

but all the rest is different. There is no Sequence as there is in Arbuthnott.<sup>1</sup> The Secret appears to be slightly altered from that of St. Praxedes in the Sarum missal.<sup>2</sup> The Post-communion is that of the mass *De non virgine* in the Sarum missal,<sup>3</sup> and is the same as that of St. Anastasia at the second mass of Christmas-Day in all, or at any rate nearly all, Latin rites, and is also found in the Rheinau and St. Gall MSS. of the Gelasian Sacramentary, and in most Latin uses though not in Sarum for St. Marcellus (16th Jan.).<sup>4</sup>

The rest of the mass is taken from the Common of a Confessor and Bishop, and might be either from the Roman or Sarum uses, except that the Alleluia *℟. Elegit* is not in the unreformed Roman for this purpose, and the Communion *Semel iuravi* is not in the Sarum. It is probable that the mass was copied out of a manuscript book of some Scottish diocese other than St. Andrews or Aberdeen, that is to say if we are to take the proper in the Arbuthnott missal and the Aberdeen breviary as representing anything like a consistent use in those dioceses.

Both forms of the Collect are very similar to one of St. Ethelwold in the Leofric missal,<sup>5</sup> the missal of Robert of Jumièges,<sup>6</sup> and in an eleventh century English missal in the British Museum (MS. Vitell. A. xviii),<sup>5</sup> which have for the Secret and Post-communion of St. Ethelwold, forms practically the same as those in the Arbuthnott mass of St. Ninian. The same Secret, with different Collect and Post-communion, occurs in the Westminster missal.<sup>7</sup> Possibly the Arbuthnott forms are not direct adaptations from this mass of St. Ethelwold: it is perhaps more likely that both are from a common source. The Arbuthnott Post-com-

with certain prayers in the English Coronation Service in 1685. But in the case of the collect of St. Ninian, the Aberdeen form is nearer to that from which both seem to be derived.

<sup>1</sup> The Arbuthnott sequence is also to be found, with verbal variations, among the manuscript additions in the printed Sarum missal formerly used in St. Nicholas, Aberdeen. See *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries of Scot.* xxxiii. 440.

<sup>2</sup> *Missale ad usum . . . Sarum*, ed. F. H. Dickinson, Burntisland 1861-83, col. 817; also for St. Praxedes in missals of York, Westminster, St. Albans, Abingdon, Rouen, and missal of Robert of Jumièges.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* col. 734\*.

<sup>4</sup> *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, ed. H. A. Wilson, 1894, 321.

<sup>5</sup> *The Leofric Missal*, ed. F. E. Warren, Oxford, 1883, 286, 306.

<sup>6</sup> *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, ed. H. A. Wilson (H. Bradshaw Soc.), 1896, 194.

<sup>7</sup> *Missale Westmonasteriense*, ed. J. W. Legg (H. Bradshaw Soc.), 1893, ii. col. 891.



munion I have been unable to trace any further. The rest of the Arbuthnott mass is from the Sarum Common of a Confessor and Bishop.

Little or nothing has been done towards tracing the sources of the collects of the Scottish saints' days, or indeed of their lessons in the Aberdeen Breviary. This is a field which would repay investigation.

I have extended all contractions, retaining spelling, punctuation, and use of capitals as in the original, which is in an ordinary cursive hand, and not very carefully written. I have used square brackets for all extensions not definitely signified in the original. For the convenience of the student I have given the shorter Scripture passages in full, but not the full collect endings, nor have I written out the Epistle and Gospel. References to the Scripture text will be found in the footnotes. I have not extended the Scripture passages from the Arbuthnott Missal in the Appendix.

I must express my indebtedness to Dr. Wickham Legg's invaluable index to the third volume of the Henry Bradshaw Society's edition of the Westminster Missal.

F. C. EELES.

De Sancto niniano

[*Oracio*]

DEUS qui populos pictorum <sup>1</sup>et britonum<sup>1</sup> per doctrinam sancti niniani episcopi<sup>2</sup> ad noticiam tue fidei<sup>3</sup> conuertisti concede propicius ut cuius erudicione veritatis tue luce perfundimur; <sup>4</sup>ipsius interuentu<sup>4</sup> celestis vite gaudia consequamur; P[er]. D[ominum]

*Epistola* Dilectus deo.<sup>5</sup>

*Graduale* Ecce sacerdos [magnus: qui in diebus suis placuit deo. X/ Non est inventus similis illi: qui conservaret legem excelsi.]<sup>6</sup>; Alleluia X/ Elegit te dominus sibi in sacerdotem magnum in populo suo

*Euangelium* In illo tempore d[ixit]. I[hesus]. d[iscipulis]. s[uis] parabolam hanc homo quidam peregre<sup>7</sup>

*Offertorium* Inueni dauid [seruum meum: et in oleo sancto meo unxi eum; manus enim mea auxiliabitur ei et brachium meum confortabit eum.]<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1-1</sup> In margin.

<sup>3</sup> *t.f. noticiam*, Arb.

<sup>5</sup> Ecclus. xlv. 1-6.

<sup>7</sup> Mat. xxv. 14-23.

<sup>2</sup> + *et confessoris tui*, Arb.

<sup>4-4</sup> *eius intercessione*, Arb.

<sup>6</sup> Ecclus. xlv. 16, 19, 20.

<sup>8</sup> Ps. lxxxix. (Vul. lxxxviii.) 20, 21.

## A Mass of St. Ninian

*Secreta*

Svscipe domine quesumus ob honorem sancti niniani confessoris tui atque pontificis munus oblatum; et quod nostris assequi meritis non valemus; <sup>1</sup>eius suffragijs impetremus<sup>1</sup> P[er]. D[ominum]

*Communio* Semel iuraui [in sancto meo: semen eius in eternum manebit: et sedes eius sicut sol in conspectu meo: et sicut luna perfecta in eternum: et testis in celo fidelis.]<sup>2</sup>

*Postcommunio*

Saciasti domine familiam tuam. muneribus sacris eius quesumus semper<sup>3</sup> interuencionem† nos refoue cuius<sup>4</sup> memoriam pia deuotione<sup>4</sup> celebramus; P[er]. Dominum

## APPENDIX

## COLLECT FROM ABERDEEN BREVIARY

Deus qui hodiernam diem beati niniani confessoris tui atque pontificis festiuitate honorabilem nobis dedicasti: concede propicius vt cuius eruditione veritatis tue luce perfundimur eius intercessione celestis vite gaudia consequamur. Per dominum

## MASS FROM ARBUTHNOTT MISSAL

*Officium.* Statuit ei.

[*Epistola*] Ecce sacerdos magnus . . .

*Gradale.* Domine, praeuenisti. Alleluya. V. Inveni David.

*Sequentia.* Ave, pater et patrone . . .

*Offertorium.* Veritas

*Secreta.*

Oblata servitutis nostrae munera, Domine, quesumus, annua sancti patris nostri Niniani episcopi solennitas commendet accepta; ut, ejus pia supplicatione muniti, cunctorum nostrorum delictorum veniam, et beatitudinis sempiternae mereamur obtinere consortium. Per.

*Communio.* Beatus servus.

*Postcommunio.*

Refectos, Domine, vitalis alimoniae sacramentis, sancti confessoris tui Niniani episcopi gloriosa nos intercessione protege, et ad aeternum coelestis mensae convivium concede pervenire. Per.

<sup>1-1</sup> ejusdem suffragantibus meritis nobis largire propitius, Sar.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. lxxxix. (Vul. lxxxviii.).

<sup>3</sup> om. Sar.

<sup>4-4</sup> solennia, Sar.



## The Honorific 'The'

'THE' as a distinctive epithet before a surname has long been regarded as essentially Celtic. A story is told of a late Irish politician, who claimed that it was a distinction to which but three persons were entitled—The Pope, The Devil and The O'Gorman. But *mutatis mutandis* this story was current at a much earlier period.

Neither philologists nor archæologists have given much consideration to the origin of this use of the word 'the,' and it has been generally accepted as a fact that the heads of certain Highland and Irish clans or septs are customarily entitled to it, or even that anyone who can establish a claim to chieftainship, and who bears a Celtic patronymic, is justified in using it.

The use of 'the' as the prefix of a surname in combination with a Christian name is of course sufficiently common, and may be found in quite early documents written in the vernacular. Some philologists unhesitatingly assert that it is in fact employed as the English or Scots equivalent of the Anglo-Norman or law-Latin 'de,' and as some stress is placed upon this opinion, it is, perhaps, worthy of special remark that in Scots, though not apparently in English, this 'de' is often rendered by 'of,' as in 'Huchoun of Rosse barowne of Kilravach, Robert of Rosse, Alexander of Rosse, Huchoun of Sutherland,' in a Kilravock deed of the year 1458; and in 'James of Ogillwy of Deskfurde, knyght, Waltyr of Ogillwy his bruther, and Mastyr Thomas of Grantt, officialle off Murreff,' in another deed of the year 1475. A late survival of this 'of' as a translation of the law-Latin 'de' occurs in 'Johnn of Doles,' in a 'letter of assithment' of the year 1513. From these few instances it is clear that whether the Scottish scribes of the fifteenth century did or did not at times write 'the' when they intended to express 'de,' they were under no misapprehension as to its real meaning. In English writings, on the other hand, the Norman 'de' was generally either altogether eliminated or retained without translation, as in De

Lisle, Darcy, Devereux, Daubeney, Damarell, etc., though occasionally it was Englished into 'at,' as in Atwood, Atwell, etc.

There are, however, certain surnames, reasonably regarded as Scottish, which regularly take the prefix 'the' instead of the more usual preposition. In many early documents such names as Reginald the Cheyne, Hugh the Rose, William the Hay, William the Graeme may constantly be met with, the 'the' in these cases being unquestionably a translation of the French or law-Latin 'le.' Occasionally, it is true, one or another of them will be found with 'of' or 'de,' and particularly is this the case with Rose, which was sometimes taken for the English (Norman) Rois or Roos, and sometimes for the Scottish Ross. On the other hand, it would probably be very difficult to find an instance of Cheyne with any other prefix than 'the' or 'le.' So far as these facts go they are opposed to the sweeping assertion that 'the' in connection with Scottish surnames is the habitual rendering of the law-Latin 'de,' though they are by no means sufficient to refute such a theory *in toto*.

In Barbour's Scottish poem, now conveniently known by Blind Harry's descriptive title 'The Bruce,' composed about the year 1375, and transcribed in a still existing copy in 1487, there are innumerable instances of 'the' employed as a possible translation or equivalent of 'de.' Thus :

Be this resoun that part thocht hale,  
That the lord of Anandrydale,  
Robert the Brwyss, Erle of Carryk  
Aucht to succed to the kynryk (i. 65-8).

And again of Bruce's brother :

Quhar Nele the Bruyss come, and the queyn (ii. 513).

Baliol occurs in the poem in similar form :

Bot schir Jhon the Balleoll, perfay,  
Assentyt till him, in all his will (i. 168-9);

and there are also 'Schir Jhone the Cumyn,' 'Schir Daid the Breklay,' 'Schir Philip the Mowbray,' and many more. Most of these names would in Latin be written usually with 'de,' though with Cumyn any article is as a general rule omitted. But it is fairly obvious that this 'the' bears no real analogy to the 'the' in, for example, 'the Macnab' or 'the Macgillicuddy,' whether or not it be a corrupt rendering of the Latin 'de.'



There are, however, in Barbour's poem not only these quasi-translations of the Latin 'de,' but also innumerable examples of the use of 'the' as what can only be regarded as a distinctive epithet applied to the 'head' or 'chief' of one and another of the better-known Lowland or Border families. Thus :

The Bruss lap on, and thiddir raid (ii. 28)

is clearly intended to specify Robert Bruce, as distinct from his brother Neil. And again :

Our all the land the word gan spryng,  
That the Bruce the Cumyn had slayn (ii. 79)

refers to Robert Bruce, afterwards King of Scots, and to the Red Comyn, the acknowledged head of the once potent family of Comyn, who was murdered by Bruce in 1306.

The Dowglas his way has tane  
Rycht to the horss (ii. 134)

applies to the chief of the Douglasses, and were it necessary instances could be multiplied indefinitely.

Did this use of 'the' in Barbour's poem stand alone it might be regarded as an eccentricity or mannerism of the poet, but other early instances can be cited. It must be remembered, however, that it is not a form which readily lends itself to exact and definitive compositions. It is essentially colloquial and familiar, and could never be employed in strictly legal instruments in consequence of its lack of precise personal application. It conveys the idea of the chief of a family or clan in general, without identifying a particular chief—in fact, it identifies the status but not the individuality of the person mentioned, and it consequently appears only now and again in poetical or in informal writings. No very exhaustive search has been made for illustrative examples, but the instances presently to be cited are amply sufficient to prove that the practice of designating a 'chief' by the distinctive epithet 'the' was thoroughly established in Scotland at least since the time of Barbour.

Just a century later than Barbour, 'Blind Harry' is supposed to have composed his poem 'Schir William Wallace,' and though in this no constant use is to be found of 'the' as in 'The Bruce,' it yet occurs here and there with apparently the intention of designating a person pre-eminent amongst his kin.

To fend the rycht all that he tuk on hand,  
And thocht to bryng the Bruce fre till his land (viii. 145-6)

is of course a reference to the future king, as is :

The Bruce tharfor gaiff him full gret gardoun (ix. 1150);

and there are several similar references to Bruce.

In like manner an English Border knight is more than once referred to as 'the Butler,' apparently to distinguish him from his son, who is also represented as performing feats of arms in the Border wars. And it is narrated how

The Ramsais spy has seyn thaim get entre

The buschement brak, bathe bryg and post has won (ix. 732-3),

but in this case it is just possible that 'Ramsais' may be intended for a plural. Of 'the Bruce,' however, there is no doubt.

Philologists will doubtless say this is but an echo of the language employed by Barbour. But after all a custom is at best but an echo of that which has gone before; and, moreover, 'Blind Harry' goes so small a way in copying Barbour's forms that it might with some confidence be assumed that he did not copy them at all, but used 'the Bruce' simply because that appeared to him to be the natural way of describing the chief of the Bruces.

However this may be, the fact remains that Barbour about the year 1375, and 'Blind Harry' about the year 1470, employed the word 'the' before a surname to emphasize the pre-eminence of certain notable persons amongst their kin, and that the epithet continued thus to be used during succeeding centuries, though examples, either in print or in manuscript, are few and far between.

Subsequently to Blind Harry's epic the earliest use of the form which has hitherto been noticed occurs in some sixteenth-century Sheriff Court Records of the shire of Inverness, preserved in the Register House, Edinburgh. These records appear to be the rough minutes of the proceedings, and were doubtless intended to be subsequently extended into more orderly and legal form. In 1561, in a list of those present at the Court Session, is included 'the Dollace of Cantray'; and in the following year, in the report of a case, it is recorded that 'the jugis hes consignit hir [Ellyne Ross]... to wairne the Dollace upon ane xv dayis warning.' It seems impossible to differentiate between these Highland examples and those already cited from the Lowlands, particularly when it is remembered that the lesser barons of the province of Moray were almost without exception the descendants of English-speaking immigrants from the South.



Chronologically, the next authority to be noticed is an Englishman. Shakespeare more than once adopted the Scottish distinctive epithet when speaking of 'the Douglas.' Thus Hotspur, in enumerating those upon whose support he could rely, exclaims, 'Is there not besides the Douglas?' and, in addressing Douglas, he says :

if speaking truth  
In this fine age were not thought flattery,  
Such attribution should the Douglas have  
As not a soldier of this season's stamp  
Should go so general current through the world (H. IV., iv. i.).

And Douglas himself exclaims :

I am the Douglas, fatal to all those  
That wear those colours on them (v. iv.).

The play of 'Henry IV.' was written in 1597 ; where Shakespeare obtained his knowledge of this Scottish form of speech it may be difficult to determine, but there can be no doubt that he did not use it without authority, and it may be presumed that he regarded it as specially appropriate to a Scottish chieftain.

Turning again to Scottish authorities ; Hugh Rose in 1683 wrote a notable work on the history of his family, 'A Genealogicall Deduction of the Family of Rose of Kilravock,' in the course of which he frequently makes use of this defining 'the,' as applied to the surnames of the heads of families. He speaks of Godefridus Ross, 'who did good and faithfull service to the Bruce' (15), and says that Hugh, Earl of Ross, 'was father also to another daughter, by marrying of whom The Fraser gott Philorth and Pitsligo' (23). Again he says, 'the said Marie did marrie the Fraser' (27), and, 'A third daughter of the Bisset, was this Elizabeth Bisset' (27). He mentions 'two sisters, heirs portioners of the Bisset' (31), and records that 'the Historie of The Douglas mentions Hugo de Cadella' (61). Finally he mentions 'William Sinclar, a great friend to the Douglas' (94). It is impossible to ignore the significance of these numerous instances. Evidently the use of 'the' in combination with the name of the head of an ancient family was so familiar to Mr. Hugh Rose that he employed it habitually and without any suggestion that it was other than natural and customary.

Four years earlier than the 'Genealogical Deduction' there is a letter dated 26 November, 1679, addressed by an Inverness lawyer to Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor, which concludes :—

'Ye may likewise acquaint me what ye have done with the Chissolme.' According to tradition the head of the Chisholms had, at least from the beginning of the fifteenth century, been styled 'The Chisholm,' and Miss Catherine Sinclair, in her *Sketches and Stories of Scotland*, first published in 1840, gives the prototype of the story which was later fathered upon the Erse chieftain, when she describes Erchless Castle as still 'belonging to the descendants of that old chief who said there were but three persons in the world entitled to be called 'The'—the King, the Pope, and the Chisholm.' 'The Chisholm' is a designation of old standing; it has persisted from generation to generation, and is still recognized and employed by persons conversant with the niceties of Scottish phraseology.

The few instances here given of the distinctive use of 'the' with a surname might easily be multiplied. They are, however, sufficient to substantiate the actuality of the use of 'the' as a distinctive epithet implying chieftainship, and to prove that this usage is no mere modern affectation.

But not one of these examples gives ground for the belief that the practice arose or obtained amongst the Celtic chieftains of Scotland and Ireland. On the contrary, all the names mentioned, associated with 'the,' would appear to be of territorial origin, and certainly not one amongst them bears any resemblance to a Celtic patronymic.

The combinations of the Gaelic *am*, *an*, the, with Highland patronymics, such as Mac Mhic Alasdair (Macdonald of Glengarry), MacLeóid (M'Leod), MacCoinnich (M'Kenzie), is in fact impossible, and the only parallel combination known to Celtic scholars appears to be *an t-Siosalach*, the Chisholm, which of course is not a patronymic, and so has no bearing on the question.

In Gaelic the chief of a clan is known simply by his patronymic, as Mac-an-Toisich (Mackintosh), MacMhuirich (M'Pherson), MacDhomhnuill Dhuibh (Cameron of Lochiel), without the addition of Christian name or other qualification, and when the name occurred in English it followed the same rule, though in many cases, as Lochiel, Glengarry, the chief was often colloquially spoken of by the name of his property or estate.

Written instances of Gaelic patronymics thus employed to denote chieftainship are not, however, of frequent occurrence, for, as with the epithet 'the,' the usage was colloquial or vulgar rather than formal. It is not difficult, however, to quote a few examples.

In the year 1490 the Thane of Cawdor of that time docketed a



deed as 'The Bande betuix Me and M'Kyntossych anent the Mereage of Huchon Allanson,' while in the deed itself Mackintosh is described in formal terms as 'Doncane Mackintosche capitane of the clancattane'; and in 1527 another deed is docketed in a contemporary hand, 'Ane Band betwix the Knight of Calder and M'intosche Fowlis Kilraookis and utheris,' the first being 'Hector M'intosych Capitan of the clanchattan,' the second Hector Munro of Foulis, and the third Hugh Rose of Kilravock. Again, in 1581 there is a 'contract of appoyntment betwix the Laird of Calder and M'intosche,' and as late as the year 1698 occurs an 'Act renewing M'Kintoshes Commission.' Many more examples could readily be found.

But nowhere in early writings can examples be found of the use of 'the' as an epithet preceding a Gaelic patronymic, nor is there any justification for supposing that it could originate in a similar form in Gaelic, which did not and could not exist.

Whether in sober earnest or in works of fiction, the now familiar combinations 'The Mac—' and 'The O—' are not to be found earlier than the beginning of the nineteenth century. The earliest instance that has been noticed occurs in Sir Walter Scott's *Rob Roy*, written, or at least published, in the year 1817.

'What fellow are you,' demanded Rob's wife of the douce Glasgow Bailie—'What fellow are you, that dare to claim kindred with the MacGregor?' The collocation occurs repeatedly, particularly in the thirty-first chapter of the story, where Francis Osbaldistone has his stormy interview with the freebooter's dour spouse.

Contemporary, or nearly contemporary with *Rob Roy*, *i.e.* between the years 1813 and 1823, there was painted by Sir Henry Raeburn a well-known picture which is now always described as a portrait of 'The Macnab of Macnab.' If at the time it was painted it was entitled, as there is no reason to doubt, a portrait of 'The Macnab of Macnab,' it is highly probable that this was the first authentic use of 'the' applied as an epithet to the Gaelic patronymic of a living person, and it may have been adopted by Raeburn or by Macnab, possibly even by way of a jest, in direct imitation of 'the MacGregor,' presumably invented by Scott.

From this time 'The Mac—s' and 'The O—s' rapidly increased in numbers, both in fiction and in real life, and there can now be enumerated The Macdermott Roe, The Macgillicuddy, The Mackintosh, The Macnab, The O'Clery, The O'Donoghue, The O'Donovan, The O'Gorman, The O'Kelly, The O'Morchoe,

The O'Reilly, and many more. It is, however, noteworthy that the Irish have taken much more kindly than the Scots to this form of hereditary distinction, if such it may be called.

It may be doubted whether any of these appellations were at first in any way authorized, though the use of 'The Mackintosh' has been justified, so far at least as the present chief is concerned, by the Royal Sign Manual, and it is probable that others have received a similar informal authorization. They may be compared (though the analogy is by no means close) with 'The Knight of Kerry' and 'The Knight of Glyn,' and with the ancient and now familiar 'The Master of' conceded to the eldest sons of Scottish Barons.

It may then be concluded that in early times, and down to the close of the seventeenth century, the heads of Scottish families bearing Lowland or at least territorial surnames were occasionally, if not frequently, distinguished from others of their kindred by the distinctive epithet 'the,' of which practice the only 'living' example is to be found in 'The Chisholm.' In the nineteenth century the form was imitated by the Highland Chiefs, not at all improbably misled by Scott's use of 'the MacGregor' in *Rob Roy*, and in the present day 'the' has come to be regarded, popularly at least, as the normal epithet to apply to the surname of a Scottish or Irish chieftain which happens to be a patronymic beginning with Mac or O'.

JAMES DALLAS.



## The Seafield Correspondence<sup>1</sup>

THIS interesting publication of the Scottish History Society is of great importance. As may be gathered from the title its principal contents are the correspondence of the Chancellor, Sir James Ogilvie, Earl of Seafield. This correspondence has not been published before, and the editor, Mr. James Grant, in his well-written preface and in his numerous annotations to the letters published in this volume, has given evidence of the most careful and thorough research.

James Ogilvie, who was the second son of James, third Earl of Findlater, and of Lady Anna Montgomerie, eldest daughter of Hugh, seventh Earl of Eglinton, was born on 11th June, 1663. In 1673, he and his elder brother Walter, Lord Deskford, were in their parents' absence in the south left to the care and teaching of Mr. Patrick Innes, who continued for some years to be their tutor. Accompanied by him in May, 1675, they were sent to the University in Aberdeen. After a short sojourn in Holland, James Ogilvie returned and pursued his legal studies in Edinburgh. He was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates, 16th January, 1685.<sup>2</sup> On 1st March, 1689, he was returned to the Convention Parliament as Commissioner for Cullen. Later that year he was knighted. In March, 1693, aided by his relative, William, third Duke of Hamilton, William's chief minister in Scotland, he entered the Government of Scotland as Solicitor-General. In the same year he was made Sheriff of Banffshire. In January, 1696, he was made conjunct Secretary of Scotland along with the Earl of Tullibardine, on the dismissal of James Johnston, son of Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston. By

<sup>1</sup> *Seafield Correspondence from 1685 to 1708*. Edited, with Introduction and Annotations, by James Grant, LL.B., County Clerk of Banffshire. Pp. xxvi, 497. Frontispiece Portrait of James, First Earl of Seafield, K.T., Lord High Chancellor of Scotland. With Index. 8vo. Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. & A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> He married probably early in June, 1688, Anne, a daughter of Sir William Dunbar of Durn.

letters patent, dated 24th June, 1698, he was created Viscount Seafield and Lord Ogilvie of Cullen, and was appointed President of the Parliament which met at Edinburgh on 16th July, 1698. He was Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1700.

On 24th June, 1701, he was created Earl of Seafield, Viscount of Reidhaven, and Lord Ogilvie of Deskford and Cullen. By a new commission under the Great Seal, 12th May, 1702, the Duke of Queensberry was conjoined with Seafield in the Secretaryship of Scotland, who in the same year was appointed one of the commissioners to treat for a proposed union between the kingdoms, which came to nothing. On 21st November, 1702, he was appointed Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, and on 5th February, 1703, Lord High Commissioner of the General Assembly which met at Edinburgh, 10th March, 1703.

In 1704 he was ousted from the Chancellorship by the Marquis of Tweeddale, but on 17th October in that year he was made Joint Secretary of State with the Earl of Roxburgh. On 9th or 10th March, 1705, he recaptured the Chancellorship from Tweeddale. In March, 1706, he was appointed one of the Commissioners to treat with England for a union, and when the Lords Commissioners of both nations appointed to negotiate the treaty of union met in London from 16th April to 22nd July, 1706, and agreed on articles which were thereafter referred to the Parliaments of England and Scotland, Lord Seafield, as Chancellor of Scotland, presided over the Scots Commissioners. On 20th June, 1707, Seafield received a new warrant for a commission as Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, and on 13th May, 1708, he received a warrant for a commission as Lord Chief Baron of the Court of the Exchequer. He was chosen in 1707 as one of the sixteen Representative Peers of Scotland, and was continuously re-elected until 1727.<sup>1</sup>

The above short sketch of his career, the fact that he was responsible for carrying out in Scotland William III.'s hostile attitude with regard to the Darien scheme, as well as the original contemporary and partly official account of the French invasion of Scotland in 1708, at the end of this Correspondence, show the great historical importance and interest of this work.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Scots Peerage*, iv. pp. 37 and 38 (article Findlater).

<sup>2</sup> The letters contained in it should be read along with Seafield's and other letters in *Carstairs State Papers and Letters*, the *Marchmont Papers*, vol. iii., and the letters published in the *Historical MSS. Commission, Fourteenth Report*,



On both sides Seafield was connected with many of the principal families of Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

He had the faithful service of several assistants, for whom in turn he secured promotion. Among these were Nicolas Dunbar, Sheriff-Depute of Banffshire; John Anderson, Depute-Clerk to the Privy Council of Scotland; James Baird, Writer to the Signet; Alexander Ogilvie, Depute-Keeper of the Signet, afterwards Lord Forglen; and John Philp, his private secretary. James Baird became associated with Lord Seafield as his servitor and secretary. On 26th November, 1696, he was appointed Clerk to his Majesty's Wardrobe in Scotland. He was the founder of the family of the Bairds of Chesterhall, Midlothian. He was a distant kinsman of the Bairds of Auchmedden, Newbyth, and Saughton Hall.<sup>2</sup>

Lord Seafield's father was, like most of the Scots nobility of these days, in considerable money difficulties. Lord Seafield, however, was not only able to clear these off, but the fortune he acquired enabled him to buy such places as Boyne, Kempcairne, Burdsbank, and considerably to extend his inheritance.

Appendix, part iii., from the Marchmont MSS. and the MSS. of the Countess Dowager of Seafield.

<sup>1</sup> His mother, Lady Anna Montgomerie, was a daughter of Lady Anna Hamilton, daughter of James, second Marquis of Hamilton. Lady Anna Hamilton's two eldest brothers were the first and second Dukes of Hamilton. James the first Duke, for his adherence to Charles I., was beheaded in Palace Yard, Westminster, 1649. William, the second Duke, fought for King Charles II. at Worcester, where he was wounded, and died nine days after the battle. Anna, eldest daughter of the first duke, and first cousin of Lady Anna Montgomerie, succeeded William, the second duke, as Duchess of Hamilton in her own right. Her younger sister Susan or Susanna married John Kennedy, seventh Earl of Cassillis. Their daughter, Lady Anne Kennedy, married in 1694 her first cousin, John Hamilton, Earl of Ruglen, fourth son of Anne, Duchess of Hamilton, afterwards Earl of Selkirk and Ruglen. After her death he married, 1701, her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Hutchinson, widow of John Lord Kennedy.

The Countess of Findlater, Lady Anna Montgomerie, had a half-sister, also Lady Anna Montgomerie, who married Sir Patrick Ogilvie, Lord Boyne.

<sup>2</sup> On p. vii of the Introduction, the statement that Alexander Ogilvie of Deskford and Findlater married as his second wife Elizabeth, natural daughter of Adam Gordon, Dean of Caithness, *founder of the Earldom of Sutherland*, demands some qualification. The Earldom of Sutherland is understood to have been founded in the thirteenth century by William, the great-grandson of Freskin, a person of unknown descent but presumed to be of Flemish origin, who flourished in the time of King David I. It was Adam Gordon, nephew of the Dean of Caithness and second son of the second Earl of Huntly, who married Elizabeth, sister of the ninth Earl of Sutherland, and through her acquired the earldom. (See *Scots Peerage*, iv., pp. 525, 530, and viii., pp. 334, 337.)

On the 24th of December, 1685, the Chancellor Perth returned from London a convert to Roman Catholicism, and at once established and attended the public celebration of Mass in Edinburgh. On the 31st of January and on the 1st of February, 1686, the Puritan populace rose in riot, threatened to pull down the Mass-House, and threw mud on the Chancellor as he came out of it.

A copy of the king's letter to the Council dealing with the incident, was sent north by James Ogilvie to his father, the Earl of Findlater. After commencing with the usual formula, it goes on:

'Having bein extreamly sur(pry)sed to hear of the insolencies comitted by a tumultuous rable in o<sup>r</sup> city of Edinburgh, whilst yow and our uther judicators wer in ye place, and y<sup>t</sup> ther insolvency should have gon the lenth of affronting o<sup>r</sup> cheif minister, and yet so much lenity showin in punishing a cryme so imediatly touching o<sup>r</sup> Royall Person and authority, wee have now thought fitt to let yow know that wee have not only ye character but lykwayes the person of o<sup>r</sup> Chancclour so much in o<sup>r</sup> particular care, as wee will suport him in despyt of all ye attemps or insolencies of his enimies, and therfor doe require you to take y<sup>t</sup> care of his persone and have y<sup>t</sup> respect for his character, as may convince us of your affectione to us and obedience to o<sup>r</sup> commands. In the nixt place wee heirby requir you to go about the punishing of all y<sup>t</sup> wer guilty of this tumult w<sup>t</sup> ye outmost rigour of our lawes. Nor can wee imagin any either remiss hes bein or will be in ys, except those who have bein favorers of yr re(bellious) designe. But above all is o<sup>r</sup> express pleasur y<sup>t</sup> yee try into y<sup>e</sup> bottom of this matter, to try out those who have eyr by worde insinuatione or utherwayes sett on ys rable to ys villanus attemp, or encouradged ym in it, and y<sup>t</sup> ffor ye finding of ys out ye spare no legall tryell by tortur or uyrwayes, this being of so great importance y<sup>t</sup> nothing more displeasing to us or mor dangerous to our Government cd possibly have bein contrived, and wee shall spar no expence to know ye rise of it. Wee again comand yow again to be diligent in ffinding out ye whole matter and punishing the guilty, as lykwayes to use your utmost endeavours for preventing ye lyk vilanies for ye futur. Efter wee shall hear what ye nixt post shall bring, yow shall know o<sup>r</sup> ffather pleasure in ys matter.'

This document is dated at Whitehall, 9th February, 1686. No wonder people began to see that the continuance of the Stuarts on the throne was quite incompatible with Protestantism and religious and civil liberty.



Some years later we have a reference to Coubin, *i.e.* Alexander Kinnaird, whose estate of Culbin, in Morayshire, was devastated by sand in 1695, and was the cause of special legislation by Parliament, which the Act narrates 'was occasioned by the forsaid bad practice of pulling the Bent and Juniper.' The Act forbids such practices in future, and the Treasury was subsequently recommended by Parliament to let the laird of Culbin off paying any Cess for his vanished property.<sup>1</sup>

The statement that William, Lord Inverurie, eldest son of Sir John Keith, first Earl of Kintore, after the remission he got on 27th November, 1690, for being out with the Jacobites, 'seems thereafter to have lived at peace,' ought to be qualified somewhat; as in this case 'thereafter' only means till 1715, when he fought on the Jacobite side at Sheriffmuir, and was deprived of his office of Knight Marischal. After that he is said never to have shaved his beard.<sup>2</sup>

Sir James Ogilvie, on 19th October, 1693, writes to his father about the death and funeral of his youngest brother, Robert Ogilvie, a cornet of Dragoons: 'My Lord,—I knowe befor this tyme you have hade ane accompt of the death of your sone, and which no doubt is ane great afflictione to yow. Bot, since the Lord who gave him to yow hes taken him from yow, it is yo<sup>r</sup> Lops. deuty to submitt to providence. It may be your satisfacione that he died sencible and penitent, and was weill caired for the tyme of his sickness. I was fullie resolved to have wittnesed his interment, but the multiplicity of my affaires, and being somewhat undisposed by reasone of the surpryseing account I hade of his death, necessitats me to stay heir.'

Lady Marie Graham, mother of George Allardes of Allardes (Allardyce of Allardyce), who married Lady Anna Ogilvie, Lord Findlater's daughter, also writes on 8th November on the same subject to Sir James Ogilvie: 'Your brother died werie happily and his last words was to me, after some eladgiations, he had good neues to tell me, the great God was comes for him. And he was cairfully atended by his fititions.'

Lady Marie Graham was the eldest daughter of John Graham, Lord Kinpont, and sister of William Graham, second Earl of Airth and Menteith. It is through her that the Allardyses claim the earldoms of Strathearn, Menteith, and Airth.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ix., pp. 452, 453, 479.

<sup>2</sup> *Scots Peerage*, vol. v., p. 241 (article Kintore).

<sup>3</sup> *Scots Peerage*, vol. i., p. 142 (article Airth).

In a letter to Sir James Ogilvie, apparently from Mr. John Anderson, dated Edinburgh, 4th April, 1694, we read :

‘M<sup>r</sup> Lauchlan, the teacher of ane Inglish schooll at Glasgowe, wes tryed, and appoynted to be scourged throwe Ed<sup>r</sup> this day, and banished to the planta<sup>n</sup>s ; but the Councill have this day chainged the scourging to the standing on the pillorie here this day, and at Glasgowe this day eight dayes. His cryme wes the seduceing and persuading sojors to desert ther chairge.

‘Troyilous Balyie ane ensigne recomendit to the Thesaurie for apprehending one W<sup>m</sup> Gledstons (Gladstone), a Bass rebell, to receive 20 lib, st.

‘The E. Hume, Oxfurd, Drumcarnie, Ednam, Gledstons, Gairltoun (Sir George Seaton), and other prisoners of the government are liberat upon caution to answer when called, and tuo myles confinement to ther houses.’

In a letter addressed to Sir James Ogilvie of that ilk from Mr. John Anderson, dated Edinburgh, 27th April, 1694, we read that ‘The poor sojors lye still in the road, be reason of the contrary winds, and some of them have dyed of vermine.’ Another letter to him from Mr. Anderson, dated 4th May, 1694, says : ‘My Lord Advocat speaks of the strength of your vsquebea (whisky) and gives you his service, as lykwayes doth my Lord-Justice Clerk.’

On 7th January, 1695, Sir James Ogilvie writes from Edinburgh to his father : ‘Excuse my not wreitting with my oun hand, because of a deffluction hes fallen doune in my face with the toothaick ; naither dare I writ to my wyffe with one other hand, bot I hope your Lop<sup>e</sup> will remember me keindly to hir, and I will be impatient till I hear of hir recoverie. My present distemper does not discouradge me, because I ame so freaquently accustomed with it’ ; and in another letter to Lord Findlater on the 28th of the same month Alexander Ogilvie, afterwards Lord Forglen, writes : ‘S<sup>r</sup> James hade ane great defluction in his cheek, and it brock within three dayes befor he took journey, so that at his waygoeing he was wery well in health.’

Sir James Ogilvie writes to his father from London on 12th Feb., 1695 : ‘You can order my brother Deskfoord and his servants as you please. I will not medle with him, bot leave that to your Lo. He is your son.’ On the 18th June, 1688, his father, soon after Sir James’ marriage, had written him about his elder brother, Walter, Lord Deskford, in the following terms : ‘I heave at this time little to wreat to you, butt heaving so sure



ane occasion I cannot butt desier you to remember to consult your bussines of the convayence of my estate in your person ; for although Walter be nou in my house, yett be his still frequenting the Popish chappell and continouing in odd and most unaccountable actions, ther can be no good expected of him, so ye need to be the mor circumspect in garding your selfe against his evell.' This purpose of the Earl of conveying his estate past Lord Deskford, as he had became a Roman Catholic, to his second son James, was afterwards carried out.

On the 11th May, 1699, James, now Lord Seafield, writes from Whitehall to Mr. William Lorimer, Lord Seafield's Chamberlain : 'The account you gave me in yo<sup>r</sup> last of my brother my Lord Deskfords death did much surprise both me and my wife, we haveing heard nothing of his sickness. We were bred at schools and colleges together, and our mother nurst us both, and therfor you may believe that I am much troubled. However it is a satisfaction to us that he was calm in his sickness, and that he had apprehensions of death. I shall be glad to hear that he has been honourably burried, and what is expended that way I do very chearfully allow.'

Lord Deskford died unmarried. There had been a proposed marriage between him and Anne, eldest daughter of Arthur Ross, the last Archbishop of St. Andrews in 1686, but in the end it came to nothing, and on the 7th June, 1687, she married, as his second wife, John, fourth Lord Balmerino.

The date of Viscount Stair's death,<sup>1</sup> 25th November, 1695, and the editor's annotation (p. 170), quoted from the article on Stair in the *Scots Peerage*, does not tally with the following letter to Lord Findlater, dated 26th November, 1695, from Andrew Craik, writer in Edinburgh, who in the absence of James Baird in London, appears to have acted as agent or secretary for Sir James Ogilvie in Edinburgh : 'President Stair dyed three dayes agoe, and this night betuixt fyve and sex at night his corps was transported from his loodges to the Abey of Holyruidhous under a pale, the murners nobilitie and gentrie beng surroundit on each syd of the strat with numerous torches.'

In a letter to Sir James Ogilvie from Charles Ritchie, dated Edinburgh, February 5, 1696, we read : 'Wpon the 30 past the *Royall Sovereigne*, one of the greatest and stoutest best ships that ever ploued the ocean, and who never failed to baffle her greatest foe that ever she mett with, and who so often contended with

<sup>1</sup> *Scots Peerage*, vol. viii., p. 119 (article Stair).

y<sup>e</sup> elements of fire and watter, was by the carelessness of a tarpalian about 5 in the morning set on ffire and burnt doune to the water, and in her some men consumed. All hands was at work, but not any releife, but to hinder her to communiat her flames to the rest. Ther was non of her officers aboard, but they are all seized, and to be tryed for life for being absent, and the fellow that sett her on fire.'

A letter from Mr. John Anderson, dated at Edinburgh, 1st April, 1696, is inscribed 'To THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARLE OF FFINDLATER Banff with haste 9d Keepe the postage till the nixt occasion.'

Mr. Patrick Innes, writing from Banff on September 14, 1696, designated the Jacobites as 'The Crankies.' In some of the letters they are called Killiecrankies or Gillicrankies.

Lord Seafeld's sister Mary seems to have married a son of George Leslye of Burdsbank, and in a letter of Nov. 18, 1698, Lady Seafeld writes to her father-in-law from Whitehall that she is 'sory that you shoud have so mortifieing a sight in the church as Burgbanks famaly. I am shour the seeing of them will be mor unesy nou, when your daghter is in shuch a famaly. I think she is as un[ha]ppy being maried to so debas[a m]an as in hir formar misfortun, save the ofens it gave to Almighty God. I dou not love to wret much on this subgek, sins the thoghts of it will be so unplesant to your Lo.'

In a postscript to a letter to Lord Findlater from Nicolas Dunbar, dated 'Castlfield 28<sup>th</sup> Oct 1704,' we read: 'I am sorie to tell your Lop. that Lady Marie wes maried 25 7<sup>ber</sup> to George Barkley in Bamff, sone to Alex<sup>r</sup>, the certainty qroff is just now come to my hands.'

John Philp, writing from Whitehall on 22nd December, 1698, says: 'Lord Eglintone is married on a woman about 84 years of age. She has 500 lib. st. of joynture. They are gone to the country to live. Her last husbands name was Kea ane English squeir.' An annotation explains that Lord Eglinton (Alexander, eighth earl) married on 8th December, 1698, as his third wife Catherine Lady Kaye, daughter of Sir William St. Quintin of Harpham, Yorkshire. He was her fourth husband. She died on 6th August, 1700.

On 17th January, 1698, Lord Eglinton writes from London to Lord Findlater: 'My Dear Lord,—I do return yow my most hearty thanks for yo<sup>r</sup> keynd letter in wishing me joy in my mariage. I thank God I find my self very happie by a most



kynd wife, and am placed w<sup>t</sup> her in one of the pleasantest places in England; and in makeing of it I did every thing by the advice and consent of my dear and keynd nephew yo<sup>r</sup> sone. Therefore ye may conclud it is good.'

James Baird writes on the 28th June, 1699, from Edinburgh to Lord Findlater: 'Bracco and Birkenboge have ordored the payment of the bill draven upon them and accepted by them, bot I have not as yet receaved the money, his sone in law being at Tulleibodie keeping phisitians from the old man who is dyeing a verie miserable death. I went ther upon Satturday last, and was sorie to find him in such a lamentable condition. His left leg is swelled als big as a post, and it with his foote and all is als black as pitch, and all putrified to that degrie that, if a knife wer put in his leg from the on side to the other, he would not at all find it naither in leg nor foote, and it hes a very nautious smell. His other leg is beginning the same way, and a few dayes will carie him off.' Mr. Baird remonstrated, but ineffectually, about no doctor being called in. He goes on to say, 'I truely beleive, if the old laird dye not soone, the young man will dye of melancholy.' Old Tullibody, George Abercrombie of Smirth, died on the 26th June, 1699, two days before the date of this letter. Duff of Braco's son-in-law, Alexander Abercrombie, second son of Sir Alexander Abercrombie of Birkenbog, married Mary Duff, one of his daughters, and succeeded Tullibody, his cousin. Alexander was ancestor of General Sir Ralph Abercromby and the Lords Abercromby.

In a letter of Alexander Ogilvie, afterwards Lord Forglen, to Lord Findlater, dated 23rd Febr., 1700, we read: 'I parted with the Secretarie in wery good health at Coper Smith yeasterday about twalve acloack.' Till recently Cockburnspath in Berwickshire was pronounced Copper Smith locally.

Lord Seafeld's eldest son, James Ogilvie, writing to his grandfather, Lord Findlater, from Aberdeen, on March 1, 1701, says: 'My Lord,—I am sensible of your Lo. kindness towards me, and return you hearty thanks for the watch which I have received. It will be very useful to me, and as your Lo. ordered, I shal caus dress it and take care to keep it well as a token of your Lo. kindness'; and his tutor, William Blake, writes on 7th March: 'The master continues well, blissed be God. He is very fond of the watch your Lo. has sent him, and would be glade of an opportunity to shew how much he reckons himself obleidged to your Lo. As to that rupture betuixt the colledges, it was truely

very dreadfull, for gentlemens sons in both were in hazard of their lives evry hour for 8 or ten dayes together, but now, blessed be God, all differences amongst the students are composed, and they converse together in great friendship and amity. The master judged them both fools, and never thought of sydeing with either of them.'

John Donaldson, a writer in Banff, writes to Lord Findlater on 23rd July, 1701: 'The postage of all single letters from Cullen to any place betwixt and Kinghorne is 2s., and double letters accordingly.'

The 'famous robber' and 'great villean Alestar More,' mentioned in a letter by the Earl of Kintore to the Earl of Findlater, dated 8th December, 1701, may be Alistair Mòr, champion of the Clan Grant, whose portrait is at Castle Grant.

On March 8th, 1702, Lady Seafield wrote to Lord Findlater from Whitehall of the death of that great and noble man William III. : 'My Lord,—I wret this leeter with the sadst hart I everer wrot one. This day about eght aclok in the mornen the King dayed without any disese bot perfit wekness. I dou belive his fall from his horse did dou him ill, bot the colar bon which was brok at that thym was qut holl. On Tusday last the third of March he lost his stomak, did eat no dinor, had a litell fit of the eago. On Wadsenday he had another fit, and on Thoursday a third. Thy war not violint, and that night had a litell lousness, and the nixt day vomoted whatever he eat or drunk. His wometing stayed at four aclok, and his phisions thoght that he might requer, for thay all concluded he had no fever or any disese bot weakness. At about four oclok on Seterday he turen so weak that his phisions began to loos ther hops, and he took death to him seleff, told them thy nid not trubell them selives or him with many cordiells, for he douted not bot he wold day very soon. The Bishops of Canterrebery and Sallasbeary atended him as chaplens, and prayed severall tymes to him on Saterdag, and this day about four or five aclok in the mornen he took the sacrament with much confort, afterwards spok to soom about him, recomended the cear of soom of his privat pepirs to Albemarell, and gave his hand to all his frinds about him, and bid them adeu, and imedetly closed his eys and expayred without any thrack or vielent moshon. He had all his seneses and intelectuales intir till the last minit of his liff. My Lord had a short adiens of him on Wadsenday, when he spok very kyndlie to him and of the Scots nashion and mighty fordvard for the uneion. I am shour ther is no honast



or Cristien Scotsman bot will be senseabell of this ireparabell loss. God preserive the Protastant church and the libarty of Europ.'

On May 25, 1702, we have an interesting reference to a ride with the harriers in a letter to Lord Findlater from Alexander Abercrombie of Glassaigh: 'My Lord,—I beg pardon for pairting with your Lo. so abruptly, but I was ill mounted and my horse having flung a shoe, it was not in my pouer to come up again; besides some have a frett that the hare should be killed, so that I followed her, killed her, and gave her to the parson to eat.'

In reprisal for the seizure in England and condemnation of the *Annandale*, the officers of the African Company seized in Leith roads the *Worcester*, an English ship in the East Indian trade. On the confession of two of her crew, Haynes and Linstead, Captain Green of the *Worcester* and others of the crew were on 5th March, 1705, condemned to death by the Scots Court of Admiralty on charges of piracy and of murdering Captain Drummond of the *Speedy Return*, belonging to the African Company, and his crew, in Madagascar waters. On 27th March Queen Anne wrote to the Scots Privy Council ordering a reprieve until the court proceedings were looked into. Writing again on 7th April, with an affidavit that Captain Drummond was alive, the Queen left the Privy Council a free hand in the matter of a reprieve. Feeling was very bitter at the time against England, and Captain Green, Captain Madder, and Gunner Simpson of the crew were executed on 11th April. Several letters dealing with this affair show the reluctance of many of the Scots nobles to attend the Privy Council to support a course of clemency, and the strained relations between England and Scotland.

On the 24th May, 1705, James, fourth Duke of Hamilton, writes to the Earl of Seafield, now Lord High Chancellor of Scotland: 'My Lord,—You neaded have laid noe restriction upon me not to comunicat what you wrotht to me, for I protest I cant yett find out the secritt. You great men gett a way of wrytting soe mistically that plain countrie gentilmien like myself will need plainer langwag befor I can understand you. If the Comissioner has great poures allowed him, I supos the publick will soon see itt, and when your Lop. will be pleased to honor me with the knowledge of any thing, I begg it may not be in soe reserved a strain. All I desire to know is when the Parleament will certainly meet, which I hope will not be made a great

mistery of to your Lop. most affectionat cussine and humble servant.

HAMILTON.

Kenull, May 24, 1705.'

Colonel John Buchan of Cairnbulg, brother of the Jacobite general who was defeated at the Haughs of Cromdale, writes to the Earl of Seafield, 25th June, 1705: 'The means of export from this countrey, and whereof for one I resolve to be ane undertaker, are barrelled herings such as the Dutch, barrelled cod for the east countries, dry cod for the coasts of Portugall Spain and the Streights, and distilled spirits of corns to Holland, where is a very great consumption off trash Genever, farr inferior both in taste and strength to the spirits shall be made here.'

Mr. William Blake, Lord Deskford's tutor, writes from Utrecht, 19th June, 1705: 'My Lord Deskfoord lives in good friendship and correspondance with the English and Germans here. He walks in the fields with them, converses in coffee housses, receives and returns their visits, but never goes allong to the tavern, nor ever makes a pairt in their night caballs. They doe not generally apply themseyles to any study, but for most pairt spend their time and their money in the prosecution of their pleasures, which seemes to be their prinll bussieness here.'

The Earl of Gallaway, whose defeat at Almanza is mentioned in the postscript of a letter from Alexander Abercrombie of Glassaugh, dated London, May 29, 1707, is Henri Massue de Ruvigny, second Marquis de Ruvigny, a famous Huguenot general, created Earl of Galway, 12th May, 1697.<sup>1</sup>

Sir William Baird of Newbyth (eldest son of Sir John Baird, Lord Newbyth, a Lord of Session), writes from Edinburgh, 19th February, 1708, to Lord Seafield as follows: 'Ther are a greatt deall of pains takeing hear, for secureing the ensueing elections thowrow the shyres of North Brittain, and I thowght it my dewtie to lett yowr Lo. know that I have designed to stand for the electione heer in MidLothian, and for that end I begg yowr Lo<sup>s</sup> protectione and approba<sup>n</sup>, and I can assur yowr Lo. that I stand addiccted to no partie, but shall be verie readie to goe in to yowr Lo<sup>s</sup> measures.'

Two days afterwards James Baird, W.S., Findlater's former Secretary, and now Depute Clerk of Justiciary, who had acquired

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 432 and 433, and *Dictionary of National Biography* under Massue de Ruvigny.



an interest in Midlothian, writes to Lord Seafield asking if he shall give his vote to Sir William Baird.<sup>1</sup>

The volume concludes with interesting letters dealing with the French Invasion of 1708.

The few extracts that have been here given will serve to indicate what sidelights are thrown by this volume on the social and political history of the time. It deserves careful perusal by all who are interested in Scottish history and genealogy, and we hope that Mr. Grant will continue to explore and make public the many letters and documents still remaining in the archives of Cullen House.

CASSILLIS.

<sup>1</sup> On p. 102 an account is given, in an annotation, of Colonel Patrick Ogilvie's (a brother of Seafield), of Lenmay and Inchmartin, first marriage to Elizabeth Baird, daughter of Sir James Baird of Auchmedden, Sheriff of Banff, and widow of Sir Alexander Abercrombie of Birkenbog. This marriage has escaped the notice of the writer of the Findlater article in the *Scots Peerage*, though given in the Genealogical Collections concerning the surname of Baird, 1870 edition.

## Jacobite Papers at Avignon

**A**MONG the manuscripts in the 'Bibliothèque de Ville' at Avignon are several documents relating to the affairs of James III. of England and VIII. of Scotland during the years 1716-1717. The most important of these papers is the Journal kept by Dr. Brun, a physician residing in that city in the early part of the eighteenth century. This MS. (3188) was acquired by the library in 1896.

From 1715 to 31 Dec., 1717, Dr. Brun has transcribed in this volume a record of the principal events occurring in the various states of Europe, gleaned from the gazettes, particulars derived from official documents concerning the Legation at Avignon and Roman affairs, and his own observations of the actions of James during his stay in that city. His statements concerning the king's visit have all the authority of an eye-witness of the events recorded. Other MSS. containing papers relating to the Stuarts are :

- MS. 1725. Letters from Queen Mary, the minister Nairne, and others.
- MS. 3437. ff. 305-309. Two letters to the Comtesse Perussis, signed James R., and dated respectively 29 Oct., 1727, and 18 Jan., 1728.
- MS. 2818. f. 28. Instructions from the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office of the Roman Inquisition sent to the Vice-Legate at Avignon in 1716, concerning the attitude to be observed by the authorities towards the king's Protestant adherents.
- MS. 2827. A volume of municipal records—contains on fo. 611 an official list of the Scottish, English and Irish exiles who arrived in Avignon on 2 April, 1716; probably compiled for the use of the Vice-Legate Salviati, governor of the city.



LISTE DES ANGLOIS DE LA SUITE DE JAQUES III ROY  
D'ANGLETERRE ARRIVE A AUVIGNON EN 1716 LE 2 AVRIL.

M<sup>r</sup> le duc d'Ormond, generalissime par terre et par mer.

M<sup>r</sup> le duc de Marr, premier gentilhomme de sa chambre.

*Milords.* Maresshal, Soulhark [Southesk], Panmure, Linlithgow, Tullibardin, Kilsyth, Kingston, Ogilvie, George Murray, Keith frère de M. Maresshal, et Askein frère (*sic*) de M. Soulhark.

*Lieut. generaux.* Kclin (*sic*), irlandois, Hamilton, Gordon, Phaster [Foster].

*Brigadiers.* Corbes [Corbet], Macintosh, Hay ecuyer du roi, à present Milord Hiuerness [Inverness].

*Colonels.* Clephant, Cameron, Stewart de Appin, Campbell, Camerones, Campbell de Glenlion, Iusus (*sic*), Livingston, Truin de Banut.

*Lieut. Colonels.* Oncs (*sic*), anglois, Waleincha [Walkinshaw], Elphinston, Maxton, Forbes.

*Maiors d'Inf. et Cavalerie.* Fleming, Hepburne, Makincha [Mackenzie], Smith, Arthur, Lesly, Lauder, Macpherson, Macintosh, Coelzbuine [Cockburn ?].

*Capitaines.* Stalket (*sic*), irlandois, Preston, S<sup>t</sup> Clair, Frazier, Falconer, Douglas, Collier, Sharp, Nairne, Lesly, Mazuel [Maxwell], Butler, Gordon, Crichton, Dalmahoie, Mackinsie, Charlton, Littleton, Accuol (*sic*), anglois, Macdonald, Bourke, Lestrange, O'Brien, Askin, irlandois.

*Lieutenants.* Ker, Fergusson, Boswell, Lindsay, Maclean, Lindsay.

*Docteurs.* Lesly, Hamilton, Lesly, Barclay, Worrol, Patterson.

*Secretaires.* Kennedy, Paterson.

*Soubsecretaires.* Egigar [Edgar], et Keir.

*Medecins du roy.* Blair, Vignar (*sic*).

*Chirurgiens.* Arnaud (*sic*) ecossois, Hay.

*Gentilshommes.* Ellis, trésorier, Askhein [Erskine], Kesch [Keith ?], Ogilvie, Alexander, Fuzier [Fraser], Forsingan de purée [Fotheringham of Powrie], Forsingan fils, Brisbane de Brisbane, Fuberne (*sic*), Wood, Tailor, Ker, Fulastron [Fullarton], Murray, Menzies, Hairstones, Askin, Sharp, Green, Evingston [Elphinstone], Cameron, Hazel, Smith, Beanton [Balfour of Beaton ?], Potts, Meiklewright, Stilwort, Hobson, Forman.

*Liste des Seigneurs Catholiques.* Le duc de Perth, Milord Gal- [verso]  
moye, Nierdal [Nithsdale] sauvé par sa femme de la prison de

Londres, M<sup>r</sup> Wington [Witherington ?] sauvé de Londres, Clermont, Seaforth, Sheldon, Macdonel de Clanranald, Fleming, Macdonald, Buude (*sic*), le Chevalier Ekins, Trauagnon [Trevanion ?], Moreland, Strickland, Butler, MacMahon, Wogan, Macdonald, Wigby [Rigby ?], Wood, Albergomby [Abercromby ?] medicin, Machua [McGhie ?], Trauagnen [Trevanion], Akers, Sicleworth (*sic*), Nairne, de Lassire, Brouner, MacCarthy, S<sup>t</sup> Paul, Boubler (*sic*), Rhodes, Siulir (*sic*), Fitzgerald, Cuog (*sic*), irlandois, Mathew, Linch, apoticaire, M<sup>r</sup> Drumond.

[endorsed] Noms des anglois venus avec le roy d'angleterre en 1716 a auignon.

To return to Dr. Brun's diary<sup>1</sup> (MS. 3188. ff. 170-431) :

f. 170. He mentions that King James landed in Scotland on 2 January, 1716.

f. 172. Ce 29 Mars 1716 le Vice-legat Salviati a reçu une lettre de Lion qui l'advertit que le roy d'Angleterre estoit arrivé dans cette ville la, et qu'il seroit demain icy. Le Vice-legat lui a envoyé au devant M<sup>r</sup> d'Autana, capitaine de la cavalerie avec son fils, à 11 heures du matin dimanche de la Passion, et il est allé le tantot aux Celestins pour disposer des appartements pour loger ce Roi qui mene les Milords qui se sont sauvés avec luy d'Ecosse.

verso Le 31 Mars le Lieutenant des Gardes du roi Jacques 3 est arrivé icy. Il visita les maisons qui pouvoit convenir au Roy, il choisit celle de M<sup>r</sup> le cadet de Serre ou est le commandant qui en sortira.

1 Avril 1716. le roy doit arriver icy ce soir . . . M<sup>r</sup> d'Autana, capitaine de la cavalerie du Pape icy, arriva hier premier de ce mois. Il trouva le roi a Vienne, où il lui rendit la lettre du Vice-legat. Il a raporté la lettre du roi : et qu'il couchoit au S<sup>t</sup> Esprit et arriveroit le second de ce mois. Le Vice-legat lui a envoyé des chevaux du coté du Languedoc, ne jugent pas à propos qu'il passa par Orange à cause du Prince d'Orange qui dethrona son père le roy Jacques 2.

fo. 173. Le 2 Avril, le Roi d'Angleterre arriva icy par Villeneuve où M<sup>r</sup> d'Autana l'attendit avec quatre chaises et deux cavaliers sans la juste-au-corps uniforme. Il voulut marcher sur la chaussée. Il estoit au milieu du Comte de Marr et M<sup>r</sup> d'Autane. Il se mit en chaise et entra par la porte du Maille sans ceremonie comme il a souhaité . . . Il alla droit chez M<sup>r</sup> de Sarre proche S<sup>t</sup> Didier

<sup>1</sup>The entries from the Diary are transcribed in French. When a synopsis of the less important entries is given, the synopsis is in English.



ou il doit loger. Il arreta le Vice-legat pour souper avec luy, qui fut surpris de l'honneur qu'il lui fit. M<sup>r</sup> d'Autane y soupa, le Vice-Legat s'excusa sur la colation du Carême, mais il se trouva chez M<sup>r</sup> de Sarre quand le Roy arriva.

4 Avril... le duc d'Ormond est arrivé sur les quatre heures verso du soir. Le Roy est allé rendre visite au Vice-legat et à l'Arch-evêque après diner, et ensuite est allé promener aux Celestins avec quelques gentilshommes de cette ville.

Le 5 Avril. Il est arrivé des equipages du Roy avec une berline et une chaise roullante—les ecussons sans armes.

Brun then narrates the deception practised by the Regent, who, after permitting King James to purchase arms and equipment for 20,000 men, refused to allow the shipment from France. Men were ready to support his cause in Scotland, but arms and ammunition were lacking owing to the Regent's action. In order to conceal his expedition James set out from Lorraine accompanied only by his surgeon St. Pol, who was disguised as a lackey in a shabby green livery, while his master called himself M<sup>r</sup> du Plessis. They made their way to Brittany, following by-ways, sometimes on mules, sometimes on foot, lodging in pot-houses, and thus avoided detection.

Milords Panmure et Drummond logent chez M. de Ville- fo. 174. franche... Le roi avoit le Comte de Marr à sa droite dans le carosse en se promenant à raison de l'incognito.

Le Comte d'Arran, frère du duc d'Ormond, a été élu Grand- fo. 174 v. Steward du Chapitre de Westminster: l'évêque de Rochester, violent Tori, conclut en faveur du susdit comte.

Le 8 Avril. Le roi entend tous les jours la messe à S<sup>t</sup> Didier un peu après 9 heures. Il y a été aux Ténèbres mercredi ou l'on a fort mal chanté la musique... Il fait gros froid depuis 6 mois et gele encore...

Le roi a entendu la grande messe à Nôtre Dame des Doms, fo. 175. l'archevêque Gontieri officiant. Le roi voulut voir faire les Saintes huiles ce jeudi saint 9 Avril 1716.

Il fut ensuite à l'office des Ténèbres aux Pénitents Gris. La fo. 175 v. musique y fut bonne, Villefranche étant recteur.

Il crea hier le Duc d'Ormond et le Duc de Perth chevaliers de la Jarretière, et Milords Panmure et Dromond chevaliers du Chardon, ancien ordre d'Ecosse que Jacques 2 son père avoit retabli.

Le Roy portoit aujourd'hui l'ordre du Chardon avec un ruban verd. Il est grand, le taille deliée, age de 28 ans, le visage ovale et creuse de petite verole, le nez aquilin et avantageux, le teint

brun clair, l'air gracieux, un peu melancolique, la demarche ferme et degagée, il n'est ny gras ny maigre, et a l'air fort gracieux. Le Vendredi Saint il entendit la messe à S<sup>t</sup> Didier, et il fut le premier à l'adoration de la croix après les pretres, et il assista à la procession du S<sup>t</sup> Sacrement avec un flambeau à la main. Il entendit le soir l'office des Ténèbres aux Celestins. . . .

fo. 176. Le Samedi Saint — ce matin le Vice-legend luy a envoyé un present qui consistoit en un grand bassin de becassines et de pluviers, un autre de perdrix et de becasses, un autre bassin de leuraux et de lapins, une grande corbeille de poulardes, une grande cage dorée et peinte de dindons, un autre de poulets, et la troisieme de pigeons, un veaux, trois agneaux de camp, deux gros moutons, tout cela en vie excepté le gibier, et quantité de toute sorte de vins de Champagne, de Bourgogne, de Vienne, et ailleurs . . .

Dimanche de Paques (après l'etre confessé hier à S<sup>t</sup> Didier du père de Viganeques recteur du College des Savoyards qu'il [le roi] envoya chercher) l'Archeveque Gontieri se rendit à S<sup>t</sup> Didier à 7 heure et dit la messe dans laquelle il communia le Roy d'Angleterre, qui ensuite entendit une messe basse dans la meme chapelle du Bon Ange, après laquelle il dona aux chanoines un louis d'or pour distribuer aux pauvres . . . Ses carrosses arriveront bientot avec un cinquantaine de chevaux.

fo. 176 v. Le 16 Avril le roy fut à l'assemblée de Madame de Villefranche. . . . le Duc d'Ormond doit partir demain pour Bourdeaux. Le Roi a pris pour medicin M<sup>r</sup> Parreli.

Le 19. Dimanche in albis, auquel jour l'Archeveque faisoit la Communion paschale aux ieunes filles à S<sup>t</sup> Didier, le Roy y etant allé à la messe, dona 16 louis d'or au Prevôt Garein pour les pauvres.

Le Roy va promener très souvent au cours de S<sup>t</sup> Michel les heures entieres en carrosse avec le duc d'Ormond, le Comte de Marr, et milords Panmure et Drumond.

fo. 177. News arrives at Avignon from Ratisbon, dated 2 April, that King George has presented a memorial to the Diet praying the princes of the German empire to refrain from allowing King James to find a refuge in their States. Twelve Scottish gentlemen have landed at Dunkirk. Bolingbroke is in Paris. An extraordinary stir in England between the Tories and Whigs regarding the next election of members for Parliament which is summoned to meet soon. Queen Mary is suffering from cancer, and Mr. Fagon, the late king's physician, thinks she will live barely two months.



From Edinburgh (31 March)—the Earl of Breadalbane is still in prison. Lord Glenarghoni [Glengarry ?] is captured.

From the Gazette d'Hollande—The trial of the Earl of Oxford still proceeds. King George has instructed his ambassador Stair to request the Regent not to give asylum to the fugitives from England, and to banish them from France. The Regent has replied that the right of asylum is inviolable in all civilized states, and that he will observe the clauses in the Peace of Utrecht touching the person of King James.

Le 24 Avril—Le duc d'Ormond est allé ce matin [prendre] le fo. 177 v. chocolat et le café chez le père Inquisiteur.

Le 26 Avril—Le roi a été diner aux Chantilins avec le duc d'Ormond le Comte de Marr, milords Drumond et Panmure, messieurs des Yssars, Villefranche, Madame des Yssars, Madame Chigi, et les deux Doni filles. La Yssars et la cadete Doni antrerent (*sic*) dans le carrosse du Roy auxquelles il dona le main pour les faire entrer les premieres . . . Il fut de retour le soir à sept heures et demi. Le roy fit porter tous les preparatifs du repas et obligea les religieux de prendre 10 louis pour les petits frais qu'ils avoient fait.

le 27 Avril—Le thrésorier du Roy arriva et luy enmena [amena ?] 80,000 ecus en or. [Later the name of the king's 'grand thrésorier' is given as 'Chiardon.']

On ecrit d'Edimbourg du 7 Avril—

fo. 178.

'Cadogan avoit bruler les terres de Stenau [Struan] Robertson, et avoit surpris le capitaine Scot dans la maison de Robertson. On l'amené icy en prison avec 8 autres gentilshommes qui sont le Lord de Bonimnon [Carnegie of Balmamoon ?], Methuen, Bamber, la Firish [Lafferys] père et fils, le colonel Urghort [Urquhart], le capitaine Auchmoory [Achmouty], et M<sup>r</sup> Ramsey. On dit le Marquis de Huntley et le Lord Rollo seront mener icy demain.'

Le Milord Nithsdale arriva icy hier au soir—4 May 1716—fo. 178 v. c'est celuy que sa femme sauva de prison de Londres en le revetant de ses habits de femme.

Milord Stair a fait des plaints au Regent que le Roy Jacques fo. 179. rescoit trop à Avignon. On ne scait pas encore ce que le Regent lui a repondu du 1 May.

On ecrit d'Edimbourg le 9 Avril :—

'Frazer de Beaufort par ordre du General Wightman avoit arrêté le Comte de Cromarty et le Lord d'Inchcoulte, et les avoit conduits en prison . . . Major Clephane s'embarqua à Montrose

pour retourner en France avec le colonel Hay . . . On ne sait pas si le Comte de Seaforth est encore dans les montagnes, ou s'il a passé en France.'

- fo. 180. De Londres, 17 Avril :—' On assure que le comte de Carnuat [Carnwath] aura la grace, que le comte de Widdrington et le Lord Nairn seront transportés dans les colonies de l'Amerique, et que le comte de Wintoun restera dans la Tour de Londres pendant sa vie.'

Le Pape a écrit au Roy Jacques pour luy temoigner le joie qu'il a de son arrivée à Avignon. Il luy offre le palais, Rome, et toutes les villes de ses Etats. Il a ordonné au Vice-legat de luy fournir mille ecus romaines par mois : mais le Roy n'a point voulu recevoir cette pension, et en a remercié le Pape . . .

- fo. 182. le 13 May. Milord Drumond est parti d'ici pour aller à St Germain voir le Duc de Perth son père qui est à l'extrémité.

Le 14 jeudi — il est arrivé par le Rhone un grand bateau rempli de seigneurs Anglois. Demain les 36 chevaux du Roi doivent arriver. Il a reçu toute sa vaisselle, et il a renvoyé au Vice-legat Salvati toute la sienne et tout le linge qu'il luy avoit prêté. Milord Melford est arrivé pour voir le Roy : il a épousé Mademoiselle de Lussan veuve du prince d'Albemarle frère du Mareschal de Berwick.

- fo. 183. Le 18 May — On a en ouis que le sieur Forster s'est sauvé à Calais sur un petit battiment appartenant à un nommé Coucy.

- fo. 185. King James refuses invitations to dinners and balls—' pendant que ses amis etoient si cruelement traités en Angleterre'—news of the cruel repression of the Jacobite rising having been received from London and Edinburgh.

- fo. 188. Forster, qui s'est sauvé des prisons arriva icy hier 26 May, Il alla rendre visite au Vice-legat.

Les lettres de Londres au Roy disent que 40 prisonniers d'Etat, qui etoient dans Newgate, s'etoient sauvés après avoir poignardé le capitaine et le lieutenant qui venoient pour les enfermer sur le soir. Ils furent decouvert par le corps de garde qui tira sur eux et tua plusieurs et contraignit une partie de reantrer. Neuf se sont sauvés absolument. [Including Brigadier Mackintosh, *vide* fo. 190 v.]

- fo. 188 v. Le Docteur Wood medecin du Roy, qui est prisonier à Edimbourg, a été examiné.

- fo. 189. May 29. An account is given of the arrest of Macdonel and his valet, on suspicion of coming to Avignon to assassinate the



King. They were banished on June 12, under the threat of being hanged if found again on the Pope's territory.

News from Paris of 16 May—Forster while in Paris was not fo. 190. allowed to enter any café, and the Regent ordered him to leave the city.

Juin 7. dimanche de la Trinité. Le Roy soupa chez Doni fo. 190 v. avec le duc d'Ormond et la Quinton, la Perrucy veuve, Isautier et Quinton. Ils etoint 14 à tables, Doni, le chevalier Doni et Villefranche etoint à une petite table apart. Ce repas coute 150 livres. Le Roy fit porter de son vin de Champagne 30 bouteilles et une grande caisse de vin de Florence. Le Roy dansa avec les dames. Il va souvent a la promenade à cheval avec 15 ou 16 de ses gentilshommes à cheval...

Le 11 Juin. Il arriva hier vingt mulets chargés de vin de fo. 196. Champagne au Roy.

Le Roy a vu passer la procession de la Fête Dieu chez M<sup>r</sup> de Brante, avec tous les Anglois Catholiques...

Le 12. il est arrivé au Roy six charretes chargées de ses equipages, avec six seigneurs Anglois.

14 juin. Dimanche—le Roy a assisté à la procession de sa fo. 200. paroisse S<sup>t</sup> Didier ayant un cierge de demi-livre à la main, accompagné d'une grande quantité de Noblesse et la Soldatesque du Pape mêlée dans les rangs des chanoines et à la Croix. Derrière le Roy il y avoit douze fusiliers, les valets de pied du Roy au nombre de huit personnes...

Dimanche 21 juin on celebra dans l'église S<sup>t</sup> Didier le jour de fo. 203. la naissance du Roy, qui entra dans sa 27 année. Il assista à la grande messe à 10 heures... toute la musique de la ville et grande illumination...

Le 22 juin—le Roy a soupé chez Milord Southesk... fo. 203 v.

Le 25 juin—le Vice-legat fixa le loyer de la maison que le Roy fo. 204. tient de M<sup>r</sup> de la Marine toute meublée avec 40 linceuls et 10 douzain services pour le prix de 800 ecus de rente annuelle : et pour ce que M<sup>r</sup> d'Antraignes donne de sa maison on l'a fixé à 700.

Milord Drumond est arrivé icy le 1 juillet, revenant de Paris fo. 205. ou il assista à la mort du Duc de Perth son père.

Le 2 juillet—Il est arrivé icy ce matin Milord Edouard fo. 206. Drummond que le Roy avoit cru perdu... Il a été attendre le Roy au sortir de la messe de S<sup>t</sup> Didier, qui l'a embrassé et baisé fort tendrement plusieurs fois, et le milord de la baisé et embrassé de meme devant tout le monde qui étoit fort attendri.

- fo. 207 v. le 9 juillet — le marechal de Vilars est arrivé ce soir . . . et il alla incontinent rendre visite au Roy . . . le 10 il dina chez le Roy, qui avec le duc d'Ormond eurent une conference secrete avec le marechal pendant une heure et demi. Il monta en carrosse de chez le Roy et parti à 3 heures pour Paris.
- fo. 208. le 13 juillet — le Roy est allé voir la fontaine de Vaucluse avec tous ses courtisans excepté le duc d'Ormond. Les officiers de bouche etoint partis le matin à 2 heures pour y appreter un grand diner . . .
- fo. 213. Milord Clairmont fils du Comte de Middleton loge chez Lucarelli.

LISTE DES ANGLOIS QUI SE TROUVENT PRESENTEMENT À AVIGNON  
JUILLET 1716.

Milord Duc d'Ormond. M<sup>r</sup> Butler et M<sup>r</sup> Bagnel ses parents, M<sup>r</sup> Kennedy son secretaire, M<sup>r</sup> Stoken, capitaine, son ecuyer.

Milord Duc de Marr, ministre et secretaire d'Etat et premier gentilhomme de la Chambre, M<sup>r</sup> de chevalier Ariskin [Erskine] son parent, M<sup>r</sup> Paterson, p.<sup>1</sup> et M<sup>r</sup> Creagh, c.<sup>1</sup> ses secretaïres.

Milord Duc de Perth, c. Milord Panmure, p. et son medicin M<sup>r</sup> Blair, à present medicin du Roy, p.

Milord Nithsdale, c. Milord Galmals [Galmoye] lieutenant-general, gentilhomme de la Chambre.

M<sup>r</sup> Sheldon, vice-chambellan, et lieutenant-general des armées du roi de France, c.

M<sup>r</sup> Trauançon [Trevanion ?] chef d'Escadre, gentilhomme servant de la chambre — Anglois, p.

fo. 213 v. M<sup>r</sup> Strickland, capitaine de Cavalerie, gentilhomme servant de la chambre — Anglois, c.

M<sup>r</sup> Nairne, secretaire du Cabinet et du Conseil privé, c.

M<sup>r</sup> le Chevalier Ellis, controleur de la maison et tresorier ou payeur, p.

M<sup>r</sup> Evlascre [                      ?] ecuyer, c. M<sup>r</sup> Hay colonel et ecuyer du Roy, p.

M<sup>r</sup> Bromer, controleur de la bouche, c. anglois.

M<sup>r</sup> Macreary, chef des gobelets, c. irlandois.

M<sup>r</sup> Masticé, chef de cuisine, c. irlandois (*sic*).

Messieurs S<sup>t</sup> Pol et Boubleds, valets de chambre, c.

Messieurs Rhodes et Stile, valets de chambre et de garderobe, c.

M<sup>r</sup> Carill, gentilhomme de la Reine, anglois.

<sup>1</sup>[*Note.* c. is for Catholique, p. for Protestant.]



M<sup>r</sup> Corbette, brigadier d'armée, p. M<sup>r</sup> MacMahon, capitaine de cavalerie, c. M<sup>r</sup> Ord, gentilhomme, anglois, c.

M<sup>r</sup> Obrien, capitaine d'infanterie, c. M<sup>r</sup> Bureshe, capitaine d'infant. p. M<sup>r</sup> Magdanel [MacDonnell] capitaine d'Infanterie, p.

M<sup>r</sup> Sulwort, gentilhomme, anglois. M<sup>r</sup> Leslie, ministre protestant.

M<sup>r</sup> Hamilton, ministre protestant. M<sup>r</sup> Rigby, capitaine de fo. 214. vaisseau, anglois. Le general Hamilton, p. M<sup>r</sup> Forster, qui etoit general à Preston, anglois, p. Le colonel Ocrent [Clephane?], anglois, p.

M<sup>r</sup> Nairne, capitaine, frère de M<sup>r</sup> Nairne qui fut pris à Preston et condamné à mort, et qui se distingua par son intrepidité en mourant, c. M<sup>r</sup> Eclens, lieutenant-general, p. M<sup>r</sup> Abercromby, docteur en medicine, c.

Wogan officier pris à Preston et sauvé des prisons avec Mackintosh.

Milord Tullibardine fils du Duc d'Athol, p. Milords George et son frère, p. Milord Mareschal, p. M<sup>r</sup> Linlithgow, p. Milord Southesk, p. M<sup>r</sup> Areskin [Erskine] frère du Comte de Buchan, p.

M<sup>r</sup> Flammeng [Fleming] frère du Comte de Wigton, c.

Milord Clermont fils du Comte de Middelton, c.

Le Vicomte de Kilsyth, p. attendu ici. Milord Edouard Drumond, c.

Le Duc de Melford avec l'Abbé son frère, c. Il est Comte de fo. 214 v. Lusan en France par sa femme. Il est à sa terre.

*In a later hand is added*—Lussan veuve du Prince d'Albemarle frère du Maréchal Berwick.<sup>1</sup>

Selon les lettres du vice-legat reçues le 26 juillet, le roi George n'ira plus à Hanover parcequ'il voit des grosses dispositions à une revolution en Angleterre . . . On a oté au Duc d'Argyle toutes ses charges . . . et il s'est retiré en Ecosse.

On assure que le Pape a fait compter 12,000 ecus romains ce mois icy au Roi Jacques.

Le Duc d'Ormond a reçu aujourd'hui 29 [juillet] une lettre de fo. 216. Londres dans laquelle on lui marque que le roi George est parti le 17 juillet, et que quand il fut parti les troupes ecrivirent sur leurs casernes 'Maisons à louer à present.' On mit le meme placard sur le palais du roy.

Le 28 aout—le Duc d'Ormond a mené coucher à L'isle les fo. 226 v.

<sup>1</sup> Marie-Gabrielle d. and h. of Jean d'Audebert, Comte de Lussan, marr. 1st, in 1700, Henry, Duke of Albemarle.

trois Doni avec leur père. Ils verront demain la fontaine de Vaucluse. Les Anglois sont nuit et jour dans leur maison.

fo. 239. Le 19 Sept. le roy n'est pas allé à la messe. Il est incomodé des hemorroides ou fistule.

Le general Gordon arriva d'Ecosse avec 17 seigneurs de ce pays la.

From this date till Nov. 24 are numerous entries regarding the king's health.

fo. 245. Sept 28. M<sup>r</sup> Wood le medecin du Roy est arrivé d'Ecosse. Il fit saigner le roy . . .

fo. 253. Oct. 15. Il y a icy de grands mouvements parmi les Anglais, il en est parti plus de 30, tous gens distingués . . . et il en est arrivé plus de 40.

fo. 254. Oct. 20. Le public a sçu aujourd'hui que la maladie du Roy estoit un fistule et non pas les hemorroides. La reine sa mère luy a envoyé le plus habile chirurgien de Paris nommé M<sup>r</sup> Guerin, qui a fait l'operation ce matin fort heureusement . . .

Le Duc d'Ormond mene quelquefois les Doni à l'Opera.

Milord Clermont, Macdonal, et Mareschal, et trois autres ont donné souper à la Denoyers et trois ou quatre actrices de l'Opera au jardin de Castelet.

fo. 255 v. 23 Oct. . . ce soir le roy avoit la fièvre. Le Vice-legat a envoyé ordre a toutes les eglises et couvents qui sont à portée de la maison de Roy de ne point sonner leur cloches à branle pendant huit jours après la Toussaints à compter d'aujourd'hui.

fo. 257 v. Oct. 28. jeudi, le Duc d'Ormond a regalé à Chantili une vingtaine de personnes parmi lesquelles etoint les trois Doni dans le carrosse du Roy avec le duc.

fo. 262. 7 Nov. La playe du roy pousoit trop vite les chairs, on luy a appliqué le camphre pour bruler ce trop d'excescence. De 400 à 500 Anglais qu'il y avoit icy il n'en reste pas presentement 150.

Les cloches sont encore dans le silence jusques à Lundy au soir.

fo. 277. Le Roi va de mieux en mieux. Les cloches qui n'ont pas sonné à branle depuis un mois recommenceront le 21 de Nov. de sonner. Il doit sortir dans quelques jours . . .

fo. 279. 24 Nov. le roy a commencé avoir ce soir quelques messieurs de cette ville.

fo. 284. 30 Nov. les Ecossois de deux religions ont celebré la fete de S<sup>t</sup> André. Ils portoient tous à leur chapeaux une croix de S<sup>t</sup> André, l'ecusson de taffetas de la grandeur d'un ecu blanc avec la croix de fil d'argent. Le roi ne paroît pas encore. Les cloches commencent à sonner excepté à Matines.



Le roi se montre depuis quelques jours avant diner à tous les fo. 285.  
Messieurs de sa Cour. Demain 8 Dec. 1716, il entendra la  
messe à S<sup>t</sup> Didier . . . Il n'étoit point sorti depuis le 15 Sept. . . .  
On assure toujours qu'il partira bientôt, les uns disent que c'est  
pour Bologna, les autres assurent que c'est pour Bruxelles . . .

le 16 Dec. le Roy est allé visiter les Doni. fo. 287.

le 20 Dec. 4 dimanche. le Roy entendit la predication de fo. 288 v.  
l'abbé Brunet, incognito, dans S<sup>t</sup> Didier. Rude tems, pluye et  
verglas. . . .

22 Dec. le duc d'Ormond doit partir dans 15 jours, ainsi que fo. 289.  
le general Gordon et quelques autres. On croit . . . quelque  
mouvement cet hyver en Ecosse. Guerin le chirurgien est parti  
ce matin pour Paris.

2 Janvier 1717. Le roi est allé entendre la messe dans la fo. 291 v.  
chapelle de Notre Dame du Chapelet à la cathedrale pour remercier  
la Sainte Vierge touchant sa guerison.

Le Comte de Winton, qui etait prisonier à la Tour de Londres, fo. 293.  
condamné à la mort, et contrefit le fol, est arrivé icy s'étant sauvé.

14 Janvier — il est arrivé 40 tonneaux de vin de Champagne fo. 295.  
au Roy, et 4 barrails pieces qu'on a mis dans les caves de  
Doni.

23 Janv. M<sup>r</sup> Dillon lieutenant-general en France arriva icy ce fo. 296 v.  
soir. C'est un homme d'environ 60 ans, bien fait.

2 Fevrier. Tous les Anglais sont fort affligés d'être forcés par fo. 298.  
le Regent de quitter Avignon pour aller demeurer en Italie. Le  
Roy meme et le Duc d'Ormond en sont accablés. En general  
ils se louent tous des habitants de cette ville.

4 fev. jeudi gras. Il y eut encore grande fête au Palais ou  
le Roy se rendit après 6 heures accompagné du Duc d'Ormond,  
Duc de Marr, Duc de Perth, de milord Penmure, milord  
Edouard, milord Clairemont, milord Mareschal, le comte de  
Tullibardine et son frère, et le frère du duc de Perth, en chaises  
avec 20 grands flambeaux de cire blanche, et plus de 100 Anglois fo. 298. v.  
à pied, tous officiers et pages du Roy, tous les mois. Il a été ce  
matin à la messe, et en sortant il a fait donner 100 livres pour les  
pauvres, et 24 livres pour les deux clercs qui ont servi la messe  
pendant les dix mois qu'il a resté icy . . .

L'archeveque Gontieri a écrit à son frère qu'il vint au devant  
du Roy au Mont Cenis avec les gens necessaires pour le descendre  
en chaise de la montagne . . .

Samedi 6 fevrier 1717 — le jour etoit de plus beau. le Roy  
vint entendre la messe à S<sup>t</sup> Didier à 9 heures—et comme le fo. 299.

pardon etoit en cette eglise il demanda qu'on donna la benediction du très S. Sacrement ou il alloit tous les soirs la prendre. Après quoy toute la Noblesse de cette ville l'accompagnant il vint monter dans son carosse à la porte de l'église. Il recut tres gracieusement tous les saluts, et etant entré dans le carosse il mit la tete dehors et salua par trois fois tout le monde. Le Vice-legat monta et se mit à coté du Roy, le duc d'Ormond monta après et ensuite le duc de Marr. Il y avoit une litière pour le Roy, et une chaise de poste, et plusieurs fourgons chargés d'hardes couvert de toile cirée. Il est allé diner aux Chantilins et couchera à Orange. Il reste encore icy beaucoup d'Anglois pour quelques jours . . . Le Roy ne prendra point des domestiques à Bologna . . . Il mene à sa suite 70 personnes, le reste ira par mer et l'embarquera icy sur le Rhone.

fo. 299 v. Le Vice-legat fut de retour de Chantilins pres de 5 heures avec le cortège. La famille Doni, père, mère, et les 3 filles, l'ont accompagné à Orange ou elles couchent avec la comtesse de Perrucy. Les Doni sont arrivées le 7, Dimanche a 4 heures de soir, d'Orange. Le Roi logea au Griphon. L'eveque fut le complimenter et offrir son palais. Les Consuls demanderent l'honneur de le saluer . . . Les Doni et le Comte de Rochefort souperent le soir au Griphon avec le ducs d'Ormond et de Marr. Le Roy, qui ne soupe pas le soir, vint les voir souper en robe de chambre et se retira un quart d'heure apres. Il partit [d'Orange] à 9 heures et alla coucher à Pierrelate . . .

fo. 300 v. Le 14 Fevrier le Roi devoit arriver à Chambari. Il a forcé ses marches pour sortir de France. il y séjournera iusques que la grande rigueur de la gelée soit moderée. . . .

Le 15 fev. le Roy a fait écrire au Vice-legat qu'il est arrivé à Oresse, château de M<sup>r</sup> le Marquis de Roucet qui demeure icy. Les grands neiges et le grand froid l'ont arreté la. Il n'a pas voulu passer à Grenoble . . . M<sup>r</sup> Dillon l'accompagne iusques hors du royaume. . . .

fo. 302. 19 fevrier. Notre Archeveque a receu une lettre de son frère le Marquis de Cavaillac qui lui marque comme le roi de Sardaigne son maître l'avoit chargé d'aller au devant du roi d'Angleterre pour luy offrir tout ce que depend sa majesté. Il a ordre de le deffrayer et toute sa suite, de luy faire rendre tous les honneurs, et de l'accompagner iusques à la sortie de sés Etats  
fo. 302 v. . . . mais encor d'aller en avant dans le Dauphiné pour le prier de venir à Turin embrasser la reine de Sicile sa cousine. Il y a 1000 hommes pour netoyer les chemins remplis de neige et



500 chevaux pour l'accompagner . . . Le Duc d'Ormond [aussi] a écrit au Vice-legat ces nouvelles . . .

18 mars — Le grand ecuyer du Roi, Macdonel, est parti ce fo. 311. matin . . . Il passe icy des Anglois qui vont joindre le Roy. M<sup>r</sup> Drumond neveu du Duc de Perth passa icy le 18. Il avoit été envoyé par le Roy. Je le vis chez la Cairane, il dit qu'il avoit fait 700<sup>l</sup>, il s'acquitta de sa commission auprès du Czar qui est en Hollande . . .

le 24 mars — Le Vice-legat Salviati a reçu un courrier exprès f. 313 v. du Pape pour partir incessamment et aller joindre le Roy Jacques 3 à Urbino ou à Pesaro, ou il résidera en qualité de Prelat-Président auprès du Roy. Notre Archeveque le sera à sa place, il a reçu sa patente.

On a imprimé à Paris plus que 20.000 portraits du roy Jacques fo. 315 v. qu'on a envoyé en Ecosse et Angleterre ou son portrait se multiplie tous les jours. La Cour de Londres est fort troublée.

31 mars — Le roy est présentement à Pesaro . . . et comme l'esté y est très chaud, il habitera à Urbino . . . Il sera comme souverain dans ces deux villes. Le Vice-legat part le 8 avril pour aller le joindre. Il sera président dans ces deux villes pour la justice du Pape, et aura 2000 ecus romaines d'appointement.

Le Roy arriva à Monmelian le 14 fevrier, le 16 il partit pour Aiguebelle, le 17 il arriva à Maurienne et logea à l'Eveché, le 19 il arriva à Modane et le 20 à Lanebourg, et le 21 à Suze. Il a été servi par les officiers du Roy de Sicile sur ses terres. Il embrassa ce Roy et la reine sa cousine. Le Pape a nommé le marquis Bufalini pour aller au devant du Roy et le servir dans sa route . . . Don Carlo Albani se rendra sur les confins pour le recevoir et le conduire à Pesaro.

le 5 Avril. le Vice-legat Salviati, florentin, qui a résidé icy fo. 317. près de 5 ans, est parti à 2 heures pour aller joindre James 3 à Pesaro ou le roy arriva le 16 mars. Notre archeveque Gontieri, nommé à sa place, a pris possession ce soir à 5 heures . . .

De Genes 6 Mars — il arrive tous les jours des Anglois de la Suite du Roy duquel ils se sont séparés au pas de Suse. Il passa le 24 du mois dernier à Turin, et il a été défrayé sur les terres du Roi de Sicile, continuant sa route par Plaisance, Modene, et Bologne, d'où il se rendra à Pesaro.

M<sup>r</sup> le chevalier Strinclam [Strickland] gentilhomme ordinaire fo. 319. du Roy écrit de Pesaro, au chevalier Doni icy le 20 avril, que quoique le séjour de Pesaro pour la ville et la compagnie fut assez beau, néanmoins que les habitants étoient sauvages et barbares,

que le vin ny vaut rien non plus que le pain, et qu'il y a deus mauvais carrosses dans cette ville. S. ne croit pas qu'on y puisse demeurer longtems sans perir de maladie.

fo. 325 v. 16 May 1717. A letter received from Salviati by M<sup>r</sup> d'Autane captain of cavalry at Avignon, says that the Dukes of Ormond and Perth and many other seigneurs have left Pesaro . . .

fo. 326 v. 21 May, Milord Mareschal a ecrit à Madame de Soissan une lettre sans date . . . qu'il estoit parti fort content de Pesaro.

fo. 330 v. le 6 juin — Milord George, frère de Tullibardine, passa icy. Il alla voir les Doni ou il soupa. Il les assura que le Roy estoit à Rome depuis le 26. qu'il se porta bien et ses affaires de meme. Quant a lui il va à Nîmes prendre une remise d'argent et va attendre des ordres à Tolose.

fo. 331. Le roy Jacques a envoyé son portrait à M<sup>r</sup> d'Antraignes [et] une belle montre d'Angleterre avec le boite d'or, un autre au père Viganeque son confesseur, et un autre au chanoine Curnier de S<sup>t</sup> Didier son aumonier quand il estoit icy.

fo. 335 v. De Rome 29 may — Mercredi au soir le roy Jacques arriva icy incognito. Il fut complimenté de tous les Cardinaux dans la suite, et traité de Roy par Accioli cardinal doyen. Il vit passer la procession de Corpus Domini sur un balcon qu'on luy avoit préparé dans la place S<sup>t</sup> Jacques. Le Pape etant arrivé au devant de luy le regarda et ensuite le S. Sacrement, et pleura de compassion.

fo. 340 v. De Rome juin. Ieudi le Pape se rendit à l'eglise des Ecossois ou l'on celebrait la fête de S<sup>te</sup> Marguerite reine d'Ecosse : le roy d'Angleterre le receut à la porte, et il communia par les mains du pontife . . .

fo. 347. De Rome — Le Roy partira de Rome apres la fete de S<sup>t</sup> Pierre pour aller passer l'esté à Urbino.

fo. 351. De Rome 10 juillet — le Roy fut au Palais prendre congé du Pape qui luy a fait present d'un Corps Saint de ceux qui sont dans la Sacristie de la chapelle pontificale du Quirinal, avec les sceaux d'or massifs d'une Croix de cristal avec du Bois de la S<sup>te</sup> Croix.

fo. 379. le 22 Sept. Le frère de M<sup>r</sup> Strinclin [Strickland] a été envoyé en poste par la reine d'Angleterre à son fils Jacques 3 à Urbino ou il reside. Il resté 2 heures enfermé avec le Roy, après quoy on doubla toutes les gardes, on mit des sentinelles dans tous les appartements, on ferma quatre portes de la ville, on en laissa deux ouvertes seulement, on fait la patrouille iour et nuit, on visite les maisons, et le Roy ne sorte plus de son palais. Le



duc d'Ormond y est arrivé et le comte de Marr y est attendu. La lettre des Doni marque tout ce détail.

Sept. 1717. Milord Peterborough qui alloit à Naples a été fo. 389. arrêté par ordre du Pape à Albano ou il passoit. On a saisi tous ses papiers, et les Sbirres l'on mené en prison. On croit qu'il avoit quelque dessein, par ordre du roy George, sur la persone du Roy Jacques.

Lettres de Rome disent qu'on a decouvert 18 Anglois qui fo. 396 v. s'étoient gliser à Urbino . . . qui avoient resolu d'assassiner le Roi Jacques, ou de l'enlever quand il seroit à la promenade. Ils ont tous été pris et traduits avec leur papiers et hardes en lieu de sureté.

De Modena 16 sept. 'le 11 de ce mois le comte de Peter- fo. 408 v. borough fut arrêté à Bologna par ordre de la Cour de Rome,' etc., etc.

De Bologna 21 Sept.—Peterborough, his secretary, and valets fo. 416 v. were set at liberty, no proof of their connivance in the alleged plot against King James having been discovered among their papers.

De Paris 18 Oct. la reine d'Angleterre a quitté Chailliot et fo. 423. est revenue demeurer au chateau de St Germain. On apprend de Rome que le Pape a envoyé au Chevalier de St George une compagnie de Cuirassiers pour le garder à Urbino.

le 11 Nov. la lettre d'Urbino de milord Clermont à M<sup>r</sup> de fo. 430. Caumont [à Avignon] dit que le Cardinal Gualterio y étoit arrivé, qu'ils se portoient tous bien, que le Comte de Marr y étoit de retour d'Aix la Chapelle ou il prenoit les eaux et que le Duc d'Ormond y devoit arriver . . .

Here ends the pith of the entries relating to King James written by Dr. Brun. The items of news, extracted from the various gazettes of the period relating to the affairs of Scotland and England, copied by him into his Journal, are of great interest, and add much information to his own narrative, but are too extensive for insertion in this article. In the Bibliothèque de Ville I found no papers connected with the visit of Prince Charles Edward to Avignon in 1749.

R. W. TWIGGE.

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

CLOSE siege, therefore, was laid to the castle : those inside were surrounded by a deep trench, so that they could not get out ; wooden houses were constructed before the gate, and pavilions or tents were set up for the lodging of the chief persons in the army. Meanwhile it happened that Sir John de Stirling, warden of Edinburgh Castle, going forth with the intention of lifting some booty, was captured by craft by Sir William de Douglas and a large party which he had brought with him ; [Stirling] himself and two or three knights and about twenty men at arms [being captured], of whom some were killed and some were taken alive and brought to Edinburgh Castle by William de Douglas and his people. When they arrived there, William summoned the castle to surrender, promising faithfully if those within would do so that both Sir John whom they had captured and all those who were outside the castle with him, as well as all those within the castle, should preserve life and limb and all their goods, and a safe-conduct to go whither they would ; but that if they refused to do so, he declared that he would cause Sir John to be drawn there at the tails of horses, and afterwards to be hanged on gallows before the gate, and all those who were prisoners there with him to be beheaded before their eyes. But those who were within made reasonable and conciliatory reply, saying that that castle was a fortress of the King of England, and that, let what might befall Sir John and the others with him, they would not surrender it to Douglas or any other living man unless at the king's command. When William heard this, he did not carry his threat into effect, but sent all those prisoners to Dunbarton Castle, because there <sup>MS.</sup> was no other good castle in possession of the Scots at that time <sup>fo. 230</sup> except that and Carlaverock Castle, belonging to the traitor Sir Eustace de Maxwell, who afterwards killed the knight Sir Robert de Lauder, the most intelligent man among the Scots.

<sup>1</sup> See *Scottish Historical Review*, vi. 13, 174, 281, 383 ; vii. 56, 160, 271, 377 ; viii. 22, 159, 276, 377 ; ix. 69, 159, 278, 390.



When my lord William de Montagu who was besieging Dunbar Castle, heard of these events, he took a strong force and came to Edinburgh, appointed another warden of the castle with a sufficient garrison to hold and defend it, and then he returned with his men to the siege of [Dunbar] Castle.

In the following Lent<sup>1</sup> Sir Andrew de Moray, Guardian of Scotland, died in his bed of dysentery, as some say; others, however, declared that he mounted an unbroken colt which threw him from the saddle, that one of his feet caught in the stirrup, and thus he was dragged by his foot and leg to death. The Steward of Scotland was chosen Guardian in his place.

Dunbar Castle held out stoutly and made a gallant defence, in despite of the close siege; and whereas the Countess of Dunbar,<sup>2</sup> who was in chief command of the castle, was sister of the Earl of Moray, he had been taken in Scotland, carried off to Nottingham Castle in England, and there placed in ward, as mentioned above, [to await] the King of England's pleasure.

In the same year my lord Pope Benedictus XII. commanded that twelve wise and discreet friars of the Order of Minorites, should be chosen to regulate discipline, together with the cardinals, certain bishops and masters of theology;<sup>3</sup> which was done accordingly. The constitution having been considered approved, my lord the Pope placed them in a bull, and sent them in the bull to the Captain General that they should be scrupulously observed throughout the whole Order; howbeit he willed not that the rule of the Friars nor their other constitutions should be modified in any respect. Now the said bull contained nine-and-twenty minor chapters, wherein, among other things, it is provided that the custodians and wardens of the said Order shall be canonically elected.

After Easter<sup>4</sup> the said Earl [of Moray] was taken back to Scotland, on the chance that his sister would surrender her castle in order to save his life; but she replied that the castle belonged to her lord and had been committed to her <sup>A.D. 1338.</sup> custody, nor would she surrender it except at his command; and when the besiegers told her that then her brother should die, she answered them—'If ye do that, then shall I be heir to the earldom of Moray,' for her brother had no children. Howbeit the English would not do what they had threatened, but [decided]

<sup>1</sup> 25th Feb.—12th April, 1338.

<sup>3</sup> The true date was in November, 1336.

<sup>2</sup> "Black Agnes."

<sup>4</sup> 12th April.

rather to take him back to England and keep him in ward, as before.

Forasmuch as the King of France refused to agree to any good and reasonable terms of peace, the King of England directed his journey to France, and undertook himself a campaign with the aforesaid nobles in his pay. He took with him from England a great army of helmed men, archers and spearmen, in addition to those whom he had sent already with my lord William Earl of Northampton, which, as was commonly said, amounted in all to 30,000 men.

When the Scots perceived that the King of England was preparing himself to make war against the King of France, they besought a truce from him, and truce was granted them by the king to last a year from the next feast of S. Michael, provided, however, that if the King of England at any time within that term should feel dissatisfied with the truce granted, he might break it at his pleasure. But whereas the king, as aforesaid, determined to cross the sea, my lord William de Montagu and the other earls engaged with him in besieging the said castle of Dunbar, being unwilling that he should incur any danger without them, whom he had promoted to such high rank, granted truce to those within the castle, on condition that during the truce no change should be effected either around the castle, within the castle, nor in the buildings built by the English outside (albeit this condition was not afterwards observed); and so they returned to the king in England.

The king embarked with the aforesaid army at Portsmouth, about the middle of the month of July, a little before the feast of S. Mary Magdalene<sup>1</sup> in the year of the Lord aforesaid. Also the lady Queen of England went with him, in order that she might have intercourse with her kindred and friends beyond the sea. After the king had crossed, the Flemings left the King of France and adhered to him.

Shortly after the departure of the King of England across the sea, the King of Scotland<sup>2</sup> entered Scotland with a small following, the truce granted to the Scots notwithstanding, and there remained for some time at Perth.

*[Here follows Edward III.'s letter to the Court of Rome, the people of France, etc., setting forth his complaint against King Philip, etc.]*

<sup>1</sup> 22nd July. The actual date was 16th July, and the port of embarkation was Orwell, not Portsmouth (*Fæderæ*).

<sup>2</sup> Edward Balliol.



*It is printed in Fædera as if issued on 7th or 8th February, 1340, but Father Stevenson observes that the Lanercost chronicler is probably right in assigning it to a date (not mentioned in the chronicle) soon after King Edward's arrival in Flanders. The original draft was destroyed by fire among some of the Cottonian MSS.]*

In the year of the Lord one thousand three hundred and thirty [            ],<sup>1</sup> Edward the third after the Conquest, King of England, crossed the sea against the King of France, [having] with him Queen Philippa, the Earls of Derby, Northampton and Salisbury, and a large army. He landed at Antwerp, where he did not meet such good faith among his German allies as the Germans had promised to his envoys; but he remained there a year and more, exposed, with his people, to great dangers and at excessive cost, accomplishing nothing of importance except that he travelled to [visit] the Duke of Bavaria,<sup>2</sup> by whom he was received with honour. After a conference had been held, he was appointed Vicar of the Empire.<sup>3</sup>

When Pope Benedictus XII. heard thereof he wrote to him a letter of rebuke for having made a treaty with the enemies of the Church, in the following terms.

*[Here follow the Pope's letters dated from Avignon, according to the chronicler, 1st November, 23rd December, 1338, 12th October, 1339; but there is considerable confusion in the chronology of this part of the Annals, and the dates do not correspond with those given in Fædera, where these letters may be found. However, the exact sequence of the correspondence is not of much moment. The Pope remonstrates with King Edward for entering into alliance with the Emperor, who is excommunicated, for his proceedings against the Bishop of Cambrai, for assuming the title of Vicar of the Empire. He denies that he granted the tenths to the King of France to aid him against the King of England, and offers to mediate in person between the two kings.]*

The King of England sent to the said Pope by his ambassadors a letter justifying his alliance and declaring his just dealing with the realm of France. During the king's absence two cardinals, accompanied by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Durham, crossed the sea to promote the peace of the kings and their kingdoms. Having endured many hardships and perils,

<sup>1</sup> Blank in original. This passage seems to be taken from another chronicle.

<sup>2</sup> The Emperor Louis.

<sup>3</sup> Walsingham (i. 223) states that Louis desired that Edward should kiss his foot on appointment, but that Edward refused, on the ground that he was an anointed king.

even under protection of the aforesaid cardinals, and having suffered from famine while remaining in Paris and Arras until the month of November, without effecting anything towards the peace of the kings and their kingdoms, they returned to the King of England in Brabant.

In the year of the Lord one thousand three hundred and thirty [ ]<sup>1</sup> while the king was in Brabant, the Scottish leaders broke the truce they had accepted, inflicting much injury both by sea and land upon the English and their confederates in Scotland.

Early in July, Cupar Castle and the county of Fife were surrendered to William de Douglas, who had returned from France to Scotland with a strong armed force. Thence the aforesaid William marched to Perth with Earl Patrick and French mercenaries, laid siege thereto, and within five weeks, without much fighting, received the surrender of that town from its governor, to wit, Sir Thomas de Houghteryth. After the surrender, taking with them the booty obtained there, they embarked on the sea with a company of both French and Scots, and perished in a sudden storm which arose at sea.

In the same year, on the third day before the feast of the Assumption of the Glorious Virgin,<sup>2</sup> a marvellous flood came down by night upon Newcastle-on-Tyne, which broke down the town-wall at Walkenow for a distance of six perches, where 160 men, with seven priests and others, were drowned.

At the same time the King of England (the Duke of Brabant<sup>3</sup> having left him), invaded the realm of France at the end of September with a large army, and carrying his arms against the district of Cambrai, he caused it to be burnt. On the feast of S. Michael<sup>4</sup> he entered Vermandois, where he had been informed the King of France was lying with his army, intending to give him battle. And on the appointed day of battle, to wit the morrow of S. Luke the Evangelist,<sup>5</sup> the King of England, having been assured that the King of France was willing to fight, took up his appointed position, distant about two leagues from the King of France, and waited there a whole day. But as the

<sup>1</sup> Blank in original.

<sup>2</sup> 14th August.

<sup>3</sup> The chronicler names the Duke of Bavaria, but that is evidently wrong. The Emperor Louis was Duke of Bavaria. Brabant, however, did not desert Edward.

<sup>4</sup> 29th Sept.

<sup>5</sup> 19th October.



King of France and his army did not come to battle, as he had promised, the King of England, after mature deliberation, marched back into the duchy of Brabant. Howbeit he traversed parts of France with his army, killing, plundering, and burning over a space eight-and-twenty miles broad and sixty miles long, to wit, in the counties of Cambrai, Vermandois, Meuse, Tierache, Blois, Artois and La Flamengriá.<sup>1</sup>

After the King of England returned from his expedition, many of his troops, English as well as German, returned to their homes; but the Earls of Derby, Northampton, Salisbury and Suffolk remained with him. At this time my lord Pope Benedictus XII. sent two cardinals to the King of England to convey his paternal exhortation that peace or truce should be concluded with the King of France. The King of England wrote to him in reply setting forth the grievances, injuries and annoyances he had endured from Philip, who was in occupation of the realm of France, and who had declined to negotiate reasonably with him either about a truce or a peace, which if he would do, he [King Edward] would be ready to come to reasonable agreement with him.

*[Here follows a long letter from King Edward to the Pope, setting forth his grievances against King Philip, the advances he had made to him from time to time, Philip's refusal of his offers and the many injuries he had received from him. Printed in Fædera, 8th February. Also a declaration to the people of France as to the King of England's title to the crown of France and his intentions in regard to the same. Printed in Fædera.]*

Meanwhile, the King of England, having prepared to sail back to England, being entreated by the community of Flanders, remained several weeks at Ghent, where the Flemings acknowledged him as rightful heir, King and Lord of France, and swore fealty and homage to him as to the rightful King of France. In compliance with their suggestion and advice the King of England assumed the title of King of France and the arms of each realm, to wit, of England and France, whereof he claimed dominion, and entitled himself King of England and France,<sup>2</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> Father Stevenson observes that the general narrative of King Edward's operations in this campaign is confirmed by an eye-witness, Johannes Hocsemius, a canon of Liège, whose history covers the period 1251-1348, and was printed at Liège in 1630.

<sup>2</sup> The title of King of France was retained by the Kings of England and Great Britain until A.D. 1801, when it was discontinued and the lilies of France were removed from the royal arms.

consequence of which he caused public letters given at Ghent to be displayed and published throughout England and France, and he besought the Supreme Pontiff for letters of absolution for the invasion of the realm of France. After which, with the consent and advice of the Flemings and the Duke of Brabant, he sailed for England with the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, leaving Queen Philippa in Flanders. After his departure William de Montagu was captured on the frontier of Flanders by some of the King of France's army and placed in prison.

In the same year on the sixth of the Ides of March,<sup>1</sup> my lord Henry de Beaumont died at Luthburg and was buried in the Abbey of Valle Dei on the morrow of S. Gregory the Martyr.<sup>2</sup>

In the year of the Lord mcccxxx [ ]<sup>3</sup> died William de Meltoun, Archbishop of York, and was committed to the tomb on the morrow of S. Gregory.<sup>4</sup> My lord William de la Zouche succeeded him.

King Edward, the third of England after the conquest and first of France, held his parliament in London, demanding and obtaining a large subsidy from clergy and people in aid of [the wars] against

France and Scotland, taking a ninth of all produce from  
A.D. 1340.

the people and a triennial tenth from the clergy, in recognition of which welcome concessions my lord the King of England and France granted and published a new charter, ratified the liberties of the Church in England and also renewed many, as is contained at length in his charter. In the same parliament he decreed and specially confirmed by his charter that, in regard of the claim which he made to the realm of France as rightful heir, king and lord, devolving upon him by the death of his uncle my lord Charles King of France, the realm of England should in no respect be subject to the realm of France, neither through him nor any his successor whatsoever, but that as regardeth divine things the succession and liberties should remain freely and totally separate. Parliament having ended he assembled a fleet and sailed for Flanders from the port of Orwell on the day before the eve of S. John the Baptist<sup>5</sup> (which in that year was a Thursday), with a few nobles, to wit, the Earls of Derby, Gloucester, Northampton and Huntingdon, and only a few other nobles. Arriving off the coast he was informed that the fleet of Philip de Valois, at that time occupying the realm of France, was in hostile array with a great force of Normans and French to attack him and his people.

<sup>1</sup> 10th March, 1340.

<sup>2</sup> 13th March.

<sup>3</sup> Blank in original.

<sup>4</sup> 13th March, 1340.

<sup>5</sup> 22nd June.



He sent forward the Bishop of Lincoln and Sir Reginald de Cobham to Sluys to stir up the Flemings (as they themselves had proposed) to fight the King of France's fleet on the morrow. On the morrow, therefore, to wit the vigil of S. John the Baptist, about the ninth hour, he prepared for battle, and, albeit he had no more than 147 ships against the immense fleet of the French, by God's grace he obtained the victory he hoped for, killing, drowning or capturing 30,000 of the French. But on the English side they killed but some four hundred men, with four noble knights, to wit, Sir Thomas de Mouhermere, Thomas de Latimer, John Butler and Thomas de Poynings.<sup>1</sup>

After this victory the King of England and France remained at sea for three days, and then landed in Flanders, all men shouting, 'Long live the King of the French and of England! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!' And although they had been some little incensed with him by reason of his long stay in England (the queen remaining in Ghent exposed to many risks, together with her English there who were in Flanders supporting the King of England and France) yet all those afflicted with king's evil who came near him were immediately made whole by his touch.

After this, the King of England and France, having rested in Ghent and held counsel with his people, marched with a strong force to Tournay and laid close siege to that city, to relieve which, Philip de Valois, occupying the kingdom of France, assembled a large army. To him the King of England and France wrote from the siege works, sending [the letters] by his ambassadors, giving him a triple alternative—to wit, that, as a means of deciding the dispute between himself and the aforesaid Philip, they two themselves should fight a duel for the settlement of their rights; or that Philip [should choose] one hundred of the most valiant knights of France, Philip himself being one of their number, and Edward [should choose] as many English knights, Edward himself being one of their number, and thus the slaughter of Christian people might be avoided. Or again, should neither of these [proposals] be agreeable to the aforesaid Philip, then, after receiving the aforesaid letters of the King of England and France, let him appoint a certain day for battle between power and power before the city of Tournay to which he [Edward] had laid siege; so that God who removeth kingdoms and establisheth them should

<sup>1</sup>Confirmed by an entry in the Close Rolls, but the date was 24th June (*Fædera*).

make justice manifest through whichever of the three plans might be chosen, and bring the conflict to an end.

When Philip received this letter and understood the alternatives, he would not reply to King Edward about his proposals because the letter had not been addressed to him as King of France; but he wrote back to the King of England and France to effect that whereas he had unreasonably and injuriously invaded the realm of France and had rebelled against him to whom he had done homage, he [Philip] proposed to expel him from his kingdom for the honour of the realm and welfare of the people.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, during these transactions, seeing that the aforesaid Philip dared not encounter the King of England and France in any manner, and that the funds required by the King of England for maintaining the siege were far short of what was necessary, a truce between him and the aforesaid Philip was agreed to through the mediation of the cardinals; whereupon the king suddenly came to England and [imprisoned] the warden of the Tower of London, to wit, Sir Nicholas de Beche (who was also guardian of the king's son), Sir John de Pulteney, William del Pole, and several other knights and justiciaries, as well as some clerks of the Treasury.<sup>2</sup> A serious dispute had arisen between him [King Edward] and John de Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury; all of which was caused by their not having supported him with proper funds when he was going to war, but frustrated his just right and purpose.

While these things were going on, David de Brus, returning from France to Scotland, and collecting an army, wasted Northumberland with sword and fire as far as the river Tyne, returning home without any opposition. After this he<sup>3</sup> marched to Scotland and kept Christmas at the Abbey of Melrose in Scotland, where he was exposed to much danger by cunning assaults of the Scots, losing several of his men, and he retreated to England without [performing] any notable exploit.

MS.  
fo. 239 Preceded by certain nobles, the King of England invaded Brittany, where he took several castles and fortresses by storm, closely besieging the city of Vannes, which he would have taken within a few days, had not a truce for three years and more been

<sup>1</sup> Edward's challenge and Philip's refusal are printed in *Fædera*.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Nicholas de la Beche must have cleared himself, for he was appointed Seneschal of Gascony, 20th July, 1343 (*Fædera*).

<sup>3</sup> King Edward.



struck at the earnest mediation of my lord the Supreme Pontiff and by the intervention of the two cardinals, which truce proved to be rather a betrayal than a settlement.

*[Here follow the terms of truce at great length. They are not in Fædera.]*

In the same year the King of England incurred many dangers in returning from Brittany to England, especially from flashes of lightning and unprecedented storms, whereby nearly all his ships were scattered from him and several were sunk in the sea. Howbeit it is said that not one of the sailors or soldiers was so cheerful amid these storms and dangers as himself, who ever remained fearless and unperturbed through them all; whence he was delivered by God's grace and the Blessed Virgin's intercession (whom he always had invoked and chosen as his peculiar patron in all dangers), and so was happily carried to that part of the kingdom of England which he desired.

The truce in Brittany having been concluded, several nobles of England assembled at Carlisle under my lord Bohun<sup>1</sup> Earl of Northampton, in order to fortify Lochmaben; but they went no further, as the Scots gave leave that the afore-A.D. 1344. said castle should be peacefully fortified.

In the same year the King of England held a round table of three hundred knights and as many ladies at Windsor, for which immense expense was incurred as befitting the royal dignity.

The King of England on the eve of the kalends of July<sup>2</sup> went to sea at Sandwich with a large army for the protection of his people, and kept at sea with the aforesaid army until the ninth of the kalends of August,<sup>3</sup> and then returned A.D. 1345. to the kingdom of England at Sandwich, without performing any notable exploit.

In the same year, while [the king] was at sea, the Flemings, who were then believed to be faithful to the King of England, attacked [ ]<sup>4</sup> at Ghent and cruelly put him [?] to death.

In the same year the Scots with a large force invaded England by way of Carlisle on the eighth of the kalends of November,<sup>5</sup> and also burnt Gillesland and Penrith in Cumberland, with the adjoining villages; but as they suffered from hunger, they returned without any gain to themselves or much loss to us.

Afterwards, on the eighteenth of the kalends of January,<sup>6</sup> certain nobles invaded Scotland in revenge for the deeds they had

<sup>1</sup> *Woven* in MS.

<sup>2</sup> 30th June.

<sup>3</sup> 24th July.

<sup>4</sup> Blank in original.

<sup>5</sup> 25th Oct.

<sup>6</sup> 15th Dec.

endured, and, having burnt Dumfries with many adjacent villages, returned to England without much gain or loss on their part on the fifteenth of the kalends of the same month.<sup>1</sup>

In the month of July, David King of Scots entered England under the banner of the Earl of Moray, harrying Cumberland, the hills of Derwent and the moor of Aldstone,<sup>2</sup> with slaughter and fire, and returning to Scotland with great droves of cattle without [sustaining] any loss to his army.

In the same month of that year Edward, renowned and illustrious King of England, sailed from Portsmouth with fifteen hundred ships and a great force of soldiers upon an expedition against the King of France to vindicate the inheritance which was his, due to himself ancestrally and through his maternal uncle. On the twelfth of the same month he landed at la Hougue in Normandy, whence he marched to Caen, sacking the city to the bare walls thereof, killing and capturing many knights and an immense number of soldiers.

‘Edward, by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, to the honourable Father in God William, by the same grace Bishop of York, Primate of England,—Greeting.

‘Forasmuch as we know well that you would wish good news from us, we make known to you that we arrived at la Hougue near Barfleur on the 12th July last, with all our people safe and sound, praise be to God, and remained there while our troops and horses disembarked and our troops were being victualled, until the following Tuesday; on which day we marched with our army to Valognes, where we took the castle and the town; and then on our march we caused the bridge of *Oue*, which our enemy had destroyed, to be rebuilt, and we passed over it and took the castle and town of Carentan, whence we held the straight road to the town of Saint-Lô. We found Herbert bridge near that town broken down, in order to prevent our crossing, so we caused it to be repaired, and next day we took the town. Then we pressed forward to Caen without halting for a single day from the hour that we left la Hougue until we arrived there.

‘And so soon as we had gone into quarters at Caen, our people began to deliver assault upon the town, which was very strongly fortified and garrisoned with about 1600 soldiers, besides about 30,000 common people armed for its defence, who fought very well and boldly, so that the mellay was very hot and lasted a long time. But, praise be to God, the town was taken by storm in the end without loss to our people.

‘There were taken there the Comte d’Eu, Constable of France, the Chamberlain Tankerville (who on that day had been proclaimed a Marshal of France), of other bannerets and chevaliers about one hundred and forty, and a great crowd of esquires of the wealthy burghers. Also there perished

<sup>1</sup> 18th Dec.

<sup>2</sup> Not to be confused with Alston in Lancashire.



many noble chevaliers and gentlemen and a great number of the commonalty.

‘And our fleet, which kept in touch with us, has burnt and laid waste the whole seacoast from Barfleur as far as the Fosse de Colleville near Caen, and likewise has burnt the town of Cherbourg and the ships of la Havre, so that either by us or our people there have been burnt one hundred or more great ships and other vessels of the enemy.

‘Wherefore we beg that you will devoutly return thanks to God for the exploit which he has enabled us to perform, and continually beseech him that he will grant us further success; also [we desire] that you write to the prelates and clergy of your province that they act in like manner, and that you ratify these events to our people in your district, for their comfort, and that you apply yourself diligently to resist our enemies of Scotland by all the means in your power for the safety of our people in your parts, for which we rely confidently upon you.

‘Forasmuch as we have already obtained the assent of all our principal officers, who show themselves to be of excellent spirit and willingness we have firmly resolved to press forward with all our might against our adversary, wheresoever he may be from day to day, and our firm hope is in God that he will assure us good and honourable [results<sup>1</sup>] of our enterprise, and that you will shortly receive good and agreeable news of us.

‘Given under our privy seal at Caen, the 30th day of July, in the twentieth year of our reign in England.’

Hereafter the province of Bayeux surrendered voluntarily, fearing lest it should suffer in the same manner, whence he [King Edward] pursued his march as far as Rouen, wasting all around with fire and sword. He took possession without any resistance of all the great villages through which he passed; he captured castles and fortifications, even the strongest, without difficulty and with very small attacking columns. At that time the enemy was in Rouen with a very strong armed force, and, notwithstanding his superiority in numbers, he caused the bridge over the Seine to be broken lest the King of England should reach him. And so it was all the way to Paris—on one side of the Seine the King of England plying fire and sword, and on the other side the King of France breaking down and fortifying all the bridges of the Seine, to prevent the King of England crossing over to him; nor would he dare anything for the defence of his people and realm, although he could have crossed the Seine, but fled towards Paris.

<sup>1</sup> Blank in original.

*(To be continued.)*