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A Restoration Duel

In August, 1660, James, second Earl of Southesk, killed the Master of Gray in a duel. Of the dispute which led to it the following account is given by a contemporary diarist.

'Eftir the Kinges Majesteis return from Breda, quhilk wes upone the 25 day of Maij 1660 yeiris, and eftir his restoration to his thrie kingdomes and dominionnes, diveris and sindry persones, alsweill nobles, gentrie, as utheris, repairit to his Majestie, being than at Lundon, for offices, places, and preferment; quha, being mony in number, and his Majestie not being able to satisfie all, thair did arryfe great hartbirninges, animositie, and envy among thame, everieane contendand aganes utheris for preference. And among these and utheris seikaris, thair did arryse contention betuix the Erle of Southesk and the Maister of Gray, for the schirrefship of Forfar; and in that contention, they drew to parteis and provoked utheris to duellis, in the quhilk, the Erle of Southesk did kill the Maister of Gray upone this syde of Lundon.'—*Nicoll's Diary* (ed. 1836), p. 300.

Of the two combatants Gray appears to have been most deserving of the King's favour. He was the son of William Gray of Pittendrum, 'the most successful merchant in Edinburgh of his day,' had married Hume, Mistress of Gray, daughter of Andrew, seventh Lord Gray, and had commanded a regiment in the army of Charles II. during 1650-51. James, second Earl of Southesk, who succeeded to his father's title in 1658, had, as Lord James Carnegie, accepted the proposed union of Scotland and England, and had been one of the representatives chosen to carry it into effect (Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland*, ed. Wood,

ii. 515; Fraser, *History of the Carnegies, Earls of Southesk*, i. 140; Terry, *The Cromwellian Union*, pp. 47, 183). This acquiescence in the establishment of the English government must have stood in Southesk's way when it was compared with the steady loyalty of his rival.

The duel took place near London in August, 1660 (*Lamont's Diary*, ed. 1831, p. 126). No account of it is to be found in the newspapers of the time, but a contemporary ballad, preserved in Anthony Wood's collection in the Bodleian Library, supplies a detailed narrative of the incident (*Wood*, 401. f. 100).

A NOBLE DEWEL

or,

An unmatchable Combate betwixt Sir *William* . . . and the Earl of *Southast*. Being a true relation how this b . . . E. of *Southast* murthered Sir *William Gray*, Son to the Right Ho . . . the Lord Gray, which news is sad to the Nacion of *Scotland*, and how the . . . waites for trial for the same. Tune of, *Sir George Wharton*.

My heart doth bleed to tell the wo
or chance of grief that late befel
At *Biglesworth* in *Bedfordshire*,
as I to you for truth will tell,
There was two valliant Noble men,
that very rashly fell at words,
And nothing could appease their wraths
till they betook them to their Swords.

The one was called Sir *William Gray*,
the good Lord *Gray* his Son and Heir,
The other Sir *James* as they him call,
or *Earl of Southeist* as I hear,
It seems their quarrel they began,
within the house of Parliament,
And till this Earl had kild Sir *Gray*,
he could not rest nor be contend,

About Religion they out fell,
the Earl he was a Presbyteir,
Sir *William* did his ways deny,
he being a Loyall Cavelier,
For our late King as I am told,
in *Scotland* often kept his court,
At the house of Sir *William Gray*,
he and his Nobles did their resort.

And for his true obedience then,
as I do wrightly understand
He made was the chiefest Governor,
in the *Northern* part of fair *Scotland*
It seems the Earl of *Southeist* calld,
did kill Sir *William* for this thing,
Because he Governor was made,
and much advanced by the King.

This Earl was governor before,
out of Commission late was thrown,
Even by this present Government,
so that he could not call 't his own,
And good Sir *Gray* put in his place,
and truth it brought him into thrall,
For through that cruel bloody Earl,
his rise was causer of his fall.

You see the bloody minds of those,
which lately had the Sword in hand,
And if they had it so again,
they quickly would confound the Land
For to find opportunity
this wicked Earl he did invent,
How he might Murther Noble *Gray*,
for truth it was his full intent.

The second part, to the same Tune.

Within the house of Parliament,
the Earl fell out with Noble *Gray*
But yet before they did depart,
they loving friends then went away,
It was not known the Earl did ow,
the least ill will at that same time
To noble *Gray* or unto his,
or any of his Royall line.

They rod together thirty Miles,
to *Beglisworth* from *London* town,
And in the way was no distast
until they sat there at the Crown.

They supped together too that night,
as peacefully as man could do,
But yet a sudden accidance
betime the morning did insue,

The Earl he rose ith morn betime,
with mischief harbored in his brest,
He came into the Chamber where,
sir *William Gray*, he lay at rest,

And call'd Sir *Gray* to go with him,
unto the Fields to take the Ayr,
And he God wot not thinking ill,
did with him to the Fields repair,
Like to a Lamb that went to dy,
not thinking death to be so near,
Even so befel the same ye see,
to noble *Gray* as doth appear.

He left his man abed that morn,
because he came in late at night,
Desiring them to let him lye,
till he returned back with the Knight,
His bedfellow and Kindsman too,
went as a second in the place,
If that the Earl should offer him,
any abuse or eke disgrace.

He did no sooner come in field,
but both the seconds and the Earl,
Do plot contrive against Sir *Gray*,
his courage purposel to queal,
The Earl began the quarrel then,
and noble *Gray* did so outdare,
And said he was a better man,
then all the *Grays* in Scotland were.

And said to him come fight with me,
thou cowardise which art no man,
Which forced Valiant *Gray* to take,
his glitering Sword within his hand,
And so the battle fierce began,
and Noble *Gray* he plaid his part,
But yet at length unhappily,
the Earl he thrust him to the heart,

This being done they dragd him too
a stinking ditch which there was by,
And robbed him of his Jewels rich,
and then they presently did fly,
Unto the Crown whereas their coach,
stood ready for their safe convay,
But by a man it was found out,
which did them presently betray.

When they was took they did them search
whereas they found them full of gold,
A golden watch and ring which cost,
five hundred pounds his man thus told,
They had them to the Justice straight,
and he did send them to the Gaol,
Whereas they wait for trial now,
I think there's no man will them bail.
And thus I will conclude my song,
I wish all Traytors to beware,
And not to murder as they do,
lest they fall in the hang-man's snare.

London, Printed for John Andrews at the White-Lyon neer Py-corner.

Blackletter. 3 cuts.

Though it is impossible to test the truth of the story, there can be no doubt that the ballad represents the version current at the time. For according to the list of printers and publishers of ballads, contained in the *Catalogue of Lord Crawford's Collection of Ballads*, p. 535, John Andrews was in business from 1655 to 1666. The ballad is not in Lord Crawford's collection nor in the *Roxburghe Ballads*.

C. H. Firth.

The 'Scalacronica' of Sir Thomas Gray.

IN August, 1355, Sir Thomas Gray of Heton,[1] son and heir of a knight who bore the same name with great distinction in the Scottish Wars of the first and second Edwards, was Edward III.'s constable, or warden, of Norham Castle. This fortress, standing just within the English Border, and commanding an important ford on the Tweed, was a perpetual offence to the Scots, and the object of their incessant attack. In the month aforesaid, Patrick, Earl of March, laid an ambuscade on the Scottish side of the river, and sent Sir William Ramsay of Dalwolsey (which we now write Dalhousie) with a party of four hundred spears to raid the English farms. Ramsay, in returning with his booty, rode within view of Norham Castle. Sir Thomas sounded 'Boot and saddle!' sallied out briskly in pursuit, with a following of only fifty men,[2] and fell into the trap prepared by March. The English being taken in front and rear, defended themselves stoutly, but were overpowered by superior numbers. Gray, with his son, also called Thomas, was taken prisoner, and, being unable to raise the ransom demanded, lay for two years a captive in Edinburgh Castle. Luckily for him, and for us, he had the run of the library there, which was better furnished than might have been expected. He found such good and suggestive material there that he undertook to compile a history of Britain, an enterprise which very few knights in that age were competent to attempt. He offered in his prologue the usual apology of an inexperienced writer.

'How it was that he [the author] found courage to treat of this matter, the story tells that when he was prisoner in the town Mount Agneth (formerly Chastel de Pucelis, now Edynburgh), he perused books of chronicles, in verse and prose, in Latin, in French, and in English, about the deeds of the

[1] Direct ancestor of the present Earl Grey and Sir Edward Grey of Falloden, Bart., M.P. He wrote his name 'Gray,' a form which now distinguishes Scottish from English families of that surname.

[2] Wyntoun says fourscore, besides archers.

ancestors, at which he was astonished; and it grieved him sore that, until that time, he had not acquired a better knowledge of the course of the age. So, as he had hardly anything else to do at the time, he became curious and thoughtful, how he might deal with and translate into shorter sentences the chronicles of Great Britain and the deeds of the English.'

Then follows the description of a dream, in which the Sibyl and a Cordelier Friar appeared to Gray, and provided him with a ladder to scale a great wall withal. Arrived at the top, he obtained access to a mighty city, and beheld a number of allegorical phenomena with which we have no concern, save that they inspired him with the resolve to carry out the project of a chronicle. The Sibyl bade him call his work *Scalacronica*—the Ladder Chronicle; but whereas one can only regard this fanciful introduction as purely fictitious, the real allusion probably is to the crest adopted by the Gray family—namely, a scaling ladder.[3]

The scheme of the work was a survey of history from the Creation to the date of compilation; and, as may be imagined, the earlier part is not worth much attention, being merely, as Gray candidly explains in his prologue, a transcript of passages in the writings of Gildas, Walter of Exeter's translation of the *Brut*, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, the *Historia Aurea* of John of Tynemouth, Higden's *Polychronicon*, and such like. Coming to the reigns of the Norman Kings, there are passages of undoubted value, describing events not recorded elsewhere; such as the means whereby King John caused the death, in 1203, of his inconvenient nephew, Arthur of Brittany, whom he had supplanted on the throne of England. But it is when Gray is dealing with a period covered by the actual experience of his father and himself that the chronicle has been recognised as being of incomparable value to the student of Scottish and English history during the reigns of the first three Edwards. Incomparable—because, alone among the chronicles of the time, it was written by a soldier, who naturally viewed affairs from a different standpoint to that of the usual clerical annalist. Even Froissart, prince of chivalrous writers, was a priest—*curé* of Lestines—though it must be admitted that his survey of men and manners was of more than parochial breadth.

Knowledge of the *Scalacronica* and its treasures was scarcely to

[3] Crests were a novelty in heraldry in the fourteenth century. Barbour says that they were first seen in the campaign of Weardale, 1327, and mentions them as one of 'twa novelryis,' the other being 'crakis of wer,' *i.e.* cannon.

be obtained, except through the brief English abstract made by John Leland in the 16th century, until Joseph Stevenson edited, from the original MS. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the portion of it beginning with the Norman Conquest, and this was privately published, with a masterly introduction from the editor, by the Maitland Club in 1836. Even so, it cannot be considered easy of access to general readers, first, because the edition consisted of only 120 copies; and second, because it requires some application to master the obscurities and ambiguities of the Norman French in which Sir Thomas Gray wrote. It seems, then, that it may be interesting, and perhaps useful, to those who care for the history of their country, to have a translation of the portion of *Scalacronica* covering the reigns of Edward I., II., and III., when the author either was personally engaged in the scenes described, or heard of them from those who had been actors in the same.

The Cambridge MS. being the only copy known now to exist, we have to deplore its mutilation, which has taken place since Leland made his abstract, supposing that it was from this copy that he worked. The loss of some of the earlier folios might be borne with equanimity, but it is exceedingly tantalising that the missing sheets covered the period of the author's chief activity, namely, from the capture of Roxburgh Castle by Sir Alexander Ramsay, in 1342, down to the capture of Gray himself by the Earl of March, in 1355. Of Gray's observations upon these eventful years we can only judge by Leland's exceedingly succinct notes.

For the purpose of the present translation the Maitland Club edition has been carefully collated by Miss Bateson with the original. Words of obscure or ambiguous meaning are given in footnotes.

HERBERT MAXWELL.

The Reign of Edward I. as chronicled in 1356 *by Sir Thomas Gray in the 'Scalacronica,' and now translated by the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart.*

In the year of grace 1274, on the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady,(1) Edward the son of Henry, with his wife Eleanor, were crowned and anointed at Westminster by Friar Robert of Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury. The great street of Cheap and the others through which this Edward rode to his coronation were covered with carpets and silken tapestry. The citizens flung gold and silver from the windows for anybody who cared to take it. The conduit on one side of Cheap ran with white wine, on the other side with red. King Alexander of Scotland was there, and the Duke of Brittany (who was the premier duke after the earls present), the wives of both being sisters of the said Edward, and also the Queen-mother. Which seigneurs, with all the other Earls of England, were clothed in garments of gold and silk, with numerous retinues of knights, who, on dismounting, turned their horses loose for anybody to take who chose, in honour of the coronation of this Edward, who at this time was thirty-six years of age. Alexander, King of Scotland, did him homage at this time, then went to his own country, where soon after Margaret, his wife, Edward's sister, died. She had two sons, Edward and David, and a daughter Margaret, who afterwards was Queen of Norway. The two sons died during their father's lifetime, at the age of twenty years.

Soon afterwards, in the year following this coronation, Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, sent beyond seas for the daughter of the Earl of Montfort to make her his wife. She was captured by the seamen of Bristol on her way to Snowdon and taken before King Edward, who suspected from this treaty of marriage that Llewelyn bore him no good will. Moreover, because Llewelyn had not come to his coronation, whither he was summoned for his homage, he [? Edward] took offence and declared war. The King entered Wales,, captured the castle of Rhuddlan, driving thence the said Llewelyn and forcing him to seek terms, who

(1) 19th August.

yielded himself to the King for 50,000 marks, upon condition of becoming the King's liege.(2) Then he [Llewelyn] took away with him the said damoisel.

Next year (3) the King caused Llewelyn to be summoned by brief to his Parliament, but he refused, and again took up arms; but he did not persist, but once more reconciled with the King, upon condition that he would be guilty of no contempt from that time forward, on pain of the punishment which was due.

David, brother of Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, was of the King's household. The King had bestowed Trodsham upon him and his heirs. Which David was crafty, a spy upon the King's counsels, biding his time. He joined the Welsh who once more were beginning war under his brother.(4) The King moved a great army to Wales, and caused a bridge of barges to be thrown across an arm of the sea towards Snowdon, because the passes in the woods and mountains, which the Welsh had occupied, made the other route a difficult one. The King's troops foolishly began the said crossing before the bridge was complete, and were repulsed by the Welsh who were formed in ambush on the other side. Here Roger de Clifford, William de Lindsey, John fitz-Robert, and Lucas de Towny were drowned, and many others perished in the crush of their repulse. At low tide John de Vesci, who had lately come from over sea, passed across into Snowdon with Basques (5) and brigands of Aragon, whom he had brought with him, and these wasted the country lamentably. David, the brother of Llewelyn, took to flight, which threw the prince, his brother, into such a panic that he lost all confidence and went off with a few followers. Suddenly he encountered John Giffard and Edmond de Mortimer, with their companies, who had left the King's army in search of adventure. These slew him and his people, and presented his head to the King, which was fixed on the Tower of London.

At the same time Friar John of Peckham was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury by the Pope.(6) And Roger de Mortimer held the Round Table with a hundred knights at Kenilworth; to which peaceable revel of arms came knights errant from many foreign countries. At the same time began the sheep scab (7) in England; for knights returning from the

(2) A.D. 1276-7. (3) A.D. 1277.
(4) A.D. 1282. (5) Baskles. (6) A.D. 1279.
(7) *La roingne des berbis.*

Holy Land brought home sheep with great tails from Cyprus, which first carried hither the said scab.

At the same time the coinage was changed, and was called *pollardes*.

Soon afterwards David the brother of Llewelyn was taken near Denbigh, and was hanged and drawn by decree of the King, his quarters being sent to divers places. The King bestowed the lordships of Wales upon divers seigneurs of England, on condition that they should dwell there, which they did, and led a jolly life, and took much delight in hounds and hawks, and in horse racing and leaping, and especially in killing deer by hunting them on horseback.

In the year of grace 1284, his [King Edward's] son, Edward, was born in the castle of Carnarvon, in Wales, and in the same year his other son, Alfonso, died at Windsor, being the King's eldest son; and his daughter, Mary, became a nun at Amesbury. King Alexander of Scotland after the death of the King's sister,[8] took to wife the daughter of the Count of Flanders, by whom he had no offspring.

This King Edward caused the Jews to be expelled from his realm, wherefore he took [a tax of] a fifteenth from the laity and a tenth from the clergy.[9]

The King passed into Gascony to compose the war between the King of Aragon and the Prince del More, who had submitted all their dispute to his award. While the King was over there, the Earl of Cornwall remained Guardian of England.

Rhys-ap-Merodach, a seigneur of Wales, rose in arms on account of injury which Payn Tiptoft had done him by haughtiness and malice, which Rhys-ap-Merodach refused to put up with at the commandment of the King; wherefore he was afterwards hanged and drawn at York when the King returned from over sea.

King Edward discovered such default during his absence on the part of his justices and officers that he caused some to be exiled, as Thomas de Weyland, Rafe de Engham, and Hugh del Chauncelery; Adam de Stratton was fined; the faithful ones were continued in their offices, as Elys de Ethingham and Johan de Meckingham.

At this time Acre was lost by the Christians.

Also in this year Queen Eleanor died.[10]

[8] Queen Margaret of Scotland, sister of Edward; d. 1275.

[9] A.D. 1280. [10] 28th Nov., 1290.

King Alexander of Scotland, riding one night to [visit] his aforesaid wife, fell from his palfrey, near Kinghorn, and broke his neck,(11) to the great inconvenience of the two realms; his sons were dead, and he had no issue save the daughter of his daughter, Queen Margaret of Norway. The lords of Scotland—prelates, earls and barons, and the *comune*, foresaw trouble afar from a disputed succession.(12) They sent to King Edward of England in Gascony a request that, in order to secure peace, he would consent to his eldest son, Edward of Carnarvon, taking to wife Margaret, the daughter of Queen Margaret of Norway, daughter of the said Alexander who broke his neck. To which [proposal] the councils of both realms consented on the condition that the said Edward of Carnarvon should dwell in Scotland during his father's life, and that after his [father's] death, he should always dwell one year in one realm and the next in the other, and that he should leave behind him all his officers and ministers of one realm when he entered the marches of the other realm, so that his council should always be of that nation in whose realm he was dwelling for the time being.

Assent was given [to this] by the King on arriving at his house and [a request] was sent to Rome for dispensation, and an embassy to Norway to ask for the said Margaret. This envoy was a cleric of Scotland, Master Weland, who perished with the said maiden upon the coast of Buchan, in returning to Scotland.

At this same time King Edward of England, who was without a wife, and had only one son, hearing tell of Blanche, daughter of King Philip of France, demanded her in marriage,(13) on condition that the King of England should enfeoff the King of France in Gascony, and that the King of France should re-enfeoff the King of England in Gascony with his daughter in marriage, which was agreed.(14) But the said King of France refused to re-enfeoff to the said English King in his territory of Gascony, but retained it as his own demesne; neither would he give the aforesaid daughter, but pretended summons upon the King of England to come before his Parliament [to answer] for depredations committed by the Cinque Ports (15) upon the Normans; designing, in disregard of treaty, to deprive the said Edward of his territory of Gascony by process in his [Philip's] Court. Whereupon the said Edward prepared a great array against Gascony,(16) renouncing his homage to the King of

(11) 17th March, 1286. (12) *Chalange du realme.* (13) A.D. 1293.
(14) *qi ces fist.* (15) *Les Fiportz.* (16) *Se adressa de grant aray deuers Gascoin.*

France for Gascony by the Cordelier, William of Gainsborough, and the Jacobin, Hugh of Manchester; which friars the Count d'Artois, having seized them as they passed through his land on their errand, caused to be imprisoned for a long time.

King Edward had prepared a great expedition against Gascony, and had reached Portsmouth in setting out, when news arrived that Madock and Morgan, believing that he had passed beyond sea, had raised the commonalty of Wales against him in war. Wherefore the King abandoned his voyage at that time, and marched into Wales. But already he had sent into Gascony several barons of his realm, who, upon their arrival, found not so much land in the obeisance of their lord the King as they could make good their footing upon. But before long the people of Bordeaux rose and joined them [the English], and drove out the French whom King Louis of France had placed there. The English recovered much land in that country to the use of the King, wherefore this King Edward, as it was said, ever afterwards showed special favour to the knights who took part in this voyage to Gascony.

The aforesaid English barons encountered Charles of Valois, with the power of France, at Belgard, where many English were slain and taken, but not thoroughly defeated; they held the field all day, but retired during the night, while the French kept their ground upon the field all night, wherefore they claimed to have won the victory. And truth to tell, the English suffered the heavier loss, for there were taken Monsire John de Saint John, father and son, Monsire Rafe de Touny, and many others, most of whom never recovered from their sufferings in a horrible, villainous prison.

Meanwhile the King had destroyed and scattered the Welsh rebels, and had taken Madock and Morgan and caused them to be hanged and drawn, and then addressed himself to the rescue of his people in Gascony. He sent thither his brother, Edmond,[17] who there met with a noble death. He himself [King Edward] went to Flanders in support of Count Robert, who was at war with the French.

The said King Edward sent Master John de Glantoun, Archdeacon of Richmond, to the Pope to complain of the bad faith of the King of France, and of his intention to take his heritage from him. By other envoys he made alliance with the King of Germany, and with the King of Aragon, with the Archbishop of

[17] 'Crouchback,' Earl of Lancaster.

Cologne, and with the Count of Burgundy, with the Count of Savoy, and with several princes of Germany, who all failed him at need; which when he perceived, he made peace with the King of France, who at the same time gave him his sister, Margaret, to wife,([18]) on account of the youth of Blanche, and, in making peace, surrendered [to Edward] a great part of Gascony.

While King Edward lay at Ghent, the townspeople began rioting and quarrelling with the King's people. The Welsh who were there swam across the Scheldt, robbed houses and did much mischief. King Edward sent to seek the Count of Flanders and said to him—'Sir Count, keep your people quiet, or I shall cause it to be said that "here once stood Ghent"'!—upon which order was restored.

While King Edward was at Ghent, ([19]) honourable envoys came on behalf of the commons of Scotland, and of the prelates, earls and barons, to inform him that Margaret, daughter of the Queen of Norway, who was the daughter of their King Alexander, had died at sea on the voyage to Scotland, and beseeching his lordship that he would interfere in the interests of the country's peace to secure for them that King who had most right to be so; because they apprehended great disputes among divers puissant lords, both of the realm and of elsewhere, who should claim the succession, and also on account of sundry disturbances which had broken out in the country, for every one of these great lords behaved like a king on his own lands. The King replied that he would return to his realm and travel towards the Border, and that he would take their request into consideration.

It is to be observed that, according to the chronicles of Scotland, there was never such a difficulty [as to] who should be their kings of the right line, which had completely failed at the time of three successive kings, each one son of the other.([20]) And for that reason this chronicle aims at explaining the descent of the kings and the pedigree of those who have reigned in Scotland

. . . . . .

[Here follow six folios reciting the well-known mythical

([18]) A.D. 1299.

([19]) There is a confusion in dates here. Edward married Margaret of France in 1299; the Scottish dispute was referred to him in 1291.

([20]) The meaning here is very obscure. 'Et fait asauoir qe solonc lez cronicles Descoce nestoit vnqes tiel difficoulte qi enserroit lour roys de droit ligne, qe outrement estoit failly en le hour de troys roys succiement, chescun fitz dautre.'

descent of the Scots from Gaidel, who married Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh.]

About this time the bridge of Berwick across the Tweed fell in a great flood, because the arches were too low, which bridge had lasted only nine years since it had been erected. Soon after this[21] William de Vesci gave the Honor of Alnwick to Antony Beck, Bishop of Durham, who, because of the hot words of John, bastard son of the said William, sold it to Henry de Percy.[22]

By the time that King Edward of England, the First after the Conquest, had performed that which he had to do in Flanders in the aforesaid manner, he repaired to England and travelled to the march of Scotland, where he caused a parliament to be summoned at Norham; whither came all the magnates[23] of Scotland, requesting him as sovereign lord to cause it to be tried who should be their rightful king; but he would take no part in the matter until they had surrendered all the fortresses of Scotland to him as to their sovereign, which they did, and he placed therein his ministers and officers. Now all the magnates of Scotland recognised this sovereignty by overt declaration, and all those who claimed right to the realm of Scotland placed themselves entirely at his judgment, to which all set their seals in affirmation of the matter to be debated. This parliament of Norham was [held] after Easter in the year of grace 1291, whence they adjourned until the octave of Saint John[24] in the same year, in order that whosoever claimed right [to the throne] in Scotland should come to Berwick upon the said day and receive true judgment.

King Edward travelled south, and sent in the meantime, by his honourable envoys, to all the universities of Christendom to ascertain the opinions and advice upon this matter of all the experts in civil and canon law. The said King Edward returned on the said day, and on the appointed day when all the magnates of the two realms were assembled under summons, and several [knights] came to claim their right upon divers grounds to the realm of Scotland; that is to say—Florence, Count of Holland, John de Balliol, Robert de Brus, John de Hastings, John de Comyn, Patrick Earl of March, John de Vesci, Nicholas de

(21) Not before A.D. 1297.

(22) The sale did not take place till 1309. See De Fonblanque's *Annals of the House of Percy*, i. 64, where, however, no mention is made of the dispute with John de Vesci.

(23) *Lez grauntz.* (24) 1st July.

Soulis, William de Ros and Patrick Galightly. All these put in claim by different challenge in form of petition before the said King Edward. Then it was decreed by the said King, that twenty of the most eminent persons of England, and twenty other persons of Scotland, very eminent and discreet, elected by common [assent],([25]) should try their challenge; which [persons] were elected, nominated, attested and sworn, and received time to consider [the matter] until the feast of Saint Michael ([26]) next following.

King Edward returned into England, and came back to Berwick on Saint Michael's day, when judgment was pronounced in the church of the Trinity that the right of succession to the realm of Scotland [was confined] solely to the issue of three daughters of David, Earl of Huntingdon, who was brother of King William [the Lion]; the others were nonsuited.([27]) But great difficulty arose in regard to the issue of the two elder daughters of the said Earl David, that is to say, between John de Balliol, who was the son of the daughter Margaret, eldest daughter of the said earl, and Robert de Brus the elder, who was the son of Isabel, second daughter of the said David Earl of Huntingdon; and between these there were great pleadings. The right of John de Hastings issue of the youngest daughter, failed entirely.([28]) Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, vigorously supported the contention of Robert de Brus, because he had married his [Clare's] sister. The Earl of Warren and Antony Bishop of Durham [were] of John de Balliol's party. The pleaders and advocates urged for Robert de Brus that he was the nearest heir male, inasmuch as he was the son of Isabel, daughter of the said Earl David of Huntingdon, one degree nearer to the said earl than was John de Balliol, who was the son of Dervorguile, daughter of Margaret, the daughter of the said Earl of Huntingdon [and] wife of Alan of Galloway; wherefore he demanded the royal right as the nearest heir. The advocates of John de Balliol said that, as his mother could not reign, he claimed the right in succession to his ancestor as his lawful lineal descendant, and according to the law of their judge, whereunto they were in submission, agreement and assurance. So it was found by the forty persons of both realms, upon their oath, that the right lay with John de Balliol, as being the issue of the eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon.

([25]) *Per comun eleccioun.*
([26]) 29th September.
([27]) *Foriugez.*
([28]) *Ofte* (*? Oste*) *de tout.*

In accordance with which verdict, King Edward of England awarded the right to the realm to John de Balliol, whereupon, in presence of the said King Edward, all the magnates of Scotland yielded allegiance to John de Balliol with oath and homage, except Robert de Brus the elder, who persisted in his claim, and declared in the hearing of King Edward that he would never do homage. He surrendered the land he owned in Scotland, the Vale of Annan, to his son, the second Robert, and son of the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, who was no more willing than his father to make allegiance to the said John de Balliol; therefore he said to his son, the third Robert, who was son of the daughter and heiress of the Earl of Carrick, and was afterwards King of Scotland—'Take thou our land in Scotland, if you desire it, for never shall I become his man.' This third Robert, who was at the time a bachelor of King Edward's chamber, did homage to John de Balliol; which John was crowned after the manner of the country at Scone on Saint Andrew's day, in the year of grace 1292.

This John de Balliol had three sisters; the first, Margaret, lady of Gilsland; the second was lady de Quenci; the third had John Comyn for husband, father of him whom Robert Brus killed at Dumfries; and the said John de Balliol had but one son, named Edward.

This John de Balliol, King of Scotland, came to Newcastle-on-Tyne at Christmas next after his coronation, and there did royal homage for his realm of Scotland to King Edward the First after the Conquest; also he was seized anew of all the strong places of Scotland which were in possession of the King of England. Shortly afterwards an appeal was lodged in the court of the King of England by a gentleman of Scotland, because he could not obtain justice, as it appeared to him, in the court of the King of Scotland against one of his neighbours; wherefore King John of Scotland was summoned by writ of the King of England to do justice to the said person; on account of which the Council of Scotland was immediately disturbed.

At this same time war broke out afresh between the King of England and the King of France, arising out of doings by the Bayonnaises and the Cinque Ports,[29] mariners at Saint Mahu, against the shipping of Normandy; wherefore the Council of Scotland appointed four bishops and four earls and four barons to rule [30] the land of Scotland, by whose advice rebellion was

[29] *Fyportes.* [30] *reauler.*

planned against the King of England. Also they sent as envoys to the King of France John de Soulis and others, who made with him an alliance against the King of England; which King of England, being by no means sure about the Scots, appointed Antony, Bishop of Durham, to treat with them, and, during the ensuing negotiations at Jedworth, one of the cousins of the said Bishop of Durham, Buscy by name, was killed in a mellay among petty chiefs. Which Bishop of Durham, on the part of the King of England, demanded of the Scots hostages from the four castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, so that he might have security for them [the Scots] during the war with France. Thereafter he presented the King's writ summoning their King John to appear in person before the King of England's parliament at Newcastle-on-Tyne at mid Lent; at which place and time neither the King of Scots, nor anybody representing him, appeared. Wherefore King Edward of England marched to Scotland with a great army, [and] kept the feast of Easter at Wark, of which castle Robert de Ros was lord,(31) who deserted the service of the said King of England on the third day before the King's coming, left the castle empty, and betook himself to Sanquhar,(32) a small castle which he had in Scotland, all on account of the love *paramours* which he bore to Christian de Moubray, who afterwards would not deign to take him.(33)

At this time seven earls of Scotland, Buchan, Menteith, Strathearn, Lennox, Ross, Athol and Mar, with John Comyn and many other barons, invaded England in force, spared nothing, burnt the suburbs of Carlisle and laid siege to that place. King Edward, hearing of this, took up a position before Berwick,(34) and the first day he was there, when the King sat eating in his tent, one of his provision ships, by a blunder of her crew, went aground upon the Scottish shore close to the town, which at this time was not walled but enclosed by a high embankment. The townspeople rushed down to the ship, set her on fire and cut to pieces the crew. At the cry "Every man to arms!" in the King's host, the fierce young fellows, spurring forth mounted the banks on horseback. Then, where the townsfolk had made a path along the fosse, they [the English] entered pell-mell with those on horseback, whoever could get in first. Inside

(31) *Sires.*

(32) *Senewar.*

(33) *Qe apres ne le deigna auoir.*

(34) 28th March, 1296.

a great number of people of Fife and Forfar,[35] who were in garrison of the town, were killed. That same night the said King Edward wholly captured the town and the castle, where he made his abode, and whither came to him a Minorite friar, warden of the friars of Roxburgh, by authority of King John of Scotland bringing him letters renouncing the homage of the King of Scotland by letters patent[36] from the King and the Community of Scotland, which letters the King received and caused them to be notarially registered.

At the same time[37] the aforesaid earls of Scotland re-entered England, burnt the priory of Hexham and wrought great damage to the country. The Earl of March, Patrick-with-the-Black-Beard, who alone of all the lords of Scotland had remained obedient to the King of England, and was with the King at the taking of Berwick, came to announce to the King that his wife had received into his castle of Dunbar her kinsmen, enemies of Scotland, who had imprisoned[38] his officers and held the castle against him. He therefore asked assistance from the King, and wished to set out that very night. The King gave him the Earls of Warren and Warwick, with great supplies by sea and land, so that before sunrise next day he [March] had laid siege to the castle of Dunbar.

The lords of Scotland who were assembled, hearing of the siege, marched by night upon the place and came in the morning to Spott, between which place and Dunbar they gave battle to the said English besiegers, when the Scots were defeated [in] the first battle of this war.[39] There were taken prisoners in the castle the Earls of Menteith, Athol and Ross, and seven barons—John Comyn the younger, William de Saint Clare, Richard Syward the elder, John of Inchmartin, Alexander de Moray, Edmund Comyn of Kilbride, with nine and twenty knights, eighty esquires, who were all sent to prisons in different parts of England.

(To be continued.)

[35] *De Fyffe et de Foritherik.* Fife and Fothreve formed one of the seven territorial divisions of Scotland, comprising the modern counties of Fife and Kinross. This is a very mild description of the ferocious sack of Berwick perpetrated by Edward, 30th March, 1296.

[36] *Par lettres pupplis.*

[37] This refers to the expedition of the earls from Carlisle. Hexham was burnt 8th April, 1296.

[38] *Embote*, perhaps attacked or overpowered. [39] 28th April, 1296.

Presbytery and Popery in the Sixteenth Century

AFTER the Reformation had ousted the Church of Rome from her place of influence and authority in Scotland, the Presbyteries of the Church, which were set up in 1581, had many cases of suspected popery brought before them. This period of alarm and diligence in rooting out popery began in 1596. The proceedings of the Assembly, which met in Edinburgh on Tuesday, 30th March, of that year, when the National Covenant was renewed, is summed up, by Calderwood, in the words, 'Here end the sincere General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland.' The favour James VI. showed to the popish Lords fed the flame of alarm, and the leaders of the Church set themselves to counteract the hostile influence. The nature of these proceedings may be understood from certain doings which are recorded in the Minute Books of the Presbytery of Stirling.

I. Lady Livingstone.

Lord and Lady Livingstone were justly suspected of favour for the Roman Catholic faith, and at the General Assembly, held at Burntisland on 12th May, 1601, among the causes of defection which had 'entered in this Kirk from the puritie, zeall, and practise of religion,' was 'the education of their Majestie's children in the companie of professed, avowed, and obstinate papists, such as Ladie Livingstone,' etc. 'The King promised to transport his awin daughter fra my Ladie Livingstone before Martinmas nixt' (Row's *History*, pp. 206, 208). The Presbytery of Stirling endeavoured to win Lady Livingstone over to the true faith, and their dealings with her present interesting features of their own. The extracts given show how difficult it was to bring her into obedience to the Kirk. She was Helinor Hay, the wife of Alexander, last Lord Livingstone, who was created, in 1600, Earl of Linlithgow.

1596. July 7. 'The qlk day the minister of Falkirk was desyrit to report my lady levingstones behaveor (gif she be in his paroche) and quhow she keipis the conditionis appointed be ye last generall assemblie, he anseres that she hes neuir keipit any ane of ye saids conditionis, Bot rather it appeiris that the delay of the kirk hes wroght in hir ane greatar obstinacie & contempt of ye evangell, Inrespect Ro^t^ diksone ane alledgit Jesuit & trafficquar was receavit in ye plaice of Callendar besyd falkirk quhair he remainit ane lang spaice expres contrar ye act of parliament, And on ye first day of his receaving yair quhilk was sonday my lord levingstone remainit all day fra the kirk. My lady hes as zit on ye ruif of hir bed monuments of Idolatrie, haid a beanfyr biggit besyd ye plaice of Callendar on midsomer evin last, done be Christane hay hir gentill woman (as is reported). My lady prophanit ye last Sabboth quhair on the holie communione was ministrat & the new covenant maid in all the kirks within thir bounds be ryding to Ed^r^. Off ye quhilks the brethrein thinks meit that ye presbytrie of Ed^r^ be advertesit and thair Judgment cravit quhat yai think meit salbe done with ye said lady.' Lord Livingstone was at the same time ordered 'to communicate on Sonday nixt with the remanent parochinars of falkirk that hes not zit communicat and to mak the new covenant with the rest of Gods pepill.'

The Communion was held at that period generally on two successive Sabbaths, so as to overtake the whole of the people, and also to afford an opportunity of gathering in those whose faith might be suspected.

1596. July 28. Lady Livingstone was summoned to this day to state why the sentence of excommunication should not be pronounced against her. There compeared David Murray in Stirling and Alex^r^ Livingstone in Burnsyd who gave in some paltry excuse, such as ill health &^c^. The Presbytery ordained M^r^ Patrick Simsone (minister of Stirling) and M^r^ Adam 'Bellenden (minister of Falkirk, who afterwards became Bishop of Dunblane) 'to pass to my lord and lady Levingstone on the 2^d^ August to try the trewth of the said excuse. 2. To admoneis my ladie for not keeping of ye conditionis Injonit to hir be the last generall assemblie. . . . and gif thay ar not keipit in tyme tocum the brethrein will proceid to excommunication against hir without any admonitionis. 3. To ask hir quhow she is resoluit to thais four artickilis delyverit to hir in wret and confermit be testimoneis of holie scriptur

and ancients. To desyr My lord to remove that monument of Idolatrie To wit, the piktar of ye crucifix at ye ruif of his ladeis bed. 2. admoneis his lo. for not hanting the preichings ilk sabboth in tymes bygane and that he amend ye samin in tymes coming. 3. Qwhy he cawsit men withdraw thame selfis from ye holie communione to ryd with him on ye Sabboth expres against gods law. 4. Qwhy he absented him self fra ye holie communione the last tyme of ye ministratione yairof in his paroche kirk twa divers sondays. 5. Qwhen & quhair he last communicat. 6 Qwhy he sufferit ane beanfyr to be sett out besyd his lo. plaice on midsomer evin last to ye dishoner of god and evill exampill to all the cuntrie. 7. To confer with his lo. on ye points of religione mentionat in ye confessione of faith and finding his lo. fullie resoluit in all be his great aith to receave his subscriptione yairto. 8. To desyr his lo. to present Robart diksone befoir ye presbytrie according to his lo. promeis reported. And last to desyr his lo. quhat he will voluntarlie give to support ye Repairing of Allwn brig.' The said Commissioners to report.

On 26th August, Lady Livingstone was decerned to be excommunicated 'as ane profest papist.' On her behalf 'compeired Thomas Callendar brother to W^m^ Callendar of Banclo^t^ procurator for ye said Ladie and alledgit in hir name that she was lyand seik and my^t^ not travell to this plaice this day without dainger of hir lyf. . . . Andro miln chirurgean in Linlythgow deponit ye samin be his great aith. . . . and alleged farther that she had been continually sick since last General Assembly. 'Inrespect of the qlk alledgeance of Inhabilitie the brethrein appoints M^r^ Patrik Simsone, M^r.^ W^m.^ Stirling (minister of Kincardine) and M^r.^ Jo^ne.^ Millar (minister of Logie) to pas to ye said Lady in ye plaice of Callendar at falkirk and thair to try quhow thais conditionis conteinit in ye said act ar keipit be the said Lady and confer with hir upone ye contraverted heads of Christiane religione.'

The brethren reported, on 4th November, that they passed as instructed, but to find 'that the said Ladie was removit towards Ed^r^ on the day preceiding,' of which the brethren of the presbytery of Edinburgh were immediately apprised. Thus by pretended sickness and by moving from place to place, her ladyship managed to evade the brethren. However, on 15th December, a deputation passed to her at Linlithgow, and after long conference reported some signs of amendment, and she was ordained 'to frequent the heiring of gods word prechit in ye Kirk of

Linlithgow seing she dwells in the plaice yairof qlk is verie neir to ye kirk and that she have reiding of gods word ilk day in hir chambir.'

She continued a Roman Catholic, and was ultimately excommunicated. Her husband, Lord Livingstone, always seemed to be more pliable. At the General Assembly held at Holyrood House, on 10th November 1602, over which Mr. Patrick Galloway presided as Moderator, the King being personally present, 'Alexander, Earle of Linlithgow gave in a supplication, regraiting that his Ladie Dame Helenor Hay had not obeyit what was injoyned hir at the tyme of hir relaxation from excommunication, so that he saw nothing but that she deserved to be excommunicat againe; and seing he resolved to abyde constantlie with the trueth, and to doe what he could for hir reclameing, he intreated that he might be pitied in spairing of hir, whom he could not forgoe or quyt, being his married wife. The Assemblie resolves to superseed hir excommunication till the nixt Assemblie, provyding the king's daughter be taken out of hir companie; papists haunt not that house; that she be catechized in the true religion; and that his Lordship cause deall with hir at all tymes carefullie for hir conversion' (Row).

II. Lady Cromlix.

Another lady, who came under suspicion as a papist, was Lady Cromlix, the wife of Sir James Chisholm of Dunderne. She was more easily dealt with than Lady Livingstone.

1596. July 14. The minister of Dunblane reported that he 'requyrit and admonishit Dame Anna beattoun spous to Sir James Chisholme of Dunderne kny^t^ to Repair ather to ye kirk of Logie or S. ninian kirk to receave the holie sacrament of ye lordis Suppar the last sonday seing she receavit not ye samin in hir awin kirk the sonday preceiding, as he was appointed the last day. Quha gave him na direct anser nayer affirmative nor negative, And siclyk the ministers of S. Ninian Kirk & Logy Reports that she came not to ather of yair kirks this last sonday.' . . . She was ordained to be summoned under the pain of disobedience to answer therefor.

1596. August 4. 'Dame Anna beattoun' (Lady Cromlix) did not appear in answer to the summons but 'Sir James Chisholme of Cromlix' sent by his servant a letter of excuse, 'bearand that his wyf is disaisit of ane great humor in hir head that she is not abill to com furth of the hous to the air bot ye said humor

ordinarlie ingenereis ane extraordinar paine to hir qlk is the occasione that she may on nawayes com heir to yis assemblie.'

At next meeting, on 11th August, Sir James compeared and declared that he and his wife were fully resolved to subscribe and give their great 'aiths.'

It appears that Sir James Chisholm had been, previous to this, excommunicated for his apostacy to Popery, as at the General Assembly, held at Montrose on 24th June 1595, 'Sir James Chisholme of Cromlicks, upon his humble repentance, is relaxed fra his excommunication for his apostasie to Poperie' (Row, p. 167.). This was the reason why special oversight was taken by the Presbytery of his conduct and that of his lady. They adhered, however, to the reformed faith, and so the matter ended for the time. But, on 14th November, 1604, Lady Cromlix, now designed 'Dame Anna beattone relict of vmq^{ll} Sir Ja^{es} Chisholme of Dundern kny^{t},' is accused of 'hir absenting from the word and sacrament.' Amendment, however, is promised. On the 21st of the same month, 'the brethrein ordainis M^{r} W^{m} Stirling & M^{r} Andro Zung (minister of Dunblane) to confer with Dame Anna beattone relict of vmq^{ll} Sir James Chisholme of Dunderne kny^{t} anent hir absenting from ye word and Sacrament, and quhat she will promeis for amending yairof in tymes cuming and that thay report thair diligence heirin to the brethrein on ye xxviii of this instant.' They reported that 'thay receavit promeis of hir that she sall frequent to the preaching of god his word in tymes cunning quhen she is in the toun that seikness will permit hir and sall communicat quhen soevir hir minister sall requyr hir, and incaice she dois not or absents hir self any wayes yairfra, she is content to be Iudgit ane papist.'

III. Other Papists.

1600. November 19. 'The brethrein understanding thair is sindrie Jesuitis and papists leatlie comit to this cuntrie to subvert Chrysts trew religione publictlie professit within ye samin, quhair-of M^{r} George elphingstone son to Ro^{t} lord Elphingstone and Alex^{r} elphingstone sone to Allex^{r} maister of Elphingstone and M^{r} Edward drummond sone to vmq^{ll} henrie drummond of Rickartoun hes residence within the bounds of this presbytrie, And yairfor the brethrein ordanis thame to be summond. To give the confessione of thair faith & religione according to god his word and that confessione of faith subscryvit be the Kingis

Majestie and houshold and to subscryve ye samin, To give thair great aithis in maner & forme thairin conteinit, Be participant of the holie Sacramentis as thay ar publictlie ministrat in this cuntrie according to god his word, & to submit thame selfis to ye discipline of the trew kirk within this cuntrie establishit be our soverane lord and his esteats vndir ye paine of disobedience.'

1601. February 18, Mr Edward Drummond, above referred to, was decerned to be excommunicated for disobedience, by Mr Andro Zung, minister at Dunblane, where Drummond had his residence.

1608. November 9. Intimation was received, from the Presbytery of Perth, that Francis, Earl of Errol, had been excommunicated for apostacy.

IV. Lady Urchill.

1604. July 18. 'Mr Patrik Simsone minister at Stirling reports that Dame Elizabeth Maxwall spous to Sir Johnne grahame of Vrchill hes maid residence in this toun thir twa moneths bygaine or yairby and hes at na tyme repairit to the Kirk. And aftir she was admonesit yairof be sum brethrein direct from the eldarship of Stirling Kirk and the minister yairof beand send for he fand na thing in to hir bot taikins of papistrie. The brethrein ordainis ye said dame Elizabeth to be summond to compeir befoir this presbytrie and be admonesit in the name of god and his Kirk to mend the said fault be frequenting to ye heiring of gods word . . . vndir paine of disobedience.'

1605. November 27. 'Dame Elizabeth Maxwall spous to Sir John Grahame of Vrchill confessit that she hes red the confessione of fayth delyverit to hir be the brethrein . . . and fullie aggreis yairto in all points.'

These were the days when the discipline of the Kirk was thorough, and ministers did their duty without respect of persons. We live in different times, but it is doubtful if we are possessed with the like spirit of zeal for God's truth and the purity of His Church.

Note. The General Assembly met at Edinburgh on 20th June 1587, and noted '[certaine] Greives of the Kirk [of Scotland] assembled in Edinburgh, givin in to His Majestie [the 20 of February 1587]. 'In Striveling—Walter Buchanan, sonne to the Goodman of Auchinpryour, [and] a Flemis woman his wyfe, [both] indurat Papists, and hes causit a preist latelie to baptize thair

bairne; Helen Hay, Mistres of Levingstoun, a malicious Papist; the Sabboth ther is everie quher abused and profained; the Kirks ill plantit; scarcelie 3 hes Ministers. Superstitious ceremonies, pilgrimages to Chrysts Well (in Menteith), fasting, [festives] benfyres, girdles, carrells, and such lyke.'

'Of Dumblaine—The Bishop of Dumblaine restored, and latelie came home, and accompanied with a stranger, Frenchman, or Italian, supposed be many probable appearances, by men of great judgment, to be imployed here in some strange turne. His coming hath encouraged all suspected papists, and brought the simple in great doubts, for by his authority he draweth all with him in the old dance. The ministers are hereby despised and troubled in their livings; and the Kirks ruined and desolat.'—*Booke of the Universall Kirk*, p. 721. Among those excommunicated, and given up by the brethren to the General Assembly on 26 April 1593, at Dundee, were 'Sir Henrie Oswald, within the parochin of Strageith, excommunicat for papestrie, be Mr. James Burton in Peblis, the fourth of March 1592; Sir William Blakwod in Dumblane, excommunicat for papestrie; Robert Clerk in Ochterardour, excommunicat for incest with Elspet Scot, be Mr. Johne Bondroune, Superintendent of Fyff.'—*Ibid.* p. 803. At this time there were the following 'Kirkis vacand within the Presbiterie of Dumblane: Abirfuill, Kilmahuge, Callendar, Leny, Port, Kilbryd, Balquhidder, Comrie, Tullicheddilly, Sowan [Strowan], Monivard, Stragethe, Kinkell, Abirruthven.' The Bishop of Dunblane, above referred to, was Andrew Graham, youngest son of William, Earl of Montrose, who was consecrated in 1575, and in the following year the charge of the Kirk of Dunblane was assigned him by the Assembly; but he was ordained, in 1588, to repair his Church, which was ruinous, and he was deposed from the ministry 24th July 1594, being non-resident, and having 'at na tyme preichit God's word, ministrat the sacraments, nor execut discipline (at Dunblane) the space of sevin zeiris bygane.'—Scott's *Fasti*. IV. 839.

R. Menzies Fergusson, M.A.

The First Highland Regiment

The Argyllshire Highlanders

WHEN King James vacated the throne of England and Scotland, and the Revolution of 1688 was an accomplished fact, William of Orange found himself confronted with a war in Flanders, a war in Ireland, open mutiny amongst the troops in England, and an almost certain Jacobite insurrection in Scotland—a train of circumstances which necessitated an increase in the army.

Amongst those who accompanied the new King to England was Archibald Campbell, who, since the execution of his father, the ninth Earl of Argyll in 1685, had been an exile in Holland, but had since been restored to the property and family dignities. To shew his gratitude to the new Government, and not without an eye to his own further interests, the new Earl, in view of the trouble in Scotland, proposed to raise a regiment of 600 men from among his tenants in the Western Highlands. The offer being readily accepted, the following order[1] was issued to raise the regiment: 'The Estates of the Kingdome of Scotland, considering that the Earl of Argyle Hes made ane offer to Levie one Regiment of six hundred foot to be commanded by him as Collonell, And to be Imployed in the service of His Majestie William, By the Grace of God King of Great Britain, Ffrance, and Ireland; And the Estates Reposing speciall trust and confidence in the fidelitie, couradge, and good conduct of the said Earl of Argyle, Have therefor nominated, constitute, and appointed, And by these presents Doe nominat, constitute, and appoynt The said Earl of Argyle to be Collonell of a Regiment of foot, appointed by the act of the said Estates of dait of these presents, to be levied by him as said is, consisting of ten companies

[1] *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ix.

and sixtie men in each company; with full power to the said Earl of Argyle to nominat the Livetennant Collonell and Major of the said Regiment, and the Captaines and inferior officers of the several companies, and to grant commissions accordingly; And to command and exercise the said regiment, both officers and souldiers, carefully and dilligently; and to keep them in good order and discipline; And to do and act all things competent and incumbent for any collonell of foot to doe and performe; Requiring and commanding thereby all officers and souldiers of the said Regiment to give due obedience to the said Earl of Argyle as their collonell, and to their respective commanding officers; and, further, the Estates doe hereby command and require the said Earl of Argyle to observe and prosecute such orders and directiones as he shall receive from tyme to tyme from them, or from Major Generall M'Kay, present Commander in Chiefe of the forces of this Kingdome, or any other commander in chiefe for the tyme, or any superior officers, according to the rules and discipline of warr; and the Estates Doe Declair that each company, both officers and souldiers, is to enter in pay after the same is mustered compleat, and the field officers after the wholl regiment is mustered; and that this commissione shall continue untill the King's most excellent Majestie shall be pleased to grant new commissions for the said regiment, or otherwayes dispose thereof. Signed by Warrand, and in the name of ye Estates,

HAMILTON.

22nd April, 1689. President.'

No definite information regarding the uniform worn by this regiment of Argyllshire Highlanders is at present obtainable; but it is believed that it was similar to that of an English line regiment of the period, substituting the round blue bonnet for the English cocked hat. Above the door of Dunstaffnage House is a coat of arms, carved, which formerly stood over the door of the old castle. It has for supporters what are believed to be two privates of Argyll's Regiment in 1692. I am indebted to Dunstaffnage for a steel engraving done from the stone carving over his door. With the exception of the head-dress, which is a Scottish round flat bonnet such as is now worn, the uniform closely resembles the uniform of an ordinary line regiment of the period.

Campbells were, naturally, a predominating element in the

regiment: of the first nine principal officers appointed six bore that name.[2] The Earl of Argyll, colonel also of the Dumbarton and Bute Militia, was the colonel and captain, and Sir Duncan Campbell, Bart., M.P., of Auchenbreck,[3] the lieutenant-colonel and captain; the field officers, as was customary in those days, also commanding companies. The other captains appointed were Archibald M'Aulay of Ardincaple;[4] James Campbell, younger of Ardkinglass;[5] Archibald Lamont of Lamont;[6] Archibald Campbell of Torrie;[7] Archibald Campbell of Barbreck;[8] Hector Bannatyne, younger of Kames;[9] and John Campbell of Airds.[10]

[2] *State Papers, Domestic Series*; and Dalton's *Army Lists and Commission Registers*, 1661-1714, a most valuable and accurate work, to which I am much indebted.

[3] Lieut.-Colonel Sir Duncan Campbell, 4th Bart., and 9th Laird, of Auchinbreck. Late Captain Wauchope's Regt. in Holland, 1688-89. Son of Archibald Campbell of Knockmillie, and grandson of Sir Duncan Campbell, 7th Laird. Succeeded his uncle as 4th Bart.; married Henrietta, daughter of 1st Earl of Balcarres. Became Lieut.-Colonel Buchan's Regt., 1691.

[4] Eldest son of Aulay M'Aulay of Ardincaple, Dunbartonshire; his younger brother, Robert, was afterwards a captain in the regiment. The property was sold by Aulay M'Aulay, the 12th and last of the chiefs, to the 4th Duke of Argyll, about the year 1760.

[5] Son of James Campbell of Ardkinglass, descended from the Campbells of Lorn. His elder brother, Sir Colin Campbell, Bart., became Sheriff of Argyll, to whom Glencoe took the oath. The property passed into the Livingstone family, and thence to Colonel James Callender, afterwards Sir James Campbell.

[6] Of Lamont, Argyllshire, a clan which seems to have undergone at one time some persecution at the hands of certain chiefs of the clan Campbell, for the massacre of the Lamonts formed one of the charges brought against the Marquis of Argyll in 1661, although he does not seem to have been any party to it.

[7] Of Torrie, Dunbartonshire. Eldest son of Archibald Campbell, 7th Captain of Dunstaffnage, by his second marriage.

[8] Of Barbreck, Craignish; also in Dunbarton and Bute Militia. Eldest son of Donald Campbell of Barbreck, Colonel of Horse in Argyllshire, 1648. A descendant of Colin, natural son of the 4th Earl of Argyll. The estate passed to the Duke of Argyll in 1732.

[9] Of Kames, Isle of Bute. The property passed in the female line to the wife of Roderick MacLeod, W.S., whose son, Sir William MacLeod Bannatyne, a well-known judge, assumed the name of Bannatyne, and was created Lord Bannatyne in 1799. He sold the property.

[10] Sir John Campbell of Airds, 3rd Bart., son of Sir George Campbell, 2nd Bart., who succeeded his uncle Sir John, 1st Bart., of Airds and Ardnamurchan. But neither he nor his father assumed the baronetcy, which was taken up, however, by the 6th Bart. of Airds. He left the regiment in 1694.

I am indebted to Sir Duncan Campbell, Bart., of Barcaldine, for kindly assisting me in identifying these officers.

The recruiting of the regiment was fairly quickly completed in the Western Highlands, but not before the battle of Killiecrankie had restored to James the whole country beyond the Forth. And, looking to the probabilities of the case, nothing saved the rest of Scotland from a similar fate but the death of the gallant Dundee. However, the regiment is soon found engaged in its unenviable duty of coercing its fellow countrymen; no doubt hoping to be even with some of the clans, for the Campbells had some old scores to wipe out. The Lowlands at this time were peaceful and progressive enough under the new Government, but the emblems of civil war still smouldered in the Highlands. There the poverty of the people and the want of industrial employment made peace anything but welcome to the chiefs or their retainers. There was ample occupation, therefore, for the Argyll Highlanders in reducing the strongholds of those who still held out for King James, in suppressing cattle stealing and other raids, and in otherwise maintaining order among rival clans. If there was little love lost between the Campbells and the Jacobite clans, and if the duties of the regiment were sometimes carried out in a manner which would now-a-days be considered unnecessarily severe, allowance must be made for the custom of the times, and for the manner in which the Campbells had themselves suffered. Only five years back the head of their clan, the ninth Earl, had been put to death, his property confiscated, and his sons exiled. Within the same period their lands had been overrun by ten of the Jacobite clans, who drove the population into the woods, and pillaged and burned their homes.

Deprived of their one capable leader in Dundee, the Highlanders after Killiecrankie were helpless. His death, in the moment of victory, broke the only bond which held them together, and in a few weeks the host which had spread terror through the Lowlands melted hopelessly away. The clans returned to their mountains, not forgetting to load themselves with plunder on the way. The opportunity was not lost on 'Coll of the Cows,' as Macdonald of Keppoch was called on account of his lifting propensities. With his own men and the Macdonalds of Glencoe he made his way through Perthshire, spoiling the lands and goods of Campbell of Glenlyon, a man who could ill afford the loss. By this raid,[11] which was carried out in violation of the Protection order which Glenlyon had

[11] *The Lairds of Glenlyon.* Priv. pub. 1886.

received from the Commander-in-Chief of King James' Army, Glenlyon and his few dependents lost their whole stock—all they had in the world—estimated at some £8000 of Scots money—a large sum in those days. To the unfortunate Laird, who had already suffered considerable misfortune, it meant such complete ruin that, driven in his advancing years, for he then bordered on sixty, to earn his daily bread, he was glad to accept a company in the Argyllshire Highlanders, in which he was destined to achieve an unfortunate notoriety.

By the end of 1689 the Argyllshire Highlanders—as the regiment may properly be called—were busy at work, one detachment under Captain John Campbell of Airds being specially employed in an effort to reduce what was clearly his own property —Castle Stalcaire or Island Stalker, between Lismore and Appin, but which was then held for the young Laird of Appin by his tutor John Stewart of Ardsheal fresh from leading the clan at Killiecrankie. The castle, which was strongly placed and well fortified, had been disposed of by the Stewarts of Appin some years before, but as Hereditary Keepers they had seized and held it for the King. In July, 1690, the headquarters of the regiment were at Perth, whence they marched to Stirling in anticipation of a descent of the Jacobites, but as that never came off the regiment was moved into Argyllshire, with Glencairn's Regiment,[12] for the purpose of reducing the Isles, the Earl of Argyll specially devoting himself to the strongholds in Mull. The castle of Island Stalker surrendered to him on the 9th October, 1690, and, to his credit, he treated the defenders considerately, and gave them honourable terms. After this he tried his hand hard at the castles of Duart and Cairnburgh, strongholds of the young Sir John Maclaine, the chief of that clan. Though the Highlands were comparatively quiet at this time, the war still smouldered, and the pacification of the clans was slow work. The attempt at bribing the chiefs had failed, and the Government were getting impatient, for they wanted the troops in Flanders. This was the situation when a suspension of arms between the 30th June and 1st October, 1691, was agreed upon, during which time negotiations for a permanent pacification went on. In August a proclamation was issued promising an indemnity to all Jacobites who should swear allegiance to William and Mary before the 1st January, 1692, and threatening with the

[12] Raised in Scotland, 1689, and commanded by John, 11th Earl of Glencairn. Disbanded 1690.

severest penalties those who should neglect the offer. And it is in connection with the enforcement of this order that occurs the one dark spot in the history of the Argyllshire Highlanders. The story of the Massacre of Glencoe has often been repeated, though rarely with strict regard to accuracy in detail, but it is impossible to avoid reference to it in this account of the regiment.

Most of the chiefs took the alarm at the proclamation, and escaped the threatened danger by tendering their allegiance before the appointed day, except Macdonald of Glencoe, whose pride delayed his taking the oath till after the latest date fixed by the proclamation; and, even then, the fact of his having sworn allegiance was not permitted to save him and his clan. Glencoe is a wild and somewhat gloomy vale in the district of Lorn, Argyllshire, but for beauty and grandeur is excelled by few passes in Scotland. Mists and storms brood over it through a great part of the finest summer, while, even on those days when the sun is bright and the sky cloudless, the impression made by the landscape is somewhat sad, though not quite such a Valley of the Shadow of Death as Macaulay so picturesquely describes it.

Sentence of extermination against the clan having gone forth from the King, through the influence of the Earl of Breadalbane and the Master of Stair, the instructions for the carrying out of the same were made clear and unmistakable. They were issued by Brigadier-General Sir Thomas Livingstone,[13] Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, through Colonel John Hill,[14] Governor of

[13] Eldest son of Sir Thomas Livingstone, 1st Bart. of Newbigging. Succeeded the Earl of Dunmore as Colonel of the Royal Scots Dragoons, 31st December, 1688. Gained a decisive victory over the Highland army at Cromdale, in May, 1690. Appointed Brigadier-General, and Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, 1691. Created Viscount Teviot, 4th December, 1696. Commanded a brigade in Flanders in 1697. Lieut.-General, 1st January, 1704. Disposed of his regiment to Lord John Hay, 1704. Died in London, 14th January, 1711, aged 60, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

[14] Colonel, afterwards Sir John Hill, was an old soldier who had commanded at Inverlochy under Cromwell, and knew the Highlands well. At the time of the Revolution he was serving in Belfast, and had performed good service to the Protestant cause in Ireland. He returned to Scotland in 1690, raised the regiment which bore his name, became Governor of Fort William, which was built under his direction on the site of the old fort at Inverlochy. He is said to have been a kind hearted man, and not disposed to favour the massacre, the arrangements for which were therefore left to his second in command, Lieut.-Colonel James Hamilton. He was placed on half pay, 1698. In the *Dictionary of National Biography* he is described incorrectly as of Argyll's Regiment, to which he never at any time belonged, and is also confused with the Governor of Montserrat who died in 1697.

Fort-William, to Lieutenant-Colonel James Hamilton,[15] each of whom perfectly understood the treachery about to be practised. 'The work,' wrote the Master of Stair to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, who willingly undertook it, 'must be secret and sudden.' The troops were chosen from Hill's Regiment[16] and the Argyllshire Highlanders—the latter not on good terms with the clansmen of Glencoe. On the 12th February, 1692, 400 of Hill's Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel James Hamilton, and a similar number of the Argyllshire under Major Robert Duncanson,[17] were ordered to Glencoe to co-operate on the following morning with Captain Robert Campbell of Glenlyon's company of the Argylls, which had been quartered peacefully in the Glen among the Macdonalds for some twelve days till all suspicion of their errand had disappeared. Indeed, during that time, he and his men had been living on the most friendly terms as the guests of those who were soon to be their victims; and so that there should be no inkling of what was intended, his men were not informed of the duty on which they were bent until the company paraded while still dark on the fatal morning of Saturday, the 13th February. Tradition says that the tune known as the Breadalbane March, the 'Carles with the Breeks,' and the 'Wives of the Glen,' was played by Glenlyon's piper on this occasion in the hope of warning the M'Ians of their danger. It is said that one M'Ian wife heeded the warning, and fled to the hills with her child, saving his life:

> 'Wives of wild Cona Glen, Cona Glen, Cona Glen,
> Wives of wild Cona Glen wake from your slumbers;
> Early I woke this morn, early I woke this morn,
> Woke to alarm you with music's wild numbers.'

Without waiting for Hamilton's and Duncanson's detachments, which had been delayed by a storm of unusual severity, the troops, as arranged, fell upon their unarmed and unsuspecting hosts, and in a few minutes thirty of the clansmen with their chief lay dead—Hamilton's and Duncanson's parties arriving later

[15] Lieut.-Colonel James Hamilton was Lieut.-Colonel and second in command of Hill's Regiment, 1690, and Deputy Governor of Fort-William. The arrangements for the massacre were placed in his hands. He left the service in 1694.

[16] Raised 2nd September, 1690, to garrison Fort-William by Colonel, afterwards Sir John Hill: disbanded 18th February, 1698.

[17] Of the family of Duncanson of Fassokie, Stirlingshire, noted adherents of the house of Argyll. Appointed Lieut. Beveridge's (14th) Foot, 16th February, 1689; Capt.-Lieut., 24th September, 1689; left, 1st July, 1690. Appointed Major, Argyllshire Highlanders, 1691; Lieut.-Col., 1695-1698. See also page 40.

and completing the tragedy; the rest of the Macdonalds, sheltered by the storm, escaped to the mountains to perish, for the most part of cold and hunger. It fell to the lot of Campbell of Glenlyon and his two subalterns—Lieutenant Lindsay and Ensign John Lundie—with a Captain Thomas Drummond, to act the principal parts in the tragedy, though Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton and Major Duncanson acted with great brutality when they did arrive.

Glenlyon has been credited with perhaps an undue amount of the odium which very properly attaches to the massacre. If anything can be permitted to condone the breach of hospitality, treachery, and murder of which he was guilty, it is to be found in the positive orders he received from his superior officer,[18] and in the provocation which he had received at the hands of the Macdonalds. With the Macdonalds of Keppoch they had completely ruined him and his clan: indeed his wife and family were at that very time struggling at home against the severest poverty. Glenlyon's life had been an unfortunate one. He was originally a man of prepossessing appearance and fine physique. He it was who in 1680 marched with the Breadalbane and Glenlyon men into Caithness in hostile array to reduce the refractory Sinclairs to obedience—the occasion on which tradition says that his piper improvised the well-known pibroch of 'The Carles with the Breeks,'[19] also known as the Breadalbane march. In his youth he was unfortunately addicted to gambling and display, to which in later days he added an excessive love for wine. With his wife's extravagance his misfortunes increased, until his affairs were brought to a climax and ruin by the Macdonald raid in 1689. After this he appears to have existed on the charity of Breadalbane, who had to supply his outfit to enable him to accompany the regiment to Flanders.[20] He died at Bruges on the 2nd August, 1696, in the sixty-fifth year of his age—a broken man.

[18] In an official letter received from Major Duncanson of his regiment, dated the 12th February, 1692, he was warned at the peril of losing his commission and the good will of the Government to carry out his instructions to the letter.

[19] The tune has also been attributed to Breadalbane's piper, Finlay M'Ivor, on the occasion of the Caithness raid in 1680. But it has an earlier association with Coll Kitto (MacDonald) or Left-handed Coll at the time of some raiding and plundering on a considerable scale about the year 1645, when it is said to have been played by his piper, then a prisoner in the hands of the Campbells, as a warning to his master not to approach.

[20] *The Lairds of Glenlyon.* Priv. pub., 1886.

The degree of the Earl of Argyll's complicity in the massacre is not easy to determine. As commanding officer of the regiment, he must have been aware of the sentence of extermination which had been pronounced against the Macdonalds, but there is no evidence of his being a party to the treachery by which it was accompanied. Lockhart[21] describes him as 'in outward appearance a good natured, civil, and modest gentleman,' whose actions were quite otherwise; while in Lochiel's[22] eyes he appears a man of a frank, noble, and generous disposition. Judging from his conduct generally in the awkward duty upon which he was employed in the Highlands as colonel of his regiment, one is disposed to view his character in the more favourable light. The chief blame surely lies with those who conceived the massacre—the Earl of Breadalbane and the Master of Stair, and with the King, who so readily acquiesced in the scheme. Nor is it to the credit of King William that, when the affair became public and the prosecution of the chief offenders was recommended by the Committee of Enquiry, he made no effort to move in the matter. The subordinates, remorseless tools though they were, merely obeyed the orders of their superior officers.[23]

Within a few weeks of these events the Argyllshire Highlanders received orders to march to Leith, with a view to early embarkation to join the army in Flanders. The order was far from popular with the men, who with difficulty concealed their aversion to leaving their country. The feeling was not, however, accompanied with anything like insubordination. It was merely the outcome of that pardonable devotion to their homes and those dear to them which characterised all the Highlanders of Scotland; feelings such as inspired Allan Ramsay's words in 'Farewell to Lochaber':

> 'The tears that I shed they're a' for my dear,
> And no for the dangers attending on weir;
> Though borne on rough seas to a far bloody shore,
> Maybe to return to Lochaber no more.'

We find the regiment, however, at Brentford in the summer of 1692, and it did not for various reasons sail for Flanders till the

[21] Lockhart's *Memoirs*. [22] *Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel.*

[23] A very able criticism of Lord Macaulay's account of the massacre appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* for July, 1859. But the writer is not free from inaccuracy. For instance Colonel Hill was not knighted on account of his connection with the massacre, nor did Glenlyon ever become a Colonel, as is stated.

following spring, about the time King William was preparing to confront the superior numbers of the French under Louis XIV. William was at his best as a soldier: indeed he never appeared quite at ease except in the field of battle, where he repeatedly proved his high personal courage. Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Jackson [24] took the regiment out, and if bravery in the field could atone for their unfortunate connection with the Glencoe affair, it will be found that the Argyll men did their utmost to wipe away the stain which attached to their name.

In May, 1693, the regiment was encamped at Parck, with the army under King William covering Brussels and Upper Brabant, and formed part of the Scots Brigade under Brigadier-General Ramsay. On the 1st July it was detached with a force of 8,000 Infantry and 600 Cavalry under the Prince of Würtemburg, and bore the brunt of the fighting on the 9th July, when the Count D'Alfeldt's Division played a brilliant part in forcing the fortified lines between the rivers Scheldt and Lys at D'Otignies, and drove the French from their entrenchments with heavy loss.[25] The regiment eminently distinguished itself on this occasion, the Grenadier company under Captain Thomas Drummond leading the attack on Pont David. Without wincing, his Grenadiers kept steadily on in the face of the enemy's fire till they gained the parapet of the redoubt. The French fire was tremendous. Both the subalterns dropped; and, before the main body could reach the redoubt, the company was reduced to a few scattered men, still fighting on against thirty times their number. At the end of the day more than a quarter of Drummond's company lay dead on the ground. The regiment afterwards accompanied Würtemburg's Division of the Allied Army, destined for the relief of Charleroi; but King William abandoned the enterprise. Charleroi fell on the 1st of October, the campaign closed, and the regiment went into winter quarters at Bruges. The year 1693 had not been a profitable one for the Allies. They had suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the renowned Duke of Luxembourg at Landen, as at Steinkirk the year before. 'Am I always to be beaten by that hunchback?' exclaimed the King, passionately, alluding to the victorious French Marshal, who was

[24] Lieut.-Colonel Robert Jackson was appointed Captain in Tollemache's regiment in Holland, 1688; Lieut.-Colonel, Lord Cardross' Dragoons, 1689; Lieut.-Colonel, Argyllshire Highlanders, vice Sir Duncan Campbell, 1691; Lieut.-Colonel, Sir John Hill's regiment at Fort William, 1694; Died, 1696.

[25] D'Auvergne's *Campaign in Flanders*, 1693.

somewhat deformed. William III. was a soldier and a general of no mean order, but in strategy he was much inferior to Luxembourg, who was known in France as the *tapissier* of Notre Dame, from his having upholstered that Cathedral with so many captured flags. Macaulay has given a vivid portrait of William at the battle of Landen, and his admirable retreat from that fatal field.

Shortly after the arrival of the Argyllshire Highlanders in Flanders some busybody reported to King William that certain men of the regiment were in the habit of drinking to King James's health; which was quite possible, seeing that many of the Campbells were known to have strong leanings in favour of the Stuarts and hereditary right, although, since the restitution of the MacCailean-Mores to their homes and dignities, they kept their feelings quiet. Turning to General Tollemache—the Talmash of *Tristram Shandy*—the King asked how they behaved in the field. 'As well as any troops in the army,' was the reply. 'Well, then,' rejoined the sensible King, 'if only they fight for me, why, let them drink my father-in-law's health as often as they please.'[26]

In March, 1694, the Earl of Argyll resigned the colonelcy of the regiment in favour of his son John, Lord Lorne, then a lad of fifteen, who was duly appointed captain of a company and colonel on the 7th April. The other principal officers at this time were Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Jackson, Major Robert Duncanson, Captains Neil Campbell, Duncan Campbell, Thomas Drummond (Grenadiers), Colin Campbell, senior, Colin Campbell, junior, Robert MacAulay, Alexander Campbell of Finab,[27] John Louis de la Bené, George Somerville, and Robert Campbell of Glenlyon. The Earl of Argyll, if not a great soldier, had performed useful service in Scotland since the Revolution. By considerable tact he had, through the influence of religion,

[26] Colonel Clifford Walton, C.B., in his *History of the Standing Army*, 1660-1700, tells the story of another regiment.

[27] Son of Robert Campbell, and great grandson of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, 'Black Duncan.' Appointed Captain, Argyllshire Highlanders, 1st August, 1693. In 1699 went to Darien for the African and Indian Company of Scotland to regulate their affairs there, and for his services was presented with a gold medal specially struck in his honour. Appointed Captain of an additional company in the Cameronians, 24th June, 1701. Brevet Lieut.-Colonel, 29th March, 1703. Served with the Argyllshire Militia against the Jacobites in the '15. Is credited with having commanded one of the Independent companies which were incorporated in the Black Watch in 1739, but I am assured by the Marchioness of Tullibardine that he died before they were raised.

gradually habituated his followers to the new order of things, till the country of the Campbells exhibited a picture of peacefulness and civilization in strong contrast to the rest of the Highlands. In 1696 he was appointed Colonel of the Scots Troop of Life Guards. He was created a Duke 23rd June, 1701, became Major-General 12th May, 1702, and died at Newcastle, on his way to Scotland, on the 28th September, 1703, and was buried at Kilmun, the burying-place of the family of Argyll.

In 1694 the army of 90,000 men which William commanded did no more than hold the French successfully at bay; year after year he had to fight against odds. Soon after the campaign of 1695 opened, the regiment, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Hume,[28] recently appointed in place of Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson, was detached with a large force, under Major-General Ellenberg, to garrison Dixmude, which was invested by the French. This General, a Danish officer who had risen from the ranks, was in command. Of supplies and munitions of all descriptions there were plenty. The works were not strong, but the place was capable of a prolonged resistance. Not twenty-four hours, however, had elapsed after the trenches were opened before Ellenberg beat a parley and called a Council of War. He laid before the Council the condition of the place, and proposed a capitulation, to which, after some persuasion, the majority of the officers consented. But Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Duncanson, who had succeeded Lieutenant-Colonel Hume in the command of the Argyllshire Highlanders, though the youngest in the Council of War, flatly refused to give his adherence.[29] With only one supporter, he urged that as yet there was no breach, and the enemy had not effected a lodgement in the counterscarp, and to talk of surrender was dishonourable. The General, however, obtained a majority, and the capitulation was signed the next day—17th July, 1695. It is recorded that the soldiers forming the garrison were greatly exasperated when required to lay down their arms and surrender their colours as prisoners of war. The Argyll men were loud in their remonstrance, and, to their credit and honour be it said, rather than the colours under which they had fought so well should fall into the hands of the enemy, they tore them from the poles and destroyed

[28] Lieut.-Colonel Hume, who was appointed Lieut.-Colonel of the regiment in 1695, only served a few months. He was mortally wounded when serving on the staff of General Ramsay at the siege of Namur, and died in July, 1695.

[29] D'Auvergne's *Campaign in Flanders*, 1695.

them.[30] General Ellenberg was tried by Court Martial, and beheaded; O'Farrel was cashiered and imprisoned; while most of the others who had signed the capitulation were broke. The officers and men of the garrison were shortly afterwards released, and the regiment went into winter quarters at Damme. The year's campaign ended in a great triumph over the French in the capture of Namur, which would have been more marked had King William been able to follow it up by a victory in the field.

The campaigns of 1696 and 1697 were uneventful, the duty of the regiment consisting chiefly in protecting Bruges, Nieuport, and the neighbourhood. The war, in fact, was fast drawing to a close, and when King William returned to Holland in the spring of the latter year, peace negotiations were on the point of being opened at Ryswick. No further military operations took place, and it only remains to add that France, reduced to utter exhaustion, was only too ready to consent to peace, which was concluded by England, the United Provinces, and Spain on the 10th September, 1697: the Emperor definitely acceded on the 30th October. And so ended the military service of the Argyllshire Highlanders, the first Highland regiment raised for the British Standing Army. For though there was an Independent Foot Company of 'Highland men' on the Scottish establishment in 1678, and a similar 'Company of Highlanders' was raised by Lieutenant-General Hugh Mackay in 1689, there appears to have been no Highland Regiment on the establishment prior to the raising of the Argyllshire Highlanders in 1689. The late Colonel Clifford Walton, C.B., in his *History of the British Army, 1660-1700*, claims the distinction for Colonel George Hamilton's Scottish Regiment of Foot. But Hamilton's Regiment, though raised in Scotland, was apparently not raised in the Highlands. Nor was it formed until more than three years after Argyll's regiment.[31] The Argyllshire Highlanders were disbanded in

[30] *Treasury Papers*, vol. 83.

[31] See Dalton's *Army Lists and Commission Registers*, 1661-1714, vol. iii. Hamilton's Regiment was raised, 1st February, 1693, by Colonel Sir James Moncrieff, Bart., who died the same year, when he was succeeded by Colonel George Hamilton, not to be confounded with Lieut.-Colonel James Hamilton who was implicated in the massacre of Glencoe. In February, 1794, the regiment went to England, and embarked shortly afterwards for Flanders, serving there until the Peace of Ryswick when it returned to Scotland. In 1701 it was taken into the service of the States General, in which it continued all through the wars of Queen Anne, behaving itself on all occasions with unquestionable fidelity. It was disbanded at Bergen-op-Zoom, 1st November, 1714, when the officers were sent adrift 'without half-pay or any allowance whatsoever.'

Flanders, the officers and men returning home by the end of 1697, the former being placed on half-pay in 1698.

Lord Lorne's connection with the regiment had been very slight, though he nominally commanded it since April, 1694. He succeeded his father as second Duke of Argyll in 1703, and was created Duke of Greenwich in 1719. Pope immortalized him in the well-known lines:

> 'Argyll, the State's whole thunder born to wield,
> And shake alike the Senate and the field.'

But we are concerned with him here as a soldier. He served as a general officer under Marlborough at Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, in which last-named battle he greatly distinguished himself by his extraordinary bravery. He served also at the sieges of Ostend, Menin, Lille, and Ghent. As Lieutenant-General he commanded at the siege of Tournay, where he was wounded. In February, 1711, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Spain, with the rank of General. After his return he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Scotland and Governor of Edinburgh Castle. He commanded the Government troops at Sheriffmuir against the Jacobite forces. He held at different times the colonelcy of the 3rd Foot, the Scots Troop of Life Guards, the 2nd Dragoon Guards, and the Royal Horse Guards. He was also Master-General of the Ordnance, Field Marshal, and Commander-in-Chief, besides being a K.G. and K.T. He died in October, 1743.

Lieutenant-Colonel Duncanson, whose admirable conduct in command of the Argyllshire Highlanders atoned in some measure for his unfortunate connection with the Glencoe affair, was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Earl of Huntingdon's Regiment (afterwards the 33rd) on 12th February, 1702; Brevet Colonel in the Army, 1st November, 1703; Colonel of Huntingdon's Regiment, 22nd February, 1705; and died as a soldier, being killed at the siege of Valencia de Alcantara on the 8th May, 1705.

Robert MacKenzie Holden.

Charles the Second: His connection with Art and Letters

WE are over ready to think of the Restoration period as one of disgrace merely in our annals; we can spare a word, now and then, for its wit and its art. Charles the Second was a typical nobleman of his time; he loved pleasures of all sorts, including those of art. Horace Walpole styles him 'The only genius of the line of Stuart.'[1] Mr. Cyril Ransome credits him with 'consummate ability,' and calls him 'a man of great natural sagacity';[2] and the truth of the historian's comments must be owned by all acquainted, either with the political history of Charles's reign, or with its lively indecorous memoirs.

'Perfectly a friend to ease, and fond of pleasure' is the Merry Monarch's character as described by Sir John Reresby, who also declares that it was not in Charles' nature 'to think or perplex himself much about anything.'[3]

On the 16th of May, 1663, Samuel Pepys regrets 'that the king do mind nothing but pleasures and hates the very sight or thoughts of business.'[4] But many facts prove that among the pleasures Charles loved were those of Art. His boyhood was not without intellectual promise. 'I wish you could see the gentleman,' writes Henrietta Maria, in an early letter concerning her son, 'for he has no ordinary mien; he is so serious in all that he does that I cannot help deeming him far wiser than myself.'[5] His own early letters are bright. The following, to

[1] *Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors*, by Horace Walpole, art. James the Second.

[2] *A Short History of England*, by Cyril Ransome, M.A., pp. 277 and 264 (Longmans).

[3] *Memoirs and Travels of Sir John Reresby, Bart.*, pp. 163 and 198 (Dryden House Memoirs edition).

[4] *Pepys' Diary*, p. 154.

[5] *Charles II.*, by Osmund Airy, p. 3 (Goupil's edition).

the Duke of Newcastle, was written when Charles was about ten years of age :

'My Lord,—I would not have you take too much physic, for it doth always make me worse, and I think it will do the like with you. I ride every day, and am ready to follow any other directions from you. Make haste to return to him that loves you.

Charles P.' [6]

The recipient of this letter, well-known as the husband of Charles Lamb's heroine ('that princely woman—the thrice noble Margaret Newcastle') was Charles the Second's first tutor. Clarendon describes the Duke as 'amorous in poetry and music, to which he indulged the greatest part of his time.' [7] At this period also, the more literary side of the prince's education was entrusted to Brian Duppa, a scholar of note.[8] In 1641 Charles was removed to the charge of the Marquess of Hertford, who, according to Clarendon, 'loved his book above all exercises.' [9] His third and last tutor was the Earl of Berkshire. Clarendon declares that this nobleman was unsuited to the charge; but the others, as has been shown, were well qualified to teach a prince who was to become associated with art and letters.

Though his love for these things was chiefly noticeable after the Restoration, yet once, in the course of his flight from Worcester, Charles showed an interest in books. He was hiding at Mosely, the house of one Thomas Whitgreave—'a very honest gentleman's house,' according to the account Charles dictated to Pepys. 'The morning after his arrival there,' so Whitgreave himself writes, Charles came into the 'studie,' where, 'looking upon severall books, he saw Mr. Turbervill's Catechisme, and read a little of itt, said itt was a pretty book, and that he would take it with him.' [10]

According to Laurence Echard [11] (1670?-1730) and Clarendon, Charles, when at Cologne in 1654-55, spent much time in study.

[6] *Ellis's Original Letters*, vol. iii., pp. 286 and 287.

[7] *History of the Great Rebellion*, by Edward Hyde, Lord Clarendon, vol. iii., p. 393 (edition of 1799).

[8] *Dictionary of National Biography*, art. Brian Duppa.

[9] *Clarendon*, vol. i., p. 603.

[10] *After Worcester Fight*, by Allan Fea, p. 166.

[11] *Memoirs of the Court of England*, by John Heneage Jesse, vol. ii., p. 453 (Bohn's edition).

Clarendon writes: ' . . . and he, being well refreshed with the divertissments he had enjoyed, betook himself with great cheerfulness to compose his mind to his fortune, and with a marvellous contentedness prescribed so many hours in the day to his retirement in his closet; which he employed in reading and studying both the Italian and French languages; . . .' [12]

This is a flattering picture! At this time Charles was well aware that it was politic to establish a good character.

II.

The name of Charles I. must ever be associated with the history of painting. It did not fall to his son's lot to foster the genius of a Vandyke or a Rubens. Yet Charles the Second inherited some part of his father's taste for the plastic arts, and he patronised painting and architecture.

At the Restoration Lely was at once advanced in high favour by Charles the Second, who gave him a pension, and kept him constantly employed. From that time to his death, Lely's career was one of success and popularity. Charles himself frequently visited the artist's studio, and treated him as a personal friend. Lely was knighted at Whitehall on the 11th of January, 1679, and received a grant of arms.[13] Another artist patronised by the king was William van de Velde. A native of Leyden, he was invited by Charles to England, where he arrived in 1675. He became 'painter of sea fights' to the crown, and received a pension of £100 per annum.[14] His son was also in royal favour. William van de Velde the younger, after gaining a reputation as a painter in Holland, came with his father to London. In 1674 Charles granted the artist a salary of £100 per annum, and commissioned him to paint pictures of naval battles. Many pictures by Van de Velde the younger represent actions between the English and Dutch Fleets.[15]

St. Paul's Cathedral was rebuilt under Charles the Second's auspices,[16] and he patronised Christopher Wren. The architect had devoted his early years to science. The first definite

[12] *Clarendon*, vol. v., p. 397.

[13] *Dictionary of National Biography*, art. Sir Peter Lely.

[14] *Bryan's Dictionary of Artists and Engravers*, art. Van de Velde.

[15] *Ibid.*, art. Van de Velde the younger.

[16] *Jesse*, vol. ii., p. 486. See also *After Worcester Fight*, p. 244.

information we receive of his applying himself professionally to architecture, is his accepting, in his twenty-ninth year (1661), the invitation to act practically as surveyor general of His Majesty's works, though nominally as assistant to Sir John Denham. Wren was knighted in 1672, and in 1684 was appointed by the King to the post of 'Comptroller of the Works in the Castle of Windsor.'[17]

Evelyn, himself an ardent connoisseur, testifies to Charles' love for, and patronage of the plastic arts. The diarist writes (11th May, 1661):[18]

'My wife presented to his Majesty the Madona she had copied from P. Oliver's painting after Raphael, which she wrought with extraordinary pains and judgment. The King was infinitely pleas'd with it, and caus'd it to be placed in his cabinet amongst his best paintings.'

Evelyn introduced Charles to the work of Grinling Gibbon, sculptor and wood-carver, whose decorations may still be seen in many seventeenth century houses. Evelyn writes (1st March, 1671):[19] 'I caused Mr. Gibbon to bring to Whitehall his excellent piece of carving, where being come, I advertis'd his Majestie, who ask'd me where it was; I told him in Sir Richard Browne's (my father-in-law) chamber, and that if it pleas'd his Majestie to appoint whither it should be brought, being large and tho' of wood heavy, I would take care of it; "No," says the King, "shew me the way, I'll go to Sir Richard Browne's chamber," which he immediately did, walking along the entries after me, as far as the ewrie, till he came up into the room where I also lay. No sooner was he enter'd and cast his eye on the work but he was astonish'd at the curiositie of it, and having consider'd it a long time and discours'd with Mr. Gibbon, whom I brought to kisse his hand, he commanded it should be immediately carried to the Queen's side to show her.'

Charles must have been well pleased with the carver's work. He purchased from Gibbon a carving representing the 'Stoning of St. Stephen,' containing seventy figures, and carved out of three blocks of wood. Gibbon executed two marble statues of the King. He was made master carver in wood to the crown, and he also held an office on the Board of Works.[20]

[17] *Dictionary of National Biography*, art. Sir Christopher Wren.
[18] *Evelyn's Diary*, p. 276 (Chandos Classics edition).
[19] *Evelyn's Diary*, p. 353.
[20] *Dictionary of National Biography*, art. Grinling Gibbon.

But the example of Charles' patronage of the plastic arts most worth remembering is as follows: An artist called Streeter ('That excellent painter of perspective and landskip,' Evelyn calls him)[21] was to undergo a serious operation. The king had a great regard for the artist, and he sent for a famous surgeon from Paris on purpose to perform the operation.[22]

Samuel Pepys, himself a keen lover of 'musique,' testifies to Charles' appreciation of the greatest of all arts. The diarist writes (12th August, 1660):[23]

'After sermon a brave anthem of Captain Cooke's which he himself sang, and the King was well pleased with it.'

And again (10th November, 1660):[24]

'And after supper a play, where the King did put a great affront upon Singleton's musique, he bidding them stop and made the French musique play, which my Lord says, do much outdo all ours.'

And the Count Grammont writes:[25]

'There was a certain Italian at court, famous for the guitar; he had a genius for music, and he was the only man who could make anything of the guitar; his style of playing was so full of grace and tenderness that he would have given harmony to the most discordant instruments. The truth is, nothing was so difficult as to play like this foreigner. The king's relish for his compositions had brought the instrument so much into vogue, that every person played upon it, well or ill.'

There was at Whitehall a concert-room called the King's music-house,[26] and Sir John Hawkins, in his *History of Music*, says that Charles 'understood the notes and sang—to use the expression of one who had often sung with him—a plump base.'[27] In an early letter to his sister Henrietta, Charles writes:[28]

'I send you this letter by the hands of Janton, who is the best girl in the world. We talk of you every day, and wish we were with you, a thousand times a day. Her voice has almost entirely returned, and she sings very well. She has taught me the song

[21] *Evelyn's Diary*, p. 381.

[22] *Ibid.*, footnote.

[23] *Pepys' Diary*, p. 50.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[25] *Memoirs of Count Grammont*, p. 153.

[26] *Rochester and other Literary Rakes at the Court of Charles II.*, by the author of *The Life of Sir Kenelm Digby*, p. 43.

[27] *History of Music*, by Sir John Hawkins, vol. iv., p. 359.

[28] *Madame: A Life of Henrietta of Orleans*, by Julia Cartwright, p. 53.

de ma queue, "I prithee, sweet harte, come tell me and do not lie," and a number of others.'

And in another letter to his sister he writes: 'Thank you for the song which you have sent me.'[29]

III.

Charles the Second had a good library, and it is reasonable to suppose that he loved some of his books, for Reresby declares that 'certain it is, he was much better pleased with retirement, than the hurry of the gay and busy world.'[30] The catalogue of his books still exists,[31] and contains such entries as the following:

Book of Homilies.
Boethius (Hector), History of Scotland.
Boileau, ses Ouvres, 4to.
Bocaccio Decameron.
Boscobell, the King's Escape there.
Broome's Horace.
Hobbs answered by Wallis.
Homer's Iliads.
Hooker's Policy, fol.
Hudebras, by Butler, vol. 1.
Idem, vol. 2.
Kempis de Imitatione Christi, par Graswinckelium, in French, by Corneille.
K. Charles 1st, Icon Basilicon.
Liberty and Necessity, by Br. Bramwell and Hobbs.
Liveing Holy, by Taylor.
Liberta Jerusalemma di Tasso.
Queen Fayry, by Spenser.
Quixot (Don) with Gayton's notes.
Questiones de la Naissance du Mond.
Seneque, ses Oeuvres, vol. 1.
Idem, vol. 2nd.
Selden's Domion (*sic*) of ye Sea.

Many of Charles' Books were plays, contemporary or otherwise:

Broome's Northern Lass, a play.
Hoe Northward
Westward
Eastward
Honner and Riches Contention, a play.

[29] *Madame: A Life of Henrietta of Orleans*, by Julia Cartwright, p. 55.

[30] *Reresby*, p. 201.

[31] *Harleian MS.*, 4180.

Kindness, a Woeman Kild by it, a play.
Knight of the Golden Sheild, a play.
Love's Labour Lost, a play.
Love in a Maze, a play.
Loves of Triolus and Cressida, a play.
Seaven Champions, a play.

Indeed Charles the Second was a keen patron of the Drama. An immediate result of the Restoration was the revival of the theatre. The acting of plays had been prohibited during the Protectorate, but on the King's accession permission was given for the establishment of two theatrical companies—the King's (under Sir Thomas Killigrew) and the Duke's (under Sir William Davenant). When Davenant's play of *Love and Honour* was first acted, Charles presented his coronation suit to Betterton, the actor.[32]

IV.

The proverb, 'Know a man by his friends,' holds true in the case of a king, especially in regard to that king's connection with art and letters. It is necessary to consider the tastes of his court; to note if any courtiers were men of letters, and whether such courtiers were in royal favour. And it is necessary to consider the amount of royal patronage extended towards men of letters who were not, strictly speaking, courtiers. Now the Count Grammont, versed in the ways of the court of Louis XIV. (the court of Racine and Boileau) and long restored to it, speaks still in his old age with enthusiasm of the court of Charles the Second:

'Accustomed as he was to the grandeur of the Court of France, he was surprised at the politeness and splendour of the Court of England.'[33]

The Merry Monarch loved to have poets, wits and scholars about him, and it is remarkable how many Restoration authors were *born*—to use the French expression. Of this 'mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease,' John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, must be reckoned first, not only on account of his special intimacy with the king, but also because of the excellence of his verse. 'He was so much in favour with King Charles,' says Dr. Johnson, 'that he was made one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber, and comptroller of Woodstock Park.'[34]

[32] *Jesse*, vol. ii., p. 484. [33] *Grammont*, p. 91.
[34] *Johnson's Lives of the Poets*, art. Rochester.

Pepys deplores the intimacy between Charles and Rochester, thinking it 'to the king's everlasting shame, to have so idle a rogue his companion.'[35] And the Count Grammont writes:[36] 'Lord Rochester is, without contradiction, the most witty man in all England; . . . No woman can escape him, for he has her in his writings, though his other attacks be ineffectual; *and in the age we live in, the one is as bad as the other in the eye of the public.*'

Sir Charles Sedley first appeared at Court about 1667. The king delighted in his society, and once asked him if he had not obtained from nature a patent to be Apollo's viceroy.[37] Sedley's poems were much admired by his contemporaries. Rochester spoke of their 'gentle prevailing art,' while the 'witchcraft of Sedley'[38] was an expression used by George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, a nobleman who, for a time at least, was one of Charles' literary friends. The two (Buckingham and Charles) were educated together, and when the King visited Scotland at the invitation of the Covenanters, the Duke of Buckingham was the only personal friend who accompanied him. At the Restoration he received proofs of royal favour, being made a Lord of the Bedchamber and a member of the Privy Council, and afterwards Master of the Horse and Lord Lieutenant of Yorkshire.[39] Buckingham was a lover and composer of music.[40] A more voluminous author than either Rochester or Sedley, he wrote many plays, notably *The Rehearsal*, which ridiculed the heroic drama of Davenant and Dryden. Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset, was, after Rochester, the most attractive of Restoration courtier poets. He was a gentleman of the royal bedchamber, and in great favour with the king. Dorset took part in the great naval fight at Lowestoft in 1665. The night before the action he is said to have composed his song ('One of the prettiest that ever was made,' according to Prior):

> 'To all ye ladies now on land
> We men at sea indite.'[41]

This last—verse-making on the eve of battle—is typical of the Stuart period.

[35] *Pepys' Diary*, p. 565.
[36] *Grammont*, p. 207.
[37] *Chambers' Encyclopædia of English Literature*, art. Sir Charles Sedley.
[38] *Jesse*, vol. iii., p. 326.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 77.
[40] *George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham*, by Lady Burghclere, pp. 134 and 150.
[41] *Jesse*, vol. iii., p. 244, *et seq.*

Many authors other than those of noble birth enjoyed favour with Charles the Second. After the Restoration, Thomas Fuller and Richard Baxter were made chaplains to the King. Jeremy Taylor was appointed Bishop of Down and Connor, and Hobbes, who in 1647 had been mathematical tutor to Charles, received an annual pension of £100. It was a saying of Charles' in reference to the opposition which the doctrines of Hobbes met with from the clergy that 'he was a bear against whom the Church played their young dogs in order to exercise them.' When the king visited Norwich in 1671 he knighted Sir Thomas Browne, the author of *Religio Medici*,[42] and when Abraham Cowley died, Charles declared, 'That Mr. Cowley had not left a better man behind him in England.'[43] Samuel Butler also found favour in the royal eyes. *Hudibras* was the king's favourite book;[44] he carried a copy in his pocket, and referred to it often.[45]

> 'He never ate, nor drank, nor slept,
> But Hudibras still near him kept.'

Dr. Johnson writes concerning Butler:[46]

'In 1663 was published the first part, containing three cantos, of the poem of Hudibras which, as Prior relates, was made known at Court by the taste and influence of Lord Dorset. When it was known, it was necessarily admired; the king quoted, the courtiers studied, and the whole part of the Royalists applauded it. . . . It is reported that the king once gave him (Butler) three hundred guineas. . . .'

The case of Milton is noteworthy. 'The wonder is,' says Professor Masson in his life of the poet, 'that, at the Restoration, Milton was not hanged.' The poet *was* for some time in danger. His *Eikonoklastes* and *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano* were ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. But when the Bill of Indemnity passed the two houses and received the king's assent, Milton was not named as one of the excepted persons. The poet certainly had friends in the House of Commons. 'It has to be remembered, however,' says Professor Masson, 'that the Indemnity Bill had to pass through the Lords, with the strictest revision by that House of every

[42] *Cyclopædia of English Literature*, art. Fuller, Baxter, Taylor, Hobbes and Browne.

[43] *Johnson's Lives*, art. Cowley.

[44] *History of England and Great Britain*, by Professor Meiklejohn, p. 501.

[45] *Rochester and other Literary Rakes*, p. 45. [46] *Johnson's Lives*, art. Butler.

arrangement made by the Commons, and so that, if Chancellor Hyde, as Prime Minister for Charles, or if Charles himself, had lifted a finger against Milton, his escape would have been impossible.'[47]

Charles took pleasure in the society of Andrew Marvell, despite the fact that the poet had been assistant Latin secretary to Milton.[48] The king was also intimate with Edmund Waller. He once told the poet that his ode on Cromwell was superior to that on himself (Charles). 'Poets, sire,' was the apology, 'succeed better in fiction than in truth.'[49] Charles the Second gave Dryden the idea of writing *The Medal*. Walking one day with Dryden in Pall Mall, Charles said, 'If I was a poet, and I think I am poor enough to be one, I would write a poem on such a subject in the following manner,' and then gave him his idea. Dryden took the hint, carried the poem when finished to the king, and received a handsome present for it.[50] In spite of what he said on this occasion, Charles the Second has another claim than that of poverty to the name of poet. David Lloyd (1635-1692) mentions 'several majestick poems' written by Charles in his youth.[51] Unfortunately Lloyd's statements are known to be inaccurate at times.[52] Yet if, as Sir John Hawkins affirmed, and Horace Walpole (an unfavourable critic) thought probable, the following lines are really from the royal pen, the Merry Monarch must have had some skill in verse:

'I pass all my hours in a shady old grove,
But I live not the day when I see not my love;
I survey every walk now my Phillis is gone,
And sigh when I think we were there all alone;
Oh, then 'tis I think there's no hell
Like loving too well.

But each shade and each conscious bower when I find,
Where I once have been happy, and she has been kind;
When I see the print left of her shape on the green,
And imagine the pleasure may yet come again;
Oh, 'tis then I think that no joys are above
The pleasures of love.

[47] *Memoir of Milton*, by Professor Masson, prefixed to Macmillan's edition of the poet's works.

[48] *Cyclopædia of English Literature*, art. Marvel.

[49] *Charles I.*, by Sir John Skelton, p. 179.

[50] *Spence's Anecdotes*, p. 43.

[51] *Rochester and other Literary Rakes*, p. 45.

[52] *Dictionary of National Biography*, art. David Lloyd.

When alone to myself I repeat all her charms,
She I loved may be locked in another man's arms;
She may laugh at my cares, and so false she may be,
To say all the kind things she before said to me;
Oh, then 'tis, Oh, then, that I think there's no hell
Like loving too well.

But when I consider the truth of her heart,
Such an innocent passion, so kind without art,
I fear I have wronged her, and hope she may be
So full of true love to be jealous of me;
Oh, then 'tis I think that no joys are above
The pleasures of love.'[53]

Mr. G. S. Street once wrote that 'The Stuart letters to one another are invariably delightful to read. Charles the Second's to Henrietta, and the few we have of hers to him, are, of course, the most charming by far.'[54] The king's correspondence is notable for an easy conversational style, a gift which was as rare in the seventeenth as in the eighteenth century. All the letters to Henrietta—'deare deare Sister,' as he calls her—are bright and readable, and breathe the most tender affection. 'For the future,' he writes on one occasion, 'pray do not treat me with so much ceremony, or address me with so many Your Majesties, for between you and me there should be nothing but affection.' At another time he tells her: 'I am sure I would venture all I have in the world to serve you, and have nothing so neare my harte, as how I may find occasion to expresse that tender affection I have for my dearest Minette.' And again: 'We have the same disease of sermons that you complaine of there, but I hope you have the same convenience that the rest of the family has, of sleeping the most of the time, which is a great ease to those who are bound to heare them.'[55] On several occasions Charles had need of all his skill as a correspondent. It must have been difficult to write to his brother James, asking him to leave the country before the Exclusion Bill was laid before the House of Commons. The king acquitted himself well in this task, and the following letter to the Duke of York is one of the best letters from the royal pen:

'Dear Brother,—I have already given you my reasons at large why I would have you absent yourself for some time beyond the

[53] *Jesse*, vol. ii., p. 485.

[54] 'Stewart Women,' by G. S. Street, *English Illustrated Magazine*, July, 1902.

[55] *Henrietta of Orleans*, pp. 53, 138 and 228.

seas. As I am truly sorry for the occasion, so you may be sure that I shall never desire it longer than it will be absolutely necessary both for your good and my security. In the meantime, I think it proper to give it you under my hand that I expect this compliance from you, desiring it may be as soon as conveniently you can. You may easily believe with what trouble I write this to you, there being nothing I am more sensible of than the constant kindness you have had for me, and I hope you will be so just as to be well assured that no absence nor anything else can ever change me from being truly and kindly.—Yrs,

C. R.'[56]

Charles the Second was great among kings and wastrels who have loved and patronised art; and after reading these letters one cannot marvel at the popularity which was his. 'With his subjects,' says John Richard Green,[57] 'Charles was always popular: the nicknames Old Rowley and The Merry Monarch attest even now the liking that they bore him.'

W. G. Blaikie Murdoch.

[56] *Cavalier and Puritan in the Days of the Stuarts*, by Lady Newdigate-Newdegate, p. 60.

[57] *A History of the English People*, by John Richard Green.

The Scottish 'Nation' at the University of Padua

AFTER the thirteenth century the University in Italy to which both Scottish and English students were most indebted was the University of Padua. Bologna previously had been Alma Mater to a few of the travelling Scots, who entered the 'Natio Anglica' there, and of these Michael Scot, 'the wizard,' was, it is believed, one. When, however, the University of Padua was founded in 1222, during an eclipse of the older University, it attracted most of the representatives of the northern nations. At first at Padua the 'Natio Anglica' included all inhabitants of Britain, English, Scots, and Irish alike,[1] and in 1228, at the time when there was an abortive attempt to transfer the infant law university from Padua to Vercelli, we find that the 'Natio Anglica' among the Ultramontane 'nations' apparently existed, and that it was governed like the French and Norman 'nations' by a Rector.[2]

The increased knowledge of the English and the Scots students, and probably their mutual dislike, caused their eventual separation into distinct Nations. In the new statutes of 1331 they were still enumerated together, and in 1465 the 'Nation' is called that of the English and Scots, but in 1534 the Scottish and English 'Nations' were definitely separated, nor did they ever again formally unite as long as the 'Nations' lasted—that is, to 1738. We shall see, however, that after the Union of the Crowns complete friendship existed between their respective students. Although the University gained greatly in renown, and drew scholars from all parts of the North after Padua fell under Venetian

[1] See *De Natione Anglica et Scota, Iuristarium Universitatis Patavinae.* Scripsit Io Aloys. Andrich. Prefatus est Dr. Blasius Brugi, Patavii, 1892; on which this article is based.

[2] *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages,* by Hastings Rashdall, M.A. Oxford, 1895. Vol. ii., p. 14.

domination in 1465, the Scottish Jurist students were not always numerous, and the Germans had from early times the right of supplying vacancies in the Councils of the Ultramontane Nations when their own students were wanting, and we find their Council thus from time to time embraced Germans, Poles, Provençals, Cypriotes, Italians, and Burgundians. This fact and the mis-transcription of the Scots names in the early Paduan records which remain, make the identification of the early Scottish students difficult. In 1534 we find on the rolls the names of Claudius and Andreas Brocardus, Bernardus Giuellus, Urgetus Arnuldus, and Georgius Onis, in 1535-6 Iacobus Diourges [or De Fouerges] and Iacobus Galien, and in 1536-7 Ioannis Paulus Bassinus. In 1542-3 there appear the names Leonardus Waltrinus, and Ioannes Franciscus Waltrinus, another example of the early custom that two of a family made the course of foreign study together. The names of 'Thibouspt,' 'Laurenata,' and 'Schrenzer,' which follow, are even more difficult to identify, though in the last two cases the students are each definitely called 'Scotus.'

In March, 1581, there arrived at Padua that extraordinary Scottish meteor, James Crichton, called 'the Admirable.' Under thirty years of age, he came with a great reputation for the victorious 'disputations' which he had held with Professors and learned doctors both at Paris and in the presence of the Pope. The Professors of Padua, it is said, assembled to do him honour, and on his introduction he declaimed an extemporary poem in praise of the city, the University, and the persons present, then sustained a 'disputation' with them for six hours, winding up with an unpremeditated and unexpected speech 'in praise of ignorance, to the astonishment of all who heard him.' This somewhat uncomfortable guest seems to have palled upon the Professors of Padua, and there was a disposition to regard the brilliant youth as a charlatan, and to obviate this he offered to point out before the University the errors in the Philosophy of Aristotle, the ignorance of his commentators, and the wrong opinions of certain celebrated mathematicians. He did this; held, of course with success, a disputation with a rival philosopher, Archangelus Mercenarius, and then departed for Mantua, where he was made tutor to the Duke's young son, Vincenzo di Gonzaga, at whose hands he met his death in a carnival brawl a few years later.

In 1591 (the year before that in which Galileo began to teach

in Padua) the custom, which obtained coevally in the English 'Nation' also, of describing the scholars on entering the University commenced. It is very instructive, as it shows how turbulent the times were, and how even these youths, students of the laws, had all fought in their turn already, and that there was hardly one student either in the English or Scottish Nation who was not marked for life. Nor would their swords rust at Padua, where the quarrels between the students and the townspeople were incessant and of world-wide fame. In 1591 we find Iacobus Bancasinus 'with a scar in the middle of his brow' on the lists. In 1593-4 Georgius Ester 'with a scar in his left hand.' In 1594-5 Archibald Douglas 'with a scar on the left side of his brow.' During these years Gyberthus Greh (Gray?) was more happily distinguished as 'Scotus cum capillis flavis,' whereas Walser (Walter) Scotus, Iacobus Bonadinus or Bonatin (Buntin?), Georgius Locardus (Lockhart), and Andreas Moravius were more lucky in having no descriptive marks at all.

The year 1596-7 linked Padua more nearly to the history of Scotland on account of the matriculation there of John Ruthven, Earl of Gowrie. He was then about nineteen, and we get the personal note that he had 'a white mark on his chin.' His fellow intrants for the next two years were James Lindsay 'with a scar on his brow,' Andrew Keith with a scar on his right hand, 'Gulielmus Reiche' with a scar on his left leg. Robert Kerr of Neubottle (afterwards second Earl of Lothian) 'cum neo in manu dextera in digito annulari,' Patrick Sandys with a scar on the left of his brow, Thomas Segetus 'cum venecula sub oculo sinistro,' and (in 1598-9) 'Io. Gramus' cum cicatr. ad ocul dext,' as well as his own tutor, Mr William Rynd—the unfortunate man who was afterwards tortured on account of his pupil's conspiracy—who is described as 'Scotus cum ledigine super facie.' All these Scots were protected in the exercise of their Protestant faith by the Signory of Venice, and they owed their protection not to the favour of the Signory to the reformed religion, but to the Venetian desire of independence of the Pope and the consequent fear of the encroachment of the Papal power.

In 1597,[3] the Earl of Gowrie's faith was still declared to be 'Protestant,' and he had about him not only Rynd, the pedagogue, but also a tutor, Sir Wm. Keith, whose name does not appear in the Padua lists. In spite of their influence he

[3] *Information of Robert Ferguson*, Harl. MSS. 588; Brit. Mus., *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. i. p. 219.

coquetted, we are told, with the Catholics, and moreover dabbled in Alchemy and the Black Art, so that he too

> 'Learn'd the Art that none may name
> In Padua, far beyond the sea,'

a course of study, for which the University town was rather too celebrated. It was reported indeed that he planned his conspiracy in Padua, and left there on a dancing school, treasonable 'armes parlantes.' When he was killed in 1600, he had on his body 'a little close parchment full of magical characters and words of enchantment,' which his tutor, Rynd, said he had seen at Padua, and which no doubt gave him the reputation chronicled by Queen Elizabeth, that 'he had a thousand spirits his familiars.'

Though it has been stated that Lord Gowrie was elected Rector at Padua, his name does not appear on the lists. Kerr of Neubottle, on the other hand, was in 1599-1600 on the Council of the 'Nation,' and his arms with those of countless other well-known Scottish families still ornament the *loggia* of *Il Bó*.[4]

On August 2, 1603-4, an important decision was given. The Scots were insufficient to fill the vacancy in the Council of their 'Nation,' and the English petitioned to be allowed to supply the place with one of their number, D. Simeon Foschint. This was granted 'by grace not by right, as their kingdom is now united with Scotland under the same King.' This was the beginning of a complete *rapprochement* between the two 'Nations,' and though the inherent right of the Germans to supply the vacancy remained (and was recognised in 1673, and again in 1695), we read in 1661 that it is noted specially that they exercised their right 'citra ullam contra-dictionem,' which probably means without the customary brawl. The Cardinal of Padua 'cui nemo contra dicere audebat' in the presence of the Praetor interfered, however, in 1684 to support an English candidate for a Scottish vacancy during a conflict with the Germans, stating that he was of Scottish descent, and it was

[4] Besides those mentioned here I noted in the *Loggie* and *Aula Grande* of *Il Bó* many other Scottish coats of arms. Among them were those of 'Dom. Arigus Erschen,' Thomas Somervelle, 'Antonius Lentrorshe Scotus,' 'Thomas Segetus Scotus,' 'Pat. Chalmers, Cons. Scotus,' Wm. Cranston, 'Iac. Murray, Scotus,' Henry Leith, Robert Bannerman, David Dickson, Alexander Cranston, Alexander Falconer ('Anglicus'), Thomas Setus (Seton ?) There exists as well a tablet erected in 1662 to Robert Napierus, 'Nob. Ang.'

eventually arranged on the 11th July of that year that the 'right of supply' should only be exercised by the Germans in default of either English or Scots candidates.

In 1607 an incident occurred which must have made the Signory of Venice look somewhat askance at the Scots within its gates. On October 11, Fra Paolo Sarpi, who had so strongly supported the Venetian Government in withstanding Papal aggression, was attacked by three *bravi* in the pay of the Pope. One of these[5] was styled Giovanni di Firenza, son of Paolo, 'a man of medium height, eyes of a different colour, red beard, enrolled in the Company of Bartolamio Nievo of Vicenza, destined to serve in Syria,' and Sir Henry Wotton, the English Ambassador, writes despairingly, during the hue and cry raised on the flight of the assassins to Papal territory, that this Giovanni 'who wounded Master Paul is really a Scot, who passed here under the name of a Florentine, and that he had been in my house several times a day or two before the event.' This circumstance naturally turned the attention of the Venetians to the English and Scottish settlers, and the murder at Padua on January 20, 1608, of Julius Cæsar, an English student, aged 20, and the son of the King's Secretary, by a fencing master, Thomaso Brochetta, as well as the subsequent poisoning of one of the Catholics in the English Ambassador's suite, followed. The papers about this[6] show that animosity was aroused, and that the corpse of the murdered man, as that of a Calvinist, though it lay in the Church of S. Catherine, was refused burial until the Podestà ordered a public funeral. This was given with the proviso 'to secretly exclude him from the Church and put him in a separate place,' and it points to the fact that no place of burial was provided for the Protestants, and therefore, unless the Scots students resembled the 'Allemaigns,' who, irrespective of religion, were buried in the Eremitana of Padua with Catholic rites,[7] their bodies must have been committed to the sea near Malamoco, like those of the Protestant English who died in Venice.

In the year 1610, 4th March, King James I. took a little interest in his subjects in Padua, and Francesco Contarini, the Venetian Ambassador in England, reports his conversation.[8] He began by desiring a special place of burial to be assigned for his

[5] *Cal. of State Papers*, Venetian, 11, pp. 43-44.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 84-86, 174-5.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 437, *note*.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 426-37.

subjects, that they might not be 'thrown into the water,' and finally, he begged that at the University of Padua, students, his subjects, be not forced to take the oath. We answered that, after finishing their course and when proceeding to their degree, by ancient and unbroken custom students took the oath, but no one was forced to take the degree. His Majesty seemed satisfied, for he added—'It is true that unless it be necessary one does not change an ancient practice. That is a rule I invariably follow.' That Padua continued the residence of the students was solely owing to the tolerant Government, we learn from an Italian copy of a letter of (*circa*) 1612, of Sir Dudley Carleton, Ambassador at Venice, to the Doge.[9] The Ambassador wrote that the arrest of his servant by the Inquisition was an injury to the reputation of the city, the liberty of which 'has attracted a congregation made up of all nations, and the resort of English to this city and to Padua (which is the same thing) has become so great that instead of four or five as formerly, there are now more than seventy here, some of them being young men of the principal houses, who cause no scandall in matters of religion, and do not offend against the laws, as the Rectors (*Rettori*) can bear witness. There are not more than ten Englishmen in the rest of Italy.' Here no doubt English and Scots are included under the one title. Let us glance then for a moment at the names of the contemporary young men who in the Scottish Nation caused no scandal in religious matters.

From 1600 to 1612 the Scottish students included John Craig, probably the physician to King James VI. (whom he declared to have been poisoned) and later to King Charles I., and some names more difficult to identify—Robert Clerus, Ludovicus Suanus (Swan?), Thomas Leitus, Nicholas Gar, and Archibald Schineassonus. The rest, Thomas Winstone, Henricus Crofets, Herculis Paulet, Ioannes Fiorius (Flower?), Carolus Busy, George Samuel, Fabritius Suardus, and Thomas Turner, who appear in the Scots list, are all obviously Englishmen, as was Franciscus Willubi in 1613-14. But 'Ioannes Wordorbernius,' who matriculated in 1609-10, was a true Scot. He was John Wedderburn, the elder brother of James, Bishop of Dunblane. He eventually became 'Proto-Medicus' or Chief Doctor in Moravia, and was the man of some taste and wealth who, in the year 1637, presented the 'sang scool' to his native town of Dundee. William Lithgow, the traveller, mentions him

[9] *History MSS. Comm.* Duke of Buccleuch, Montagu House, i. p. 120.

when in Italy.[10] 'In Padua,' he says, 'I staid three months lerning the Italian tongue, and found there a country gentleman of mine, a learned mathematician, but now' (1628) 'dwelling in Moravia, who taught me well the language and (was in) all other respects exceedingly friendly to me.'[11]

But there were other Scots in Padua besides the Jurists who made up the Scots 'Nation,' who do not appear in the Jurists Rolls. Padua had by the sixteenth century become a very celebrated medical school, and, before Leyden and other Universities of the Low Countries took its place, sent out many young doctors to England and Scotland, and among these in 1602 was William Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, who had studied anatomy there under Fabricius of Aquapendente. In 1610, the Latin poet, Arthur Johnston, graduated M.D. in Padua. In the 'Poetarum Scotorum Musae Sacrae'[12] we find a sympathetic poem by him, which contains a quaint conceit, on his teacher in anatomy, Julius Casserius of Piacenza, and one also on his friend and compatriot, George Sibbald, 'Rankeilaurius,' who was a Jurist and a Doctor as well, receiving the latter degree both in Philosophy and Medicine at Padua on June 9th, 1614. He, it is interesting to note, was uncle to Sir Robert Sibbald, who founded the Botanic Garden in Edinburgh in 1667; and one cannot help connecting this with the mention of John Evelyn, the diarist, of the 'Garden of Simples, rarely furnished with Plants,' which he saw when he too was a medical student at Padua.

It is perhaps not out of place in this context to quote what Evelyn wrote in 1645 about *Il Bó*—for so the University was called from an old *Osteria* ['The sign of the Ox'] no doubt familiar to all the students,—describing the buildings erected in 1552 by Jacopo Sansovino, which exist in much the same condition now as they did in his day. 'Hence to the scholes,' he writes, 'of this flourishing and ancient University, especially for the studie of physic and anatomie. They are partly built in quadrangle, with cloysters beneath, and above with columns. Over the great gate are the armes of the Venetian State, and under the Lion of St. Marc.

'"Sic ingredere et teipso quot-idie Doctior: sic egredere ut

[10] About 1609. Wedderburn was born *circa* 1583, and died between 1647-51. *V.* the Wedderburn Book, by A. Wedderburn, vol. i., pp. 27-28-29. His arms still appear painted on the walls of the University.

[11] *Travels*, 1692, p. 44.

[12] *Edinburgh*, 1739, p. xlvi.

indies Patriae Christianaeq: Republicae utilior evadas; ita demum Gymnasium a te feliciter ornatum existimabit. CIↃ. IX."

'About the walls are carv'd in stone and painted the blazons of the Consuls of all the nations that from time to time have had that charge and honour in the Universitie, which at my being there was my worthy friend Dr. Rogers,[13] who here took that degree.

'The Scholes for the lectures of the severall Sciences are above, but none of them comperable or so much frequented as the theatre of Anatomie, which is excellently contriv'd both for the dissector and spectators. I was this day invited to dinner, and in the afternoone (being 30 July) received my *Matricula* . . . My *Matricula* contained a clause, that I, my goods, servants and messengers, should be free from all toll and reprises, and that we might come, pass, return, buy or sell, without any toll, etc.' He speaks of the constant dangers from the street fights after sunset. 'Nor is it,' he says, 'easy to reform their intolerable usage, when there are so many strangers of several nations.'

Evelyn, however, was a student who, if he knew his privileges and dangers—knew his obligations also; thus we find that on 31st October, 1645, he invited 'all the English and Scotts in towne to a feaste' on Twelfth-day, 'which sunk our excellent wine considerably.'

To hark back, in the Scottish 'Nation' in 1617 we find William Leslie—no doubt the William Leslie, fourth son of the third Popish Laird of Balwhaine, and a Jesuit, who was Professor of Philosophy in Padua (the Macfarlane MS. says 'Perugia,' no doubt by mistake), and was then Rector of the Scots College at Douay. 'D. Jacobus Eschinus (Erskine) comes,' who was Conciliarius in 1622-3, and was perhaps the first Earl of Buchan of that family. Robert Bodius or Boyd has left the familiar fess-chequer on the *loggia* with the statement that he was 'Scotus Aberdonensis.' In 1633-7, the names are fairly representative, including Thomas Halybursonus (Haliburton), Archibald Douglas, Robert Hume, James Drummond, James Hammistan (Hamilton?), Alexander and David Carnegie, James Pedy, Thomas Dalzell, and 'James Betonius'—no doubt a Fifeshire Beatoun. In 1638-9 there is an Andricus Svinton, and in 1645-6 a Henry Swinton, and in the former year the noble 'Henricus Lindisy, latine Lindisaius, italice ut se supscripsit Lindisai,' was admitted, who in 1641 became under that description Prorector and Syndic of the English and Scottish

[13] George Rogers, M.D., died Jany. 22, 1697.

Nations. In 1652, Thomas Forbes, son of William Forbes of Cotton, the boars' heads and crescent on whose shield still decorate the *Aula Grande*, graduated Doctor of Medicine, and later, before returning to Scotland, was Professor of Medicine at Pisa,[14] and that Aberdeen was well represented we find by the names in 1640-50 of 'Iacobus Scadenedes' (Cadenhead), 'Iacobus Cadendus,' and 'Iacobus Cadenellus.' Many of the Scottish students entered Padua very young. In 1639-40 William Gray is mentioned as 'pupillus,' so were William Borthwick and Nathaniel Kennedy in 1665-6, but, on the other hand, in 1636-7 John Neutton is mentioned as being 'Scotus cum barba castanea.'

The Civil Wars in Britain and the constant brawls between citizens and students in Padua made the supply of students fall off towards the end of the seventeenth century; still in 1672 the north sent Charles Ramsay, and next year Robert Bannerman. In 1684-5 'Dominus Henricus Leith' is described both as 'Anglus' and 'Nob: Aberdonensis.' Bishop Burnet writes in 1685 that the University 'sinks extreamly,' and that 'the quarrels among the students have driven away most of the strangers that used to come to study here, for it is not safe to stir abroad here after sunset.' Yet in 1692-3 his kinsman, Thomas Burnet, 'filius quondam D. Thomae,' entered. In 1697-8 the name of 'John Walkinsheun' may be another link between Italy and the fortunes of the exiled Stuarts, being most likely that of John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, who liberated 'Queen' Clementina Sobieska from Innsbruck for her marriage, and whose daughter, the unlucky Clementina Walkinshaw, followed Prince Charlie 'whither fortune might lead him.' The eighteenth century students' names are interesting as they are the last. They sometimes give the name of the father or the town, and they included from 1700-1709 Ioannes Inglis, Paulus Mayler, James Maneschell, and Edward Smithson, 'a Scottish noble' on the Council, who were from Edinburgh; (A John Marshall 'fil. Georgii Edinburgensis' matriculated in 1716-17 also) and David, son of 'D. Alex: Conningam.' In 1714-15 Henry Leslie, son of Charles—probably the Jacobite polemic writer, came, and in 1717-18, Hugh, son of Charles Baillie, James Kennedy, son of George, 'Eduardus Beancroft fil. Eduardi scotus,' and William, son of George Douglas. Edward Robinson, son of Tancred, entered in 1721-22, William Robertson, son of Archibald Robertson, was on the Council next year, and Patrick Wood, son of Thomas, appears in 1726-7.

[14] Macfarlane Genealogical Collections. *Scot. Hist. Socy.*, ii. p. 480.

At this time one Mingo was Bidellus of the English and Scots, and also librarian of the library, which Tomasinus says they had possessed since 1649. The Consiliarii prayed the Literary Triumvirs in 1727 to transfer the librarianship to Francis Callin, alleging that the former official had not spent the money entrusted to his care on the upkeep of the library, and desired that he should refund the money into the treasury of the Nations. The Literary Triumvirs, however, on the 26th of April confirmed the former librarian, though they at the same time promised to appoint Francis Callin 'quamprimum.'

The last two definitely Scottish names I find upon the list are those of Philippus Cullin, fil. Jacobi, in 1728-9, and Alexander Wemyst [Wemyss] 'fil. Davidis, Scotus-Britannicus,' in 1733-4, and in 1738 the Venetian Republic abrogated the ancient constitution of the University, and the 'Nation' ended. Thus for the northern peoples at least Padua's 'lamp of learning' no longer burned, and the University ceased to be the place of pilgrimage it had been when Coryate in 1608 could write: 'More students of forraine nations doe live in Padua than in any one universitie of Christendome. For hither come, many from France, high Germany, the Netherlands, England, etc., who with great desire flocke together to Padua for good letters sake, as to a fertile nursery and sweet emporium and mart town of learning.'

A. Francis Steuart.