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Portraits and Jewels of Mary Stuart

'Was this the face that launched a thousand ships
And burned the topless towers of Ilium?'

asks Marlowe's Dr. Faustus, when the golden Helen rises before his gaze. 'Was this the face,' we ask, when we glance at the more or less authentic portraits of the Mary Stuart that women loved to look on almost as well as men; was this, as Chastelard is fabled to have said on the scaffold, 'the fairest and most cruel Queen on earth?' Setting aside the eighteenth or nineteenth century's imaginary likenesses, in oils, engravings, and miniatures; and looking only at the winnowed residue left by critical processes, we find scarcely any portrait of Mary, we only find three or four, that justifies her fame for beauty and witchery. Remarking the others, the solemn school girls, and wasted devotees, we fear that antiquity, with one voice, has flattered the Queen. A sense of gradual enlightenment, however, attends the reader of what has been written by recent students of Mary's portraits, from Mr. Albert Way[1] and Sir George Scharf, to Mr. Lionel Cust, Mr. J. J. Foster, and Dr. Williamson. It is our hope to add something to the results attained by these authors. The tendency of criticism is to be sceptical, wisely, when we consider the vast numbers of false portraits of Mary, backed by mythical legends about their history and origin, which decorate the walls of country houses, and are displayed at Loan Exhibitions. At these pseudo Maries recent writers have dealt many swashing blows, hitherto without destroying myth and false tradition.

[1] Sir George Scharf, *The Times*, Feb. 7, May 7, Oct. 30, Dec. 26, 1888. Albert Way, *Catalogue of Exhibition of Archaeological Institute*, 1859. Cust, *Authentic Portraits of Mary, Queen of Scots*, 1903. Foster, *True Portraiture of Mary, Queen of Scots*, 1905. Williamson, *History of Portrait Miniatures*, 1904.

There lie before me photographs of eighteen Maries, displayed at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901. I do not cite their numbers in the Catalogue, or the names of the owners, except in two cases. The Duke of Devonshire kindly lent the 'Sheffield' portrait of Mary, now at Hardwick. It is dated 1578, and is signed 'P. Oudry.' This, at least, is a contemporary effort to pourtray the captive Queen in her thirty-sixth year. We shall try later to throw light upon its history, and on that of the numerous extant portraits of the same type. We have next, in the Glasgow Catalogue, five or six Maries who never were Mary Stuart; of these most descend, in various degrees from a single false type, the 'Carleton' portrait of the Duke of Devonshire, a good painting of an unknown lady of the sixteenth century, to be described later. Another lady in a jewelled caul is also unknown, but emphatically is not Mary Stuart. Another portrait is a pretty fanciful work of the late eighteenth century,—in Stoddart's manner. Another is a round-faced nunlike person. Two others with crowns and crucifixes are apparently daubs of the early nineteenth century. There are also two posthumous 'memorial' pictures of interest, but not, of course, painted from the life. There are some miniatures, of eighteenth century origin, mostly done on ivory, which was not used by miniature painters in Mary's lifetime, nor for a century later.[1] But one of these bears the faintest resemblance to Mary in features, contour of face, colour, or expression; they are of three false types. Another miniature of about 1820, showing us a lovely lady of the Book of Beauty type, descends remotely from the Morton portrait to be discussed later. One really curious miniature, in a conical hat, we shall comment on presently.

This crowd of some fifteen hopeless effigies propagated in Scotland superstitious ideas of what the famous unhappy Queen was like, in the days of her life. Now we know, on the best possible evidence of contemporary description and of undeniably authentic contemporary portraits, what Mary Stuart was like. She in no way resembled fifteen out of the eighteen portraits exhibited for public edification at Glasgow.

Even with due allowance for three intervening centuries of revolution, it is amazing that so few genuine portraits of Queen Mary exist. They might be expected to be numerous in France, but we have, in France, only the precious drawings of 1552-1561. The Popes must have wished to see likenesses of a daughter

[1] Propert, *History of Miniature Art*, 90, 109.

of the Church, about whose steadfastness to the faith, and moral character, they entertained very different opinions in 1561-66, 1567-68, and 1570-1586. Yet we hear of no portrait or miniature in the Vatican; of none in Spain, where the Queen's friend and sister-in-law, Elizabeth of France, daughter of Henry II., was Queen.[1] Miniatures of contemporary date, we shall see, were numerous, and were given to adherents: where are they now?

Woodcut portraits circulated in England, in 1583.[2] A printed leaflet was then issued, in Mary's interest, with her arms, and those of her son, James VI., at the moment when a treaty for an 'Association' of the pair in the sovereignty of Scotland was being negotiated. Two doggerel verses of four lines each celebrated the virtues of Mary, and the promise of excellence in her son. Becoming aware of the existence of this pair of woodcuts, I guessed that they would be reproductions of the medallion portraits given by Lesley, Bishop of Ross (in his *De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Gestis Scotorum.* Rome. 1578. 1675). Mr. Cust supposes the medallion of Mary, in Lesley's book, to 'have been done by an Italian artist from a miniature portrait.'[3] This is very probable, but the miniature itself is unknown. Mary wears a crown over her cap and veil; her features are correctly given in all respects, the nose is long, low, and straight, and the face is thin, as in miniatures and portraits of 1572-1578. The English printed sheet of 1583 reproduces this portrait, but the portrait of James VI. is crowned, and he is older than in the medallion of 1578. I am inclined to believe that the Catholics of England owned many miniatures of Mary, during her English captivity (1568-1587) and I shall try to show that all traces of these are not lost, and that they were good though neglected likenesses. To possess them, we shall see, was dangerous, in the reign of Elizabeth.

After James VI. came to the English throne (1604), there would be no reason for concealing such portraits. Eagerly sought for, after the Restoration of 1660, and all through the Jacobite times, they were, strangely, not to be found. Charles I. had few of his grandmother's portraits, including the Brocas picture, now in the National Portrait Gallery, and the Windsor

[1] Mr. Way mentions a portrait in the Royal collection of Spain. I have inquired about it to no result.

[2] *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. xii., No. 39, Record Office.

[3] Cust, p. 69. Way, p. xii. It is unknown to other inquirers.

miniature. He had also versions of the *Deuil Blanc* of 1561, in oils, and 'a round piece of the Queen of Scotland,' not the Leven and Melville, to be later discussed, probably; though that may have been called 'round' by the man who appraised the lots in 1649.[1] When a king, a collector, a grandson could get so little in the way of portraits of Mary, in the half-century following her death, they must have been rare indeed, or secretly treasured by Catholic families.

It is unlikely that Mary was ever painted in Scotland, after 1561, by any capable artist, unless Jehan de Court (of whom hereafter), was with her for a year: and after 1568, in England, foreign painters would find access to her very difficult; her youth, too, was past, and 'her beauty other than it was,' as Randolph wrote of Mary, during her troubles in connection with her marriage to Darnley, in 1565. None the less, however it was managed, I incline to believe that miniatures of the Queen, and good likenesses, were executed even in 1571, 1572, and between 1582 and 1586. On this point, as the miniatures in question have scarcely received any notice from critics, I shall try to defend the faith that is in me.

There exist, even now, I think, portraits and miniatures enough to provide a pictorial history of Mary, from 1552, when she was in her tenth year, to 1584-86, the years before her death. As for her stay in Scotland, I may offer what, with good will, may be taken for an uncouth portrait of her at that period. I have seen, also, one barbaric effort of a Scots *primitif*,—Mary with her baby in her arms: it was found in a secret or walled-up chamber of Errol Castle, and must have been of 1566-67, the child being a mere *bambino*. The piece was a sample of popular imagery, and is or lately was in the possession of Mr. Vaughan Allen.

Horace Walpole has remarked 'The false portraits of Mary Queen of Scots are infinite—but there are many genuine, as may be expected of a woman who was Queen of France, Dowager of France, and Queen of Scotland!'[2]

Walpole might have added 'who was Queen of England, in the opinion of the great Catholic party, that regarded Elizabeth as disqualified by birth and religion.' To men of this party, Mary, a Catholic and a prisoner, was 'The Queen,' and their faith, like that of friends of the kings over the water (1688-1788), was apt to feed itself on portraits and miniatures, some of them bearing treasonable and dangerous devices.

[1] Cust, 108-109.

[2] Walpoliana, p. 87, 1819.

I cannot say with Walpole that there are '*many* genuine portraits,' portraits painted from the life. But I conceive that not a few miniatures and portraits are pretty closely affiliated to designs from the life, perhaps to drawings in crayons, now no longer to be traced. I also hold that some portraits do more than is commonly supposed to vindicate Mary's character for beauty, and, above all, for charm. I shall be taxed with credulity, but that is a charge which does not afflict me. In judging works of art, we ought, I think, to bring a gleam of the artistic imagination to the task; 'give a little red' to the cheek from which the carmines have faded; and restore something of the charm which the painters of the sixteenth century, in France, were incapable of rendering, as a rule. I see no reason why, when we have portraits of the same woman's face in youth and in middle age, we should always declare that the young face is derived, by a later artist, from the withered or bloated features of the old face: is a fanciful reconstruction, the painter dipping the old effigy in the Fountain of Youth. The two portraits may be quite independent of each other: we must examine the evidence and the balance of probabilities in each case.

The public demand of the day would be for portraits of the Queen, (so interesting to all Europe,) as she was at the moment. Copies of the *latest* sketch or miniature of her would be in request. Artists would not often, if ever, be asked by adherents of Mary to compose, from designs of 1572-1586, effigies of the Queen as she was in her girlhood. This kind of demand would not arise till later ages of mere sentimental regard for Mary, and portraits done in these ages, the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, would readily betray their date by their style and their ignorance, as they do.

II.

One thing is historically certain: Mary was either beautiful, or she bewitched people into thinking her beautiful. This is proved, not by the eulogies of Ronsard and Brantome, a courtly poet, and a courtly chronicler, but by the unanimous verdict of friend and enemy. Even Knox calls her face 'pleasing,'—which the authentic portraits of her face hardly ever are: even Elizabeth recognised something 'divine' in her hated rival; Sir James Melville styles her 'very loesome'; the populace of Edinburgh cried: 'Heaven bless that sweet face,' says Knox,

as she rode by, while English and French ambassadors are in the same tale. 'There is some enchantment by which men are bewitched,' and 'bewitched' more than a married man ought to be, was Ruthven by Mary, when she lay captive in Loch Leven Castle. Now of her witchery, which is incontestable, few of her accepted portraits suggest the ghost of a suspicion. Four portraits do so, and two of these, the Leven and Melville and the Morton, with the Welbeck miniature, lie in the icy shade of critical scepticism, the fourth is uncriticised. To these pictures we shall return.

What stood between the artists and her beauty? Their own limitations supply the answer: and these limitations hedged them in when they attempted the portraits of other beautiful women, as of Marguerite de Valois, the wife of Henri of Navarre. Their practice, the practice of François Clouet, called Janet, and the rest, was to make an accurate map of the features of the sitter, in a crayon sketch; often of high technical excellence, and then (apparently, as a rule, without more sittings), to paint portraits in oil, or miniatures, from the - - - maps. These paintings were as a rule, conscientiously hard; conscientiously minute were the details of dress, lace and jewels, but vivacity and charm of expression were usually lost. There are exceptions, as in Janet's Elizabeth of Austria, wife of Charles IX. of France. But M. Dimier writes that Janet 'has very little fascination, and a beauty that only reveals itself upon analysis.'[1] These painters were,—Clouet or Janet at least, was,—of Flemish origin, and had 'the German paste in their composition.'

Monsieur Henri Bouchot writes: 'In fact, the crayon sketch was the interesting part of the work of François Clouet' (Janet II. died 1572). 'He made his first sketches of his subjects in coloured crayons, because by this method a short sitting alone was necessary. . . . The painter did not receive sitters in his studio, he went to their houses, and sketched on some table corner the subject, who was in haste to know that he was finished off.'[2] 'A crayon sketch will be enough,' wrote Catherine de Medicis, 'to be quicker done with it.'[3] These sketches, though so rapid, were elaborate (this point I must insist upon as important) in regard to the details of the jewels worn, as in the drawing of Charlotte de Beaune,

[1] *French Painting of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 206.

[2] Henri Bouchot, *Les Clouet*, p. 24.

[3] Bouchot, *Quelques Dames du xvi. Siècle*, p. 4.

BRIDAL MEDAL, 1558. MARY AND THE DAUPHIN.

See page 137.

Madame de Sauve. We see that she wears across her breast a belt of large jewels of gold, containing, alternately, two great round pearls, one above the other, and a large oblong dark table stone, ruby, diamond, emerald, or sapphire. Round her cap is a precisely similar belt of jewels. We shall find Queen Mary, in the Leven and Melville portrait, wearing a similar set of jewels, which we know that she possessed in 1556. The settings, in enamel, are, however, different, the stones are rubies, with a diamond in the centre. Elizabeth of France (1545-1568), the young bride of Philip II. of Spain, wears a similar set of jewels (with a different setting) in the beautiful portrait, on panel, at Greystoke Castle, Cumberland, and again, in a miniature in which she appears several years older than fourteen, as she was in 1559. In another crayon drawing of Elizabeth, she wears a table stone in the centre of her necklet, the rest is composed of alternate double pearls, as before, and of roses in enamel.[1] Again, in a miniature in the Book of House of Catherine de Medicis, Elizabeth wears a necklet of table stones, alternating with jewels of four great pearls, two above two.[2]

The jewels of subjects are thus minutely studied in the crayon sketches of 1550-1580.

Another example is the sketch of the Duchesse de Retz, probably by François Clouet; her double chain of gold links, table stones and jewels of two pearls set side by side, not one above the other, is very elaborately drawn.[3] This is, indeed, the universal rule for the crayon drawings, which were merely elaborated with some loss of grace and life, as a rule, in the paintings in oil, copied from them. When the Inventories of Queen Elizabeth, now being edited for the Roxburghe Club, are compared with her portraits, I doubt not that the jewels described will be found accurately represented.

These remarks are here introduced because our identification of one portrait of Mary rests much on the identification of the jewels recorded in her Inventories; and criticism, as a rule, has neglected this method of comparison.

We have described the methods of artists who designed Mary in France, mainly between 1558, when, before she was sixteen, she married the Dauphin, and 1561, when, as his widow, she returned

[1] Bouchot, *Quelques Dames*, p. 20. [2] Bouchot, *Catherine de Medicis*.

[3] Bouchot, *Les Clouet*, p. 28.

to Scotland. In Scotland, at least in 1566-67, she had in her list of *valets de chambre*, a French painter in her pay, Jehan de Court,[1] who later was a court painter to Charles IX. of France, and his brother and successor, Henri III. (1572-158-?). The history of Jehan Court, de Court, or Decourt is obscure. 'It is not absolutely certain,' writes M. Dimier, 'that this painter is the same as one who signed that name to an enamel representing Madame Marguerite, Duchess of Savoy, as Minerva, in the Wallace Collection. The enamel dates from 1555. The name of Jean Decourt is familiar to all amateurs of enamel. The pieces of this date, marked I. D. C. or I. C., are all ascribed to him.' At the Glasgow Exhibition of 1901, Lord Malcolm of Poltalloch exhibited an object which had been in the Pourtales collection, an enamel tazza, by Jehan Court, *dit* Vigier, 'bearing the arms of Mary, Queen of Scots, surmounted by the crown of the Dauphin.'[2] Mary was Dauphine from April, 1558, to July, 1559. She seems to have patronised Jehan de Court in France; and in her household list (*Etat*) of 1566-67, she pays to 'Jehan de Court, paintre,' two hundred and forty pounds (*livres tournois*). Her favourite and loyal secretary, Raulet, receives only 200 *livres*, as does her secretary Joseph Riccio, brother of the murdered David Riccio. In France at this date the famous Court portrait painter, François Clouet, or Janet, had a salary of 240 *livres*.[3]

When Mary went to France, at about the age of six, she was met by her maternal grandmother, the Duchesse de Guise, who describes her thus: 'She is *brune*, with a clear complexion, and I think that she will be a beautiful girl, for her complexion is fine and clear, the skin white, the lower part of the face very pretty, the eyes are small and rather deep set, the face rather long, she is graceful and not shy, on the whole we may well be contented with her.'[4] The description remained true in the Queen's womanhood, to the confusion of all her round-faced, large-eyed 'portraits,' things fabricated in the eighteenth century.

Setting aside the coins of Mary's childhood, the earliest portrait of her is a sketch in red and black chalk, at Chantilly. The inscription, in contemporary spelling and handwriting, runs,

[1] See Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, vol. ii., p. 273, 1862.

[2] *Catalogue, Scottish History and Archaeology*, p. 48, No. 352.

[3] Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, ii., p. 273, Paris, 1862. Dimier, *French Painting in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 238, 240.

[4] Cust, p. 20.

MARY AS DAUPHINE, 1559.

After Crayon Sketch by Clouet or Jehan de Court.

See page 137.

being translated, 'Mary, Queen of Scotland, at the age of nine years and six months, in the month of July 1552.' Nobody of importance appears to deny the authenticity of this portrait.[1] M. Bouchot quotes, in this reference, a letter of Catherine de Medicis of June 1, 1552, asking for portraits of her children, and of Mary.[2] The face is seen in three quarters; on the head is a laced and jewelled cap; a ruff surrounds the throat; the bodice is long and tightly laced, the sleeves are puffed at the shoulders: the jewels, mainly pearls, are not so designed as to be identifiable with descriptions in the Queen's Inventories. The forehead is high; of the hair, flat and divided down the middle, not much is visible. There is a wide space between the very slender eyebrows. The nose is straight and low, it shows no tendency to rise in the centre, though it cannot be called *retroussé*. The chin is dainty, and, for so young a girl, the face is unusually long. The eyes look larger, or at least more fully open than in later portraits: the expression is honest and candid.

From a profile on a medal, struck for her first wedding in April, 1558, when she was not sixteen, we know that the Queen's brow was lofty, as then was fashionable. Her nose was long, and nearly straight, slightly drooping from the tip. Her upper lip was short, her mouth was small, her chin prettily rounded, the face ending in a pleasant oval. The tiny profile of Mary, watching by the death-bed of Henri II. (1559), in a woodcut, entirely corroborates the medal.[3] The expression is very serious, as usual: she had enough to make her serious, even in 1558.

The coloured crayon drawing, of 1558-1559, in the Bibliothèque Nationale (printed in colours by Mr. Foster), elaborately confirms all these facts. The piece is attributed to Janet, but M. Dimier now classes it with the work of 'the presumed de Court,' the painter of a portrait of Henri III., in 1573.[4] The Queen's hair, in girlhood, is of a reddish brown, crimped. Her eyebrows, thin, but arched and delicately pencilled, do not closely approach each other. Her eyes, long and narrow, are of a reddish brown; her nose, long and low; her mouth and chin are as in the medal. I lay stress on the long, low, straight nose, which occurs in every truly authentic portrait, to the last days of Mary's life. The face has not the sly or foxy expression: Mary

[1] Ascribed to Mahier by M. E. Moreau-Nelaton. *Les Mahier*, Paris, 1901.

[2] Laferrière, *Collection des Documents Inedits*, 1552.

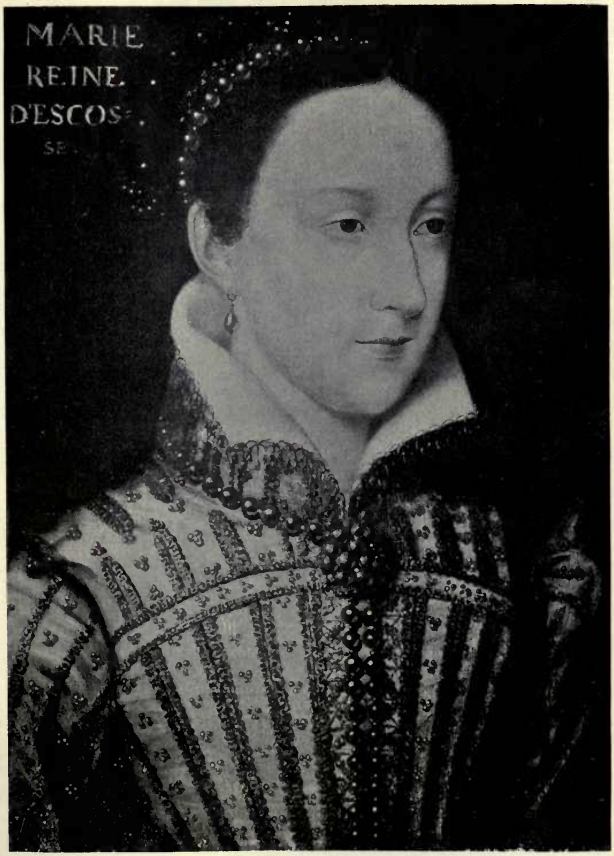
[3] Cust, Plate vii.

[4] Letter of M. Dimier, March 26, 1905.

was not yet a tracked and hunted creature, but a candid girl. It is a pretty face, but the bald expanse of brow adds to the lifeless effect. Nobody could guess that this girl, so prim and staid, was a creature of infinitely changeful moods, flashing readily from laughter to tears. Yet that is what she undeniably was or became. There is just a hint that she might be merry, in a rather coarsely executed miniature of a rather plump Mary with her boy-husband, the Dauphin, which once decorated a *Book of Hours* used by the devout Catherine de Medicis.[1] Finally, we know that Mary's complexion was of a dazzling pallor: Brantome attests this, and it was especially notable when she wore white mourning, '*le deuil blanc*' in her first widowhood, in the winter of 1560-61. In the South Kensington Museum is an excellent small head of Mary on panel, of about 1559, in 1804 the property of the great antiquary, Francis Douce. I believe it to be a contemporary work.

The most elaborate miniature of Mary, at this period, is that in the Royal Library at Windsor, published in colours by Sir John Skelton, in his *Mary Stuart*. In the miniature, the Queen wears, as in the chalk drawing, the *natte*, or braid of hair, crowning the head, and bordered by coils of pearls. The ruff is not the small ruff of the drawing by Jehan de Court, (?) but an open white-lined collar, turning outwards, akin to the same article in the 'false portrait' later to be described as the 'Carleton.' The dress in the miniature is much of the same rich fashion, with sleeves puffed up at the shoulders, as in the Carleton, but less elaborately decorated. While the features are those of the drawing by Jehan de Court, (?) the grave girlish expression is lost: the eyes are much more narrow, the air of youth and candour is gone: this Mary may be an astute diplomatist, but is not an attractive bride as she fingers her wedding ring. One cannot certainly assign the miniature to the artist of the drawing. As Mr. Cust observes, the miniature attributed to Janet in the catalogue of Charles I. may be the picture brought from France to Elizabeth, in 1560-61, and also that seen by Sir James Melville (1564) in the possession of the English Queen. 'Lovesome' it is not, and, indeed, was calculated to remove any jealousy of Mary's attractions which Elizabeth might have conceived. Mr. Graves, in his account of Nicholas Hilliard, the famous miniaturist (*Dictionary of National Biography*), says that he executed a miniature of Mary in 1560. No authority is given for the statement, and all miniatures on a

[1] Given in M. Bouchot's *Catherine de Medicis*.



MARY IN 1559-1560.

Contemporary Panel in Jones Collection.

Another example not retouched is in the possession of Captain Probert.

See page 138.

blue ground, like this one, are not by Hilliard. Without going to France, however, he might copy a drawing sent from France. Whoever was the artist, the work is contemporary, though probably not done from the life, and utterly deficient in charm. For charm, and a beautiful carriage of the head and poise of body, we must go to a charming wax medallion of Mary, in the Breslau Museum. Our authors have overlooked this treasure, which is published by M. Bapst, in his valuable *Joyaux de la Couronne de France* (p. 92).

Another portrait of Mary before 1561, a miniature of her at about the age of seventeen or eighteen (1559-1560), is full of interest. One example is in the Uffizi at Florence; it is surrounded by likenesses of Henri II., Catherine de Medicis and their family. Mary wears 'a rich black dress, slashed with white, and a black hat or *bonnet à l'Italienne*, with diamond (pearl ?) ornaments and white feather.'[1]

The features and colouring, the dark narrow eyes, the long, rather low nose, long face, high brow, and pretty oval lower part of the face, are all here. But the eyes do not appear to be well drawn, and the expression, rather *espiègle*, is unpleasing. Dr. Williamson, however, has noted a variant of this miniature in the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam, which is a delightful likeness.[2] The Queen wears white, which always became her: her hat is white, with a white plume, and three rows of pearls; her dress, also white, is set with large pearls, and this is the earliest portrait of her which justifies Sir James Melville's phrase 'our Queen is very loesome.' The expression, though rather grave, is singularly winning; with this and the Leven and Melville portrait, a man can understand the charm of the most charming of royal ladies. This miniature gives just what the coloured sketch attributed by M. Dimier to 'the presumed Jehan de Court' misses. The face in that drawing might be, nay, it is pretty, it has all the elements of beauty; the Rijks Museum miniature has 'the little more, and how much it is.'

To this miniature I would venture to add the lady in a symphony in cream and milk,—delicate garments, ivory white, lawn white, and ermine,—which is in the collection of the Duke of Portland. Even the strange coal-scuttle shaped white hood becomes this beauty, who holds in her hand a Book of Hours, and whose portrait is inscribed *Virtutis Amore*, while she looks

[1] Cust, 39, 40.

[2] Williamson, *History of Portrait Miniatures*, Plate xlvii., No. 9.

thoroughly mundane, and very fond of dress. Dr. Williamson thinks it is probably some French princess unknown, but it resembles none of them so much as 'the flower of fair Scotland' —the eyes, in the photograph given by Dr. Williamson are dark enough to be hers. The eyes are grey, while Mary's eyes were of a reddish brown. 'The eyes in certain aspects assumed probably the appearance of being grey rather than brown,' says Mr. Way.[1] On the back of the frame is 'Mary, Q. of Scots,' in the handwriting of Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford, a distinguished collector. In what seems to be the hand of Bernard Lens (the artist of the eighteenth century) is 'Nich^{s} Hilliard *fecit*.' Lens's security is no better than Bardolph's; but Oxford's is a better opinion.

Dr. Williamson, who alone remarks on this miniature, has not observed that the inscription *Virtutis Amore* is certainly an anagram. Anagrams were much in fashion, one anagram of Mary's name was *Sa Vertu m'attire*. The letter U was equivalent to V, and, in *Sa Vertu m'attire*, there is one V or U too many, and there are three letters more than in Marie Stuart. But they are all letters which occur in 'Marie Stuart,' and that was reckoned fair play in the game of anagram making. In *Virtutis Amore* there is a superfluous *u*. There are two letters too many, in *Virtutis Amore*, for 'Marie Stuart,' and one letter is an *o*. But it was usual in France to spell our Scots names phonetically, and the *o* makes the surname *Stouart*, as it was pronounced, the *ou* sounding as in French *couard*, like our *oo*. This is no mere conjecture. At the sale of Mr. Scott of Halkhill, in March 1905, £101 was paid for Haden's 'Discours de la Mort de Marie Stouard.' The French anagram is better evidence than a plain inscription, for sceptics would say that the inscription was added late, by Harley.

Mary had another anagram, *Veritas Armata*. On the broideries of a bed, worked for her or by her, in captivity, *Veritas Armata* was inscribed above a picture of herself, kneeling before a crucifix. *Sa Vertu m'attire* referred to the attraction of the Pole for the magnet. Drummond of Hawthornden described this bed with the emblems and anagrams to Ben Jonson in a letter of July 1, 1617. The bed was then at Pinkie House, near Musselburgh, the property of the House of Douglas. It cannot be by mere accident that the inscription of the Welbeck portrait yields an anagram of Mary's name, and

[1] Way, xxiv.

PLATE IV.

MARY WITH MOTTO, "VIRTUTIS AMORE:" "MARIE STOUART."

Enlarged from the Duke of Portland's Miniature.

See page 140.

I think this quite good evidence that the Duke of Portland's miniature actually does represent the Queen of Scots, when Queen or Dauphine of France (1558-1560). At Ham House is a very curious late sixteenth century miniature of a dark young Frenchman. The background is painted *in flames*, and the motto is *Alget qui non ardet*, 'he freezes who does not burn.' This yields the anagram, 'Algernon de Tiquet,' and there was a French family named Tiquet. Of Algernon I know nothing.

The celebrated drawing, ascribed to Janet, of Mary when widowed, in white weed (1561), shows her face as fuller than it had been: indeed she looks much older than her age, which was about eighteen: the expression is both sly and heavy. Comparing it with a portrait said to have been done for Charles I., by Daniel Mytens, before 1639, we might conjecture that the later artist has taken the dress and attitude from the Sheffield portrait, to be criticised presently (dated 1578, and signed 'P. Oudry,'), but has 'compiled' the face by slightly ageing that of Mary as seen in *le deuil blanc* of 1561. In the work attributed to Mytens, indeed, the face is hardly older than it looks in the *deuil blanc*, and wears a more amiable expression: yet there must be seventeen years between the Mary of *le deuil blanc* and the Mary of 1578. In all probability this 'compilation' attributed to Mytens, fifty years or so after the Queen's death, is really a better likeness than the Sheffield portrait of 1578, to which we return.

Having now a clear conception of Mary's features and complexion, and, thanks to the Rijks Museum miniature, some idea of her vivacity and charm, we omit for the present, as subject to dispute, all portraits alleged to represent her between the date of her return to Scotland (1561) and the date 1572, and we postpone discussion of the Leven and Melville portrait; in my opinion probably of 1558-1560.

III.

The year 1572 saw Mary in the deeps of misfortune. In August, 1571, the Ridolfi conspiracy for her release, and marriage to the Duke of Norfolk, with whatever consequences might follow for Elizabeth and the Protestant religion, was discovered. Norfolk was arrested, and after long delays was executed in 1572. Every argument was used to induce Elizabeth to put her captive, Mary, to death. Puritan and prelate alike clamoured

for the laying of the axe to the root, while the Bartholomew massacre of August, 1572, increased the terrors and the fury of the Protestants. An intrigue for handing Mary over to the Regent Mar, for execution in Scotland, was begun, but was foiled by the death of Mar, and the caution of his successor, the Regent Morton. These sufferings had, not improbably, their effect in portraits of Mary, perhaps to be called 'popular imagery,' for distribution among Catholics, but still portraits of a sort. A miniature, copied, I think, from one of this period was among the effigies exhibited at Glasgow in 1901. It is the property of Mrs. Anstruther-Duncan. Being 'on ivory,' it cannot be contemporary with the Queen, and is at least a century later. This miniature, whatever its source, is an undeniably good likeness of the Queen, with dark eyes, the long low straight nose, the eyebrows wide apart, and the delicate oval of the lower part of the face. All the features are thus correctly given, the expression is very far from the saintly, and the face is younger than in any of the pictures of the Sheffield type (1578). The Queen wears a conical cap, coming to a sharp point from a broad base, it is edged and striped with black. There is a white lining, marking off the hair, which is puffed out at the sides. She wears a small white open collar, lawn across the upper part of the breast, and a black dress, gathered in closely at the slender waist. One hand holds a crucifix; the other a small book, perhaps a book of devotion. Little linen cuffs are at the wrists, as in the Morton portrait. She wears a necklet of pearls falling as low as the breast, a cross is pendant thence. A table with a rich cover, and a crown and sceptre, is at her right side: on the left is a crown above a scutcheon, surrounded by the Garter, in the scutcheon two of the quarters appear to be erased. In this miniature I think we see Mary represented as the suffering Catholic captive, and rightful Queen.

Mary, in 1572, was but thirty years of age, and (in this miniature) was still a very handsome woman. There is no doubt that the face is much younger than in portraits of 1578.

I am inclined to think that the date 1572 is probable (*for the original of this work*) for the following reason. Lord Leven and Melville possesses a very interesting variant of the miniature. The face has suffered somewhat from time, but the black dress, in this case richly embroidered in a pattern of gold, shows well against the blue ultramarine of

LE DEUIL BLANC. 1560-1561.

After Crayon Sketch by Clouet.

See page 141.

the ground. The cap is the same as in the miniature. The hand holds a crucifix. The inscription, in letters of gold, is 'Maria Stuart. Anno 30,' which marks the year as 1572. The shield, under a crown, and surrounded by the Garter, contains the Lyon of Scotland, twice, the Harp of Ireland, and in the fourth quarter, the Lilies of France and the Leopards of England. Thus reminiscent of Mary's fatal claim to the English arms and crown, the miniature has clearly been so marked, or the original from which it was derived was so marked (of whatever period the inscription may be), to please a Catholic adherent or admirer.

Mr. Foster has shown me a photograph of a third miniature of this type, picked up at Heidelberg by a member of the Powis family. All three miniatures are of a distinctly political and religious purpose. They represent the claims of the rightful Catholic Queen. They imitate closely the miniature style of Hilliard, and I can form no more probable hypothesis than that they were copied from a seventeenth century original for English Catholic Jacobites of the eighteenth century.

English Catholics of 1572-87 may have had plenty of these miniatures. In 1575 Thomas Corker writes to Walsingham, respecting Richard Bacon, a prisoner in the Fleet, who had stated that one Weston 'had a picture of the Scottish Queen in his chamber.'[1] Corker was a spy, apparently; in 1569 he brought false charges against another gentleman.[2] I quote the spy's letter in full:

THOMAS CORKER TO WALSINGHAM.

Ryght honorable my humble dutye Remembred, the proffesy I have agaynst Weston ys y^t^ one Richarde Bacon prysoner in the Flete desyrynge the sayd Weston to borowe money of a lease whiche money fyrst beynge graunted by hym and after that denyed, the sayd Bacon thervppon conceyvinge vnkyndnesse tolde hym that he wolde vtter matter agaynst hym and hys felowes to theyre shame which Weston bad hym doe yf hys conscyence wold serve hym therto; those wordes I overhearynge and after talkynge with him for the same he fully confessed, wyllynge me to vtter the same, promysynge to affyrme and prove the same at anye tyme when he shoulde be called. *He tolde me also y^t^ the sayd Weston had the Scottysshe quenes pycture in his chamber which he kepte w^t^ greate Reverence and shewed hym the same w^t^ greate Reioycenge*, and thys ys also most certayne y^t^ none was greater w^t^ Weston than thys Bacon, and further the sayd Bacon tolde me how unkyndlye he had dealte w^t^ hym consyderynge what he had done for soche in tyme of hys prosperytye

[1] MS. Record Office, *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. x., No. 47.

[2] *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. iii., No. 96.

to hys greate cost. And thus havynge satysfyed yo^r honours Request in what I do so sodenlye Remember and cravinge pardon for my Rude wrytynge I humblye take my leave this vj^th of Maye Anno 1575.

Yo^r honours most

humble and daylye oratour

THOMAS CORKER.

Addressed :—To the ryght honorable M^r. Secretarye Walsingham one of her Ma^ties most honorable pryvye councell.

The source of this type of 1572 we cannot discover, but there is no doubt that Mrs. Anstruther-Duncan's miniature contains an excellent likeness of Mary, as a captive, at about the age of thirty. This work appears to have escaped the authors who have investigated the portraits of the Queen.

It must be observed that I am not claiming contemporaneousness for any of these three curious miniatures which profess to represent Mary at the age of thirty, namely in 1572. Their existence is a puzzle. We know that early in the eighteenth century, a miniature, perhaps a genuine miniature of Mary, was destroyed by the Duke of Hamilton, who was slain by Lord Mohun. The Duke handed over this relic to a painter named Crosse, to be 'made as beautiful as he could,' and the result was merely farcical. The early eighteenth century was helpless in the archaeology of the sixteenth century. I cannot believe that painters of 1680-1800 could possibly invent or furbish up out of genuine sources such a Mary as we see in the Leven and Melville portrait and the miniatures of 1572. Artists would do something which they thought beautiful, like L. Crosse. Much later, in 1819-20, Hilton and others, with the splendid Morton portrait of Mary before their eyes, merely made pretty sentimental parodies of it, in place of accurate copies. Again, eighteenth century artists, being nothing less than historians, would not remember that, in 1572, Mary was the Queen of England, in the eyes of her party, and would not dream of decorating her likeness with the English Royal arms, those of Scotland, and the Garter. They had not the necessary knowledge. Granting then that these three miniatures, claiming to be of 1572, are late productions, emulating the style of Hilliard and his contemporaries, I am led, I repeat, to regard them, not as archaeological counterfeits, but as copies of sixteenth century miniatures of Mary, in the early years of her English captivity.

We must not attribute to eighteenth century artists a taste and genius for such relatively accurate archaeological forgeries as these three miniatures would be. They are more like close copies of once extant popular imagery of Mary's own period.

IV.

We now come to a life-size portrait of Mary, dated 1578. This is the Sheffield portrait, in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, at Hardwick.

The Duke's family, descending from 'Bess of Hardwick,' Countess of Shrewsbury, the jealous wife of Mary's gaoler, the Earl of Shrewsbury, may have inherited the Sheffield portrait from the Countess. A picture of Mary, as Mr. Cust kindly informs me, is named among those which the Countess bequeathed in her will (MS.) of April, 1601. However, I think that the picture, or at least the Latin inscription on it, was not made, or copied, for the heretic Countess, but for Catholic sympathisers with Mary. The inscription, in bad Latin, has clearly been copied erroneously, as Mr. Cust has remarked, from the correct Latin of the inscription as given on another portrait of this period, now in the National Gallery of Portraits. The painter of the Sheffield piece, Oudry, may have been given an inscription to copy, but, like an ignorant lapidary cutting a tombstone, he has copied it wrongly. The words on his picture are MARIA, D. G. SCOTIAE PIISSIMA REGINA. FRANCIAE DOWERIA (for DOTARIA), ANNO REGNI (*que* omitted), 36 ANGLICAE CAPTIVAE (error for CAPTIVIT.) 10 S.H. 1578. Some other copies follow the latinity of the uninstructed P. Oudry. The correct inscription is on the painfully 'restored' Brocas portrait in the National Portrait Gallery.

The inscription, being interpreted, is by no means one that the Countess of Shrewsbury could have ordered to be inserted. It runs 'Mary, by the Grace of God Most Pious Queen of Scotland, Dowager of France, In the Year of her Age and Reign, 36, of her English Captivity, 10. S.H. 1578.'[1]

To the Countess, Mary was probably neither 'most pious,' nor (when they were on bad terms) 'Queen of Scotland.' The rosary which she wears, the enamelled crucifix, and the cross with the device *Angustiae Undique* ('Straits of peril on every hand'), would

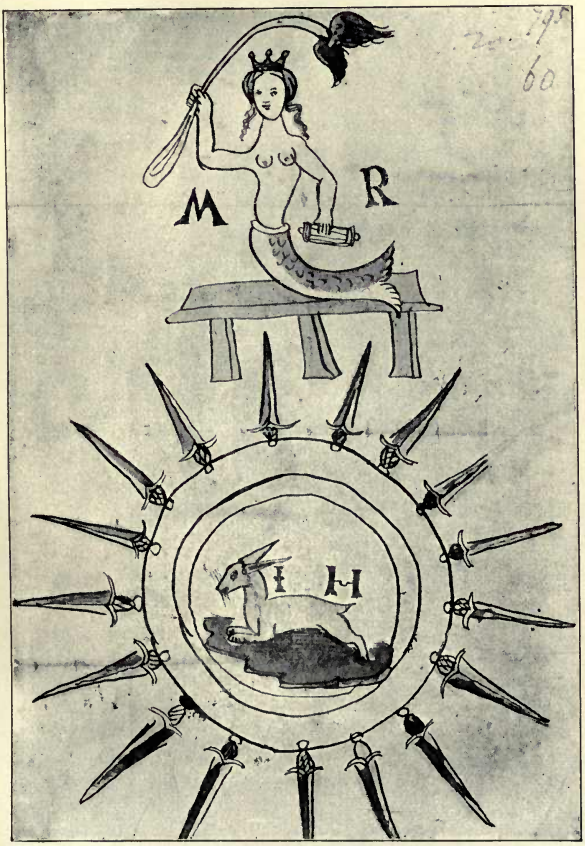
[1] S.H.—*Salutis Humanae*, year of grace, 1578. I owe the interpretation to Mr. Cust.

all be distasteful to the Protestant Countess of Shrewsbury. The Sheffield picture, then, must have been executed for, or at least by a Catholic sympathiser, and, as far as the inscription goes, must have been badly copied from some other work. The Countess possessed portraits of Mary's father and mother, James V. and Mary of Guise. These must have been relics of her husband's prisoner, how acquired by Lady Shrewsbury we do not know. The portrait of Queen Mary may have been a gift, or may have been left behind when the Queen was moved from Sheffield in 1584.

Turning to Mary's personal history, and taking the dates 1577-78, we know that, in August, 1577, a painter was at work on her portrait. He would finish it before 1578, the date when P. Oudry signed the Sheffield portrait. On August 31, 1577, Mary wrote from Sheffield to Archbishop Beaton, her ambassador at the Court of France. She discussed proposals made to her ambassador, through Lord Ogilvy, by the Earl of Morton. The position of the Earl, one of Mary's bitterest enemies, was then perilous. When James VI. came to years of discretion (in 1577 he was eleven), the Regent would be attacked by his countless enemies, and he had a vulnerable point, he was known to have been more or less connected with, or guiltily aware beforehand of the murder of Darnley: this finally brought him to the block, in 1581. In 1576, 1577, he was trying to make friends with Mary; he spoke 'reverently' of her; desired her restoration if James VI. died; and actually offered to give back such of her valuable jewels as were in his hands. If granted an amnesty by Mary, he would labour for her restoration. Beaton had news of this in April, 1577, from Ogilvy, and secretly sent the tidings to Mary.[1] On August 31, 1577, she writes to Beaton that she fears a trap in Morton's offers, but bids Beaton keep him in hand, as his apprehensions for his own safety may possibly make him genuine in his declarations. Beaton is to give him hopes and assistance, and ask for the jewels, or an inventory of them, and for written assurances.

Unluckily we have not Beaton's letters to Mary. Did he ask for her portrait, as a token of her favour to be given to Morton? We do not know: but her secretary, Nau, adds to her letter of August 31, a postscript; 'I thought to have accompanied this letter with a portrait of her Majesty, but the painter has not been able to finish it in time; it will go by the next.'

[1] Hosack, *Queen Mary*, vol. ii., Appendix of letters.



CONTEMPORARY CARICATURE. MARY AS A MERMAID.
1567.

See page 152.

The portrait, then, was nearly finished in August, 1577, but who was the painter?

Had Mary then a painter in her household? In her MS. *Etat*, or list of pensioners and servants, drawn up on July 31, 1573 (now in the library of the Society of the Inner Temple), we find, among her *Valets de Chambre*, 'Jehan de Court,' who was entered in her list as her painter and *valet de chambre* in Scotland, in 1566. Like Gilbert Curle (a gentleman) and Bastien Pages, he now receives, VIII. XX. *livres tournois* as wages: in 1566 he received CC. XL. It is surprising to find him so late as 1572-1573 in Mary's service, and his wages must be arrears of pension due for 1572. M. Feuillet de Conches, in *Causeries d'un Curieux* (vol. iv., p. 434), says that Jehan was with Mary in captivity till September, 1571, when Cecil dismissed him. If this be so, the miniatures of 1572 may be after a portrait by Jehan de Court. But the letters of September 1571 only give the names of the servants who remained with Mary, not of those who departed. I feel no certainty that Jehan de Court was ever actually in Scotland with Mary. True, his name is on her Household list of Feb. 3, 1566-67, and he receives the same salary as Clouet, called Janet, then received from the French King. But a study of Mary's Household list of 1573 proves that, even when a captive and in sore straits for money to support her cause in Scotland, she was paying *gages* (wages) to many old retainers who were in France. It is quite in accordance with her generous nature to have gone on paying to Jehan de Court, in France, in 1566, the full rate of salary of a Court painter, merely as a tribute to his art. In 1573 she could do so no longer, but she paid him, even then, as pension, the wages of a *valet de chambre*.

Again, we know that in France Clouet was employed to paint not only portraits, but banners and coats-of-arms.[1] Now, on consulting the MS. Treasurer's Accounts of 1566, for Scotland, I find Darnley employing not Jehan, but Walter Binning, to paint his and the French King's arms, when he received the Order of St. Michel. (In January, 1565-66. Payment made on June 14.)[2] Binning in 1558-1561, was engaged to do the paintings for the feasts on Mary's wedding, and on her State entry into Edinburgh. I naturally examined the Treasurer's Accounts for the painting and decoration done at Stirling, at the Baptism of James VI., in

[1] Dimier, *French Painting in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 202, 203.

[2] Treasurers' Accounts, MS., June, 1566.

December, 1566. Money was paid for colours and gold, but there is no record of payment to the artist who used them. He *may* have been Jehan de Court, paid out of Mary's own dowry. In December, 1567, Binning was paid eight pounds for painting sixteen coats-of-arms. Mary was then a prisoner in Loch Leven Castle. The Binnings were an old family, retainers of the Douglases since the thirteenth century, one of them was with Archibald Douglas at Darnley's murder.

Jehan de Court may have been with the Queen in 1566, may even have come over in January with Clerneau who brought the Order for Darnley, but he did not paint Darnley's arms as Clouet painted arms in Paris. It is, therefore, still an open question whether Jehan de Court was actually in Scotland or not in 1566. Certainly de Court was not with Mary at Sheffield, in 1572-73, though he appears then in her list of *valets de chambre*. In the autumn of 1572 he succeeded Clouet, recently dead, as a French Court painter, and in 1573 M. Dimier inclines to regard him as the painter of a portrait of the future Henri III., which has usually been taken for the King's younger brother, the Duc d'Alençon.

Again, as in January, 1575, Mary wrote to Paris asking Beaton to send her thence four miniatures of herself, set in gold, for English friends,[1] Jehan de Court can no longer have been in her service in 1575, but had returned to France by that date. We do not know, then, what artist, English or French, good or bad, painted Mary at Sheffield in 1577. Mr. Cust suggests that only a miniature, not a full length, which it would be difficult to send to Paris, was done in that year. But Mary sends to Paris for a bed (a present for Shrewsbury) and for large chandeliers: her French Chancellor of her Dowry estates was allowed to come and stay with her for months, and there would be no difficulty, I think, either about the presence of a French painter, in August, 1577 (he may have accompanied the French Chancellor of Mary's dower estates, who then was with her at Sheffield), or as to sending even a large picture from Sheffield to France. A bed for Mary was sent from France in 1579, with ten thousand crowns hidden in a mattress![2]

The Sheffield portrait, we saw, is signed 'P. Oudry.' The only person of that name known to us in connection with Mary (a fact not observed by our authors) is the man who was her *brodeur*, or Embroiderer, in 1560-67. His name appears in

[1] Labanoff, iv. p. 256. [2] Labanoff, v. pp. 67, 87.

PLATE VII.

MRS. ANSTRUTHER DUNCAN'S MINIATURE.

Mary as Captive Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Dated 1572.
Probably an Eighteenth Century Copy.

See page 142.

Teulet's register[1] of her Household, in 1566-67; and in various earlier lists drawn up by her steward, Servais de Condé.[2]

In the list of 1566-67 Oudry occurs under the heading *Gens de Mestier*, with a *passementier*, a gold worker, and a shoemaker. In 1573 the heading *Gens de Mestier Pensonniaires* occurs, but it is followed by a blank space for the names. Perhaps all four *gens de mestier* had been removed in one of the periodical attempts to cut Mary's household down to thirty persons. Such attempts were made in 1572, after the Bartholomew massacre, and the rage and fear which it caused in England. Mary, however, as we know from a letter of Walsingham to Shrewsbury, had an embroiderer unnamed, in 1578, the year of Oudry's portrait painting, and the man's wife was refused permission to see Mary, in May, 1578.[3] Even the intercession of the French ambassador could not win Elizabeth's grace, and the embroiderer's wife was to be sent back to London. Where her husband then was, whether at Sheffield or not, does not appear. For all that is said in Shrewsbury's and Walsingham's correspondence of May, 1578, the embroiderer may have been then at Sheffield: it was his wife whom they distrusted as apt to carry messages to France or elsewhere for the captive Queen.

Mary seems to have been unwilling to exist without a *brodeur*. Even as a prisoner at Loch Leven (1567-1568) she begged that an embroiderer might be sent to her, and he may have worked the famous emblematical hangings of the bed described by Drummond of Hawthornden. As late as November, 1585, when at Tutbury, she was on ill terms with her embroiderer (Oudry ?) she wished to dismiss him and his wife.[4] In August, 1586, when Mary was seized at Chertley, and taken to Fotheringhay to die, her embroiderer was one Charles Plouvart.[5] He had no wife, or none at Chertley. Whether Oudry the embroiderer painted the Sheffield portrait at Sheffield, or elsewhere, in 1578, the hard unpractised style and helpless perspective of the work are explained. He was no painter by profession, and was

[1] Teulet, ii. p. 277.

[2] Robertson's *Inventaires de la Royne d'Escosse*, Bannatyne Club, 1863.

[3] *State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. xlv. p. 22. Walsingham to Shrewsbury, May 30, 1578.

[4] *State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. xlvi. No. 69. Paulett to Walsingham, Nov. 30, 1585.

[5] Labanoff, vii. p. 251.

probably copying a work by a better artist, perhaps the artist employed in August, 1577. *His* identity and nationality remain as obscure as ever.

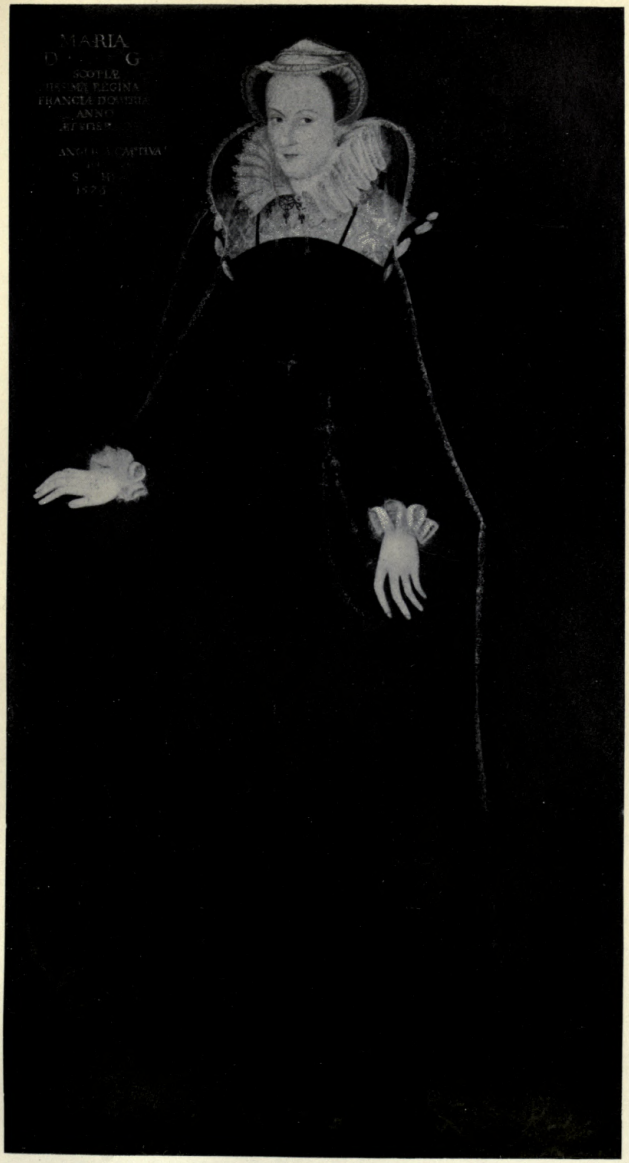
Of the painter of the 'Brocas,' a variant of the (Oudry) Sheffield portrait, now in the National Portrait Gallery, Sir George Scharf says 'he was neither an artist nor an inventor. He must have had a reality before him.' But was that reality,—Mary? or a portrait of her, or a copy of a portrait?

There are apt to be as many critical opinions as there are art critics; but Monsieur Dimier, Mr. Cust, and Sir Edward Poynter all think much more highly of the painter of the Brocas portrait than Sir George Scharf did.[1] I do not know whether he regarded the Brocas portrait as a copy of the Sheffield by Oudry, or whether he meant that the 'reality' before the painter of the Brocas portrait was the Queen herself. Sir George was 'disposed to lay the greatest stress upon Oudry's (Sheffield) portrait, as the original source from which so many modified types are derived.' Yet it is not an original, manifestly it is a mechanical copy.

Meanwhile Mr. Cust, and Monsieur Dimier think, as we have said, that a portrait in the National Portrait Gallery, 'the Brocas portrait' marked on the back with the C. R. and Crown of Charles I., showing the Queen, not as far as the carpet below the feet, but to a little below the hips, is a much better and more original work than that of Oudry, 'a mechanical copyist.' The National Gallery portrait has suffered from time and the restorer, and, though Mary is not such a squinting and aquiline hag as in Oudry's work, 'it can hardly be said to please the spectator or flatter its subject,' writes Mr. Cust.

We might speak more favourably of an interesting variant of this portrait, which belongs to the Duke of Portland. Mr. Cust supposes it to be a copy of the portrait at Hardwick, 'probably made, with others relating to the family history, for William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle . . . the inscription repeats the errors of the Hardwick portrait.'[2] But as photographed in the Welbeck Catalogue, No. 537. (1894) the inscription is *in English*, beginning 'An Original of Mary, Queen of Scots.' The face is infinitely more pleasing, and more like my own notion of Mary, than the ill drawn face of the Hardwick (Oudry) portrait, and the hands are well designed; in the Hardwick the drawing of the hands is absurdly bad. The

[1] See Scharf, in Foster, pp. 115, 116. Cust, pp. 76, 77. [2] Cust, p. 82.



SHEFFIELD PORTRAIT, 1578.
By P. Oudry

See page 145.

English inscription appears to me to be of the seventeeenth century. Looking at this Welbeck portrait we ask, is it a much better copy of the original likeness of 1577 which Oudry copied so detestably; or is it a late, modified, and improved study after Oudry's own performance? Has an unknown painter of the end of the sixteenth, or of the seventeenth century, merely bettered the amateur daub of Oudry? This question we leave to the learned: M. Dimier thinks that it is not a copy of Oudry's work.

In all the portraits of the Sheffield type of 1578, the face is very long, and rather thin, and the nose has an aquiline tendency, exaggerated in the picture signed by P. Oudry. We shall try to show that this aquiline tendency is untrue to nature; at least it is absent from Mary's portraits in childhood, in girlhood, and after the age of forty, in the latest years of her life. In the Florence and Amsterdam miniatures, in Lesley's medallion, in the miniatures dated 1572, and in the Morton and Leven and Melville portraits, too, the nose is long, low and straight.

Mr. Cust looks for the original from which come all the portraits of the Sheffield type, and finds it in the hypothetical miniature of August, 1577. Their 'hard unpleasing effect' is due 'to the fact of their having been painted away from their subject.'[1] He adds, 'the fault lay in the original painter, who was probably one of the mediocre journeyman painters who were scattered over England.[2] . . .' 'There can be little doubt but that the original version of this portrait was taken from the life.'[3] Shall we interpret Mr. Cust as meaning that, in 1577, a hard and arid portrait of Mary was done, for Beaton, from the life, by a strolling English journeyman painter, and was copied, in various degrees of dryness and hardness, by Oudry and other copyists. In that case a hard and arid original was sent to Beaton in 1577; we have however no documentary evidence that it really was despatched.

We get on but slowly! Mary was painted, by somebody, in August-September, 1577, and the portrait, large or small, was to be sent to her ambassador in Paris. A bad copy, signed 'P. Oudry,' and dated 1578, exists, and there are variants of *that*, or of the original whence that was copied. All show the Queen at various lengths, in various attitudes (in the Brocas her hand is on her side, in which she had a constant pain) and with slight modifications of costume, but she is always in deep

[1] Cust, p. 78. [2] Cust, p. 79. [3] Cust, p. 79.

mourning, and wears jet ornaments, and Catholic emblems. All of these Sheffield types were originally intended, as I have argued, for Catholic adherents.

V.

We now come to a portrait representing Mary at about the age of thirty-six, and actually looking no older! It has no inscription; nothing about *Piissima Regina Scotiae*; no Catholic emblems; no jet ornaments; no painter's signature, and was clearly *not* meant for a Catholic adherent. It is infinitely better executed than any of the Sheffield type. This is the Earl of Morton's portrait, which Horace Walpole deemed the most to be relied upon—*why*, he did not say.

Sir George Scharf wrote that the Morton portrait is celebrated, 'owing to the very effective engraving of it' published by Lodge. That engraving, however, as Labanoff saw, in no way resembles the original Morton portrait; and is taken from a water-colour sketch in which W. Hilton, R.A., in 1819, modernised the Morton portrait,[1] altering face, hands, dress, and what else he pleased. Hilton made the Queen a pretty modern coquette; Martin, in 1818,—still travestying the Morton portrait,—made her a sentimental Saint. Mr. Cust thinks the Morton (which he has seen), superior to the Sheffield as a work of art, but much less 'convincing as a likeness.'[2]

Here, with all deference, I scarcely agree with Mr. Cust. In the first place, so long as a portrait is true in all respects to the known facts of Mary's face,—the more pleasing it is, the more probable is the likeness! For the face of this 'gentlewoman' was 'pleasing' as Knox writes in his History. Had it not been 'pleasing' her own history might have been happier. Even the caricaturist who, in 1567, after Darnley's murder, drew Mary as a Siren, made her face eminently pleasing. The lofty brow, the rather long low nose, the oval of the face, the small mouth, and the sidelong glance, in this caricature, are all Mary's, and all are pleasing, rude as is the sketch.[3] I am convinced that the Morton portrait (though, like those of the Sheffield type, it darkens and strengthens the eyebrows), shows to us, saddened and altered by some thirteen years and innumerable sorrows, the face of the medal of 1558; of the

[1] Cust, p. 86, note.

[2] Cust, p. 86.

[3] The caricature is published in my *Mystery of Mary Stuart*.

THE MORTON PORTRAIT. 1577-1580 (?)

See page 152.

early French drawings; and of the *deuil blanc*. (1561.) The nose is not an aquiline beak: it is long and low, the expression is melancholy and stately, not coquettish, *à la Hilton*: or angelic, *à la Martin*, or tormented, as in Oudry's work. It is a human face, and the face of a Queen who looked her part. (The original Morton portrait is photographed by Mr. Caw, in *Scottish Portraits*, and is also in my *Mystery of Mary Stuart*.) The Queen's right hand fingers the pearl pendant of a table of ruby (she had such a jewel, but they were common enough): the left hand holds a handkerchief, 'having two white tassels projecting stiffly from the corners,' says Sir George Scharf. James V. fingers a pearl as Mary does here in a well-known portrait; Darnley holds a handkerchief as she does, in a portrait done before his marriage, say in 1560-64. (Photographed in *The Mystery of Mary Stuart*.) The handkerchief, says Sir George Scharf, is common in Honthorst's pictures, namely about 1620-50. Honthorst, we know, painted Montrose, after the death of Charles I. (1648) for Elizabeth, 'Queen of Hearts,' or that portrait of Montrose is attributed to Honthorst. But Sir George Scharf elsewhere assigns the Morton portrait to 'the close of the sixteenth century,'[1] as a probable date. This is inconsistent with his theories of a late date, long after the close of the sixteenth century, as when he thought that the Morton piece was perhaps by Van Somer, for James VI.; or by Honthorst for the Queen of Hearts. 'Direct copies or adaptations of this Morton portrait are scarcely ever to be met with,' while copies of the Sheffield type, and of the false 'Carleton' type are very common.

I confess to being rather sceptical as to verdicts that vary thus, and are based on fleeting opinions about the internal evidence of style and treatment. If fingering a jewel is an artistic attitude of about 1540 (as it is) why should a painter of 1620-40 follow it in the Morton portrait; and if to hold a handkerchief is an attitude of 1560, as in the picture of Darnley, how does it bring the date of a portrait down to the late day of Honthorst, say 1620-50?[2]

Mr. Cust thinks that the painter of the Morton portrait 'had instructions to modify the unsatisfactory and distasteful appearance given by Oudry in the Sheffield portrait.' But, if the painter of the Morton portrait was French, he probably

[1] Scharf, *apud* Foster, p. 117. Date of writing 1876.

[2] Scharf, *apud* Cust, pp. 84, 85.

never saw the Oudry copy of something unknown, done in 1577. He *may* have seen the original then painted for Beaton. Mr. Cust argues that the absence of religious emblems 'denotes a later period.' But, if the portrait was to go to Scotland, in 1577-87, or was done for a Scot then or later living in Scotland, the Catholic emblems would necessarily be omitted. The preachers would have thundered against them: Morton could not have endured them. On the other hand nobody in France would persecute a painter for painting a Mary, for Morton or George Douglas, without religious emblems. She was often painted with none.

Now, if a portrait of Mary was taken to France from Sheffield in 1577-78, why should not Jehan de Court in Paris, Jehan so familiar with Mary's face, have painted the Morton portrait, or corrected the performance of a painter working on the basis of what was done at Sheffield in August, 1577? If so (granting that the style and costume present no insuperable difficulty), the excellence of the likeness in the Morton portrait is explained, and the picture might either be sent to Morton, or given then or later to George Douglas, who helped to rescue Mary from Loch Leven, and was constantly in France on her business, and always in close touch with Archbishop Beaton as late as 1585. A foolish legend says that it was painted during Mary's captivity at Loch Leven (1567-68), but Meyrick in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1836, vol. v. p. 251) simply remarks that it has been very long in the family, and was done for George Douglas. From the 'broader and freer style' of the Morton portrait Mr. Cust would assign it to a date about 1608, 'some thirty years later than the Sheffield portrait.' I have confessed to 'giving but a doubtsome credit' to judgments based on internal evidence of style, though a child could see that the Hilton copy of the Morton portrait is about the date of *Books of Beauty*, about 1820-30. M. Georges Lafenestre, in his book *L'Exposition des Primitifs Français*, remarks on 'the extremely divergent opinions, as to chronology and iconography' (especially as regards portraits attributed to Jean Clouet), entertained by the learned MM. Bouchot and Dimier.[1] 'The more one goes into these things, the more sceptical one becomes,' writes M. Bouchot. He speaks here, to be sure, of a somewhat earlier period.

As to the possession of the portrait by the present Earl of

[1] Lafenestre, pp. 100, 101.

PENICUIK JEWEL. SIR GEORGE CLERK, BART. MARY.
Circ. 1584 (?)

PENICUIK JEWEL. MINIATURE OF JAMES VI.
Circ. 1576-79.

See page 155.

Morton, to come to history, he descends from the Douglases of Loch Leven, heirs of the Regent Morton. My suggested pedigree of the Morton portrait, through the Regent or George Douglas, is conjectural, but far from improbable: Lord Morton does possess an admirable contemporary portrait of his collateral kinsman, the Regent Morton. (Photographed in *The Mystery of Mary Stuart.*)

Thus 'the most pleasing presentation of Mary Stuart extant,' as Mr. Cust calls the Morton portrait, may also be one of the most authentic, though not necessarily of date 1577-78. Granting an original of 1577, it might be studied from that, at a later period, for George Douglas, though the later the date, the more would the painter follow the very last portraits of Mary, flat faced, with a double chin. The historical facts, as to the relations of the Regent Morton, Mary, and Archbishop Beaton, in August, 1577, point to the probability that Beaton (who could get as many miniatures of Mary, of early date, as he pleased, in Paris), wanted to send to Morton a *contemporary* likeness of the Queen, whom he was trying to conciliate.

VI.

The source of the Morton was probably the portrait done at Sheffield for Beaton in 1577, and in France Jehan de Court, or another excellent painter working under his direction, could produce it.[1] It is true that the tiny miniature in the gold jewel at Penicuik, which came direct to the family of Sir George Clark of Penicuik through Barbara Mowbray, one of the Queen's ladies, represents no known type. But while the artist has produced, in his dot of space, a recognisable likeness of James VI. as 'a somewhat watery little boy,' he has not been successful with Mary. No known type is followed, the gown is of claret colour and gold, and there is gold (gilt) on the cap. We do not know where these miniatures and the jewel that contains them were fashioned.

Again, in the account of Nicholas Hilliard, by Mr. R. E. Graves, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, it is said that Hilliard, a miniaturist, painted a portrait of Mary in 1579. The miniature of 1579 was once in the Bale

[1] Jehan was a painter, not the only one, of Charles IX., after 1572. Dimier, *Le Portrait du XVI. Siècle*, p. 33.

collection, and later in that of Mr. Whitehead. I do not know any documentary evidence for the painting of Mary in 1579, but, in the early summer of 1579, she was allowed to send her secretary, Claude Nau, on a mission to her son James VI. He carried papers and presents, and nothing is more natural than that Mary should have sent a miniature of herself, if she could get one, while Hilliard was high in the favour of Elizabeth, and could be trusted to visit the captive Queen. Mary sent to James VI. at this date, small models of guns, in gold, as we learn from the French ambassador of the day.

Nau was not permitted to have an interview with James, then a boy of thirteen, nor was James allowed to receive his mother's gifts. One of the gold guns was among her possessions at Chertley, in 1586, brought back, no doubt, by Nau, from Scotland.[1] Nothing was more natural than that, in 1579, Mary should send to her son her miniature, if she could get it painted. Mr. Whitehead kindly informs me that he no longer possesses this interesting object. It is photographed in the catalogue of the Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition of 1885 (Plate xxxi). It is an oval, with the usual blue background, inscribed 'Anno Domini 1579, M.R.' The subject, who does not look more than Mary's actual age, thirty-seven, wears a black cap, square in front, baggy behind; a small ruff, hair puffed up at the sides and above the forehead, a double chain of pearls, and a pendant jewel, with no Catholic emblems. The face is still thin, long, and queenly, it is a face to which James's boyish heart might well have gone out, as to a handsome young mother: there is nothing in it of the melancholy *dévote*, as in the Sheffield type. But whether the M.R. of this miniature was really 'Maria Regina,' or not, I cannot say. The historical environment is certainly plausible and appropriate; in 1579 Mary would, if she could, get a miniature of herself to send, with other gifts, to her boy. Judging by the photograph of this miniature, the eyes, though like the Queen's in shape and setting, are too light in hue to represent her; Mr. Way says that they are grey. In other respects the features are like her own.

[1] Labanoff, v. pp. 89-98.

ANDREW LANG.

(*To be continued.*)

The Scottish Nobility and their part in the National History [1]

THE Scottish nobles undoubtedly bear a bad name in our national history. The general opinion of them, indeed, might be summed up in a single sentence: they bullied weak kings and abetted bad ones, and in each case it was their own selfish interests that inspired them. In passing such a judgment, however, it is well to remember the saying of Burke. It is futile to indict a nation, Burke said, for in so doing we are, in fact, indicting human nature. Though the saying of Burke does not apply with the same force to a class as to a nation, yet if we find a numerous body of men, conditioned by common interests, playing the same part throughout successive centuries, the inference must surely be that they were but following the natural instincts implanted in universal man. Put the worst construction we choose on our historic nobility, our judgment of them must be mitigated by the consideration that had we been in their place we should have been influenced by the same motives, and done our best or worst for the class to which we belonged.

But do the facts of our national history justify such a sweeping condemnation of the general conduct of the Scottish nobility? Was their action so maleficent that it was productive of no single benefit to the country to which they owed their birth and their privileges? In the lives of nations, as of individuals, there are few, if any, unmixed evils, and the presumption is that even taking the Scottish nobles at the worst, they did some good to their nation, even though we may deny them the credit of doing it from disinterested motives. As far as the scope of a single paper will permit, let us follow the action of the Scottish nobles throughout the period when it most directly influenced the national development—not holding a brief for them, but simply

[1] Delivered as an Introductory Lecture to the Class of Ancient (Scottish) History in the University of Edinburgh, Session 1905-1906.

trying to see the scope of their action in the light of the general movements of the time. In making such a survey, it is necessary that we should go beyond the limits of Scotland, since in every period of her history Scotland was directly or indirectly influenced by what took place in other countries of Christendom. At one time or other every class in the Scottish nation was affected by the examples of the corresponding classes among other peoples; our kings learned lessons from the kings of France and England, our nobles from their own class in the same countries, and our burghs from similar corporations in England or on the Continent.

It is from the reign of David II. that the action of the Scottish nobles begins consistently to affect the course of the national development. They had been sufficiently in evidence both during the War of Independence and before it, but it was in the reign of David II. that they first began as a class to realise their relation to the Crown on the one hand, and the Church and the burghs on the other. From the necessities of their position their relation to all three was equally that of antagonism. They dreaded encroachments on their privileges by the Crown; they regarded the higher clergy as their formidable rivals in wealth and popular influence; and with a sure instinct they saw in the developing commerce of the burghs the growth of a power that would undermine the very foundations on which their order was based. From the reign of David to the Reformation we can trace in the persistent policy of the nobles the prompting of all these antagonisms, though it is their opposition to the Crown that is written largest in history. At the Reformation, the nobility, like every other class in the nation, came under influences which profoundly affected their position, their aims, and methods of action. Still as an order they continued to maintain the traditions of their origin, and at every crisis we find them animated by the same motives which had actuated them in the period prior to the Reformation. Let us then look at the part which they played during these two periods respectively—that preceding the Reformation, and the century and a half that followed it.

On the death of Bruce in 1329 the Scottish nobles were in a position which for good and ill was fraught with momentous issues for the future of the kingdom. From a policy as necessary as it was prudent at the time, Bruce had made lavish grants of lands to such as had stood by him in his great work of freeing the country from the English domination. In the

case of such families as that of the Douglasses, the grants had been on a scale which made their feudal heads all but the co-equals of the sovereign himself. In every part of the kingdom such feudatories were to be found, and if they had not been divided by rival interests among themselves, it would have been an easy task for them to wipe out the monarchy and set up as petty kings on their own account. Powerful in their own resources, the condition of the kingdom rendered them still more formidable. In the first place, the Crown was lacking in the main elements that gave stability and force to a feudal monarchy. It had been the greatness of Bruce's achievement and not the family claims that he could advance to the throne that had made him the honoured sovereign of his people. His son David came to the throne with all the prestige of his father's name, but his own character and conduct were such as to make his subjects forget the father's glory in the irresponsibility of the son. On his death came the dynasty of the Stewarts, which for essential and accidental reasons was unhappy in all the circumstances that were requisite to establish it in the affection and respect of the country. Through the accident of his father's marriage with Marjory Bruce, Robert II., the first of the Stewart line, inherited the throne, and, though his right may have been indefeasible, it was not forgotten by the proud barons that he had been but one of themselves, and neither the most distinguished nor of the most ancient descent. As it happened, also, the first kings of the House of Stewart possessed none of the qualities that might have compensated for the suddenness of their elevation. Robert II. and Robert III. were both such feeble personages that they remained in tutelage throughout the whole of their reigns. While families like the Douglasses were performing brilliant feats of valour in defence of their country, the kings of Scots, its natural champions, were spending their lives in amiable indolence in such courts as they possessed. From the death of Robert III., moreover, a singular fatality attended the House of Stewart—a fatality which deeply affected the entire development of the country. From the accession of James I. to the accession of Charles I.—a period of two hundred and nineteen years—there was a minority, longer or shorter, in every reign. The effect of minorities in weakening the Crown and strengthening the barons is illustrated not only in the history of Scotland but in that of every feudal country. A French noble at the close of the sixteenth century pithily summed up the traditions of his

order with reference to royal minorities. 'If the King is a minor,' he said, 'we will be majors.' Through this combination of circumstances it was that the Scottish baronage were placed in a position that enabled them to make so light of the authority of successive kings. In other countries, as in France during the Hundred Years' War, the nobles occasionally found themselves in the same relations to their kings, but nowhere did so many circumstances for so prolonged a period make it possible for them to maintain their advantage.

In their relations to the Crown, the nobles of Scotland met with no such serious counter-checks as their class found in England or France. In these two countries during the period of which we are speaking, the kings found strong support both from the clergy and the commons. In Scotland the clergy and the commons were generally on the side of the Crown, but neither the one nor the other was sufficiently powerful to sway the balance steadily in its favour. The time had passed when spiritual terrors daunted kings and nobles alike, and it was only when upheld by temporal authority that the Church could make its influence felt on any class in the country. But, as the kings did not possess this authority, the clergy were unequal to maintaining the balance between the rival powers in the State. And the communities in the towns were equally powerless to turn the scale in the direction they would have wished. It was to the kings that the royal burghs, the most important of the towns, looked for their privileges and the encouragement of their enterprise, but the towns themselves had conflicting interests, and they were incapable of the steady collective action which might have made them an effectual force in the country.

From this survey of the position of the Scottish nobility in the two centuries preceding the Reformation, it will be seen that they had ample opportunity of displaying all the instincts of their class, and it is precisely the manner in which they did display them that has given them their bad name. The iniquities laid to their charge may be ranged under three heads—their addiction to private feuds, their lack of patriotism, and their contempt of the royal authority.

In connection with all three counts, there is a well-known saying which should not be forgotten: 'One century may judge another century, but only his own century may judge the individual,' and the saying holds equally true in our judgment of a class. In applying this maxim, be it noted, we are not

inventing excuses; we are merely seeking an explanation. That private feuds abounded in Scotland at the period under notice, that they were the perennial cause of bloodshed and anarchy, are facts of which there can be no question. But, as the feudal society was constituted, this state of things was in truth as natural as trade competition at the present day. The innumerable bonds of manrent, by which one group of feudatories entered into a paction against their common enemies, are the eloquent commentary on this fact. The root of all the mischief was that each feudal lord was responsible for the life and goods of every dweller on his domain. An unavenged injury to any person or thing, however indirectly connected with him, was at once a personal insult and a derogation from his authority. If he could not defend those who looked to him for protection, the very reason for his existence was at an end. Placed in this position, he was like a spider at the centre of its web, every vibration of which touched the nerve of its occupant. A neighbouring town, a refractory vassal, the lord of a contiguous domain, would injure or insult one of his dependants, and there was a quarrel ready-made which he was bound to see through with all the resources at his command. And it is to be remembered that the feudal baron claimed as his prescriptive right the privilege of making war on his neighbours when all other means of obtaining redress had failed. The kings had, indeed, in large degree succeeded in depriving them of this privilege, but the barons never admitted that it was not their inalienable right.

When such were the responsibilities and such the powers of the Scottish baron of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it can hardly excite our wonder that he was naturally a hot-blooded and turbulent person, ready at any moment to make good his case at the sword's point. As was said, the turbulence of the Scots nobility cannot be gainsaid, but what of the members of their class in other countries? If we take our specimens from Germany, we know that the exploits of a Wolf of Badenoch were of every-day occurrence in that country. The famous Goetz von Berlichingen, of whom Goethe made a hero, was not the greatest sinner of his kind, but the record of his deeds leaves far behind that of any Douglas of them all. In Germany the central authority was even weaker than it was in Scotland; but what was the character of the feudal noble in France, which in the arts of life was in advance of most other countries? Here is a passage from a living French historian, in which

he describes the French noble of the period of the Hundred Years' War.

'The commanders of the royal armies, those who ought to have been honoured as the defenders of their country, were not less merciless to the common people than the English or the brigands. They violated every law prescribed by the code of chivalry. Charles of Blois, whom the inhabitants of Brittany honoured as a saint, did not even keep his word to towns which had capitulated. Princes of the blood royal committed the most shameful crimes; the Duc de Berri poignarded the Count of Flanders; John the Fearless had his cousin, the Duke of Orleans, assassinated, and he was himself done to death by his kinsman, the Dauphin of France. One of the Dukes of Brittany had his own brother murdered; a certain Count de Foix allowed his son to die of hunger in a dungeon. A certain Sieur de Giac did away with his wife; a certain Sieur de Retz kidnapped little children, and made experiments in sorcery by subjecting them to a slow death.' Such was the French baron of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Paint his Scottish brother as black as we may, it would certainly appear that neither Scottish King nor Scottish people would have made a good bargain by exchanging him.

A second charge against the Scottish feudal nobility is that they were lacking in patriotism. The facts of their history do not justify such a sweeping statement, but it is true that certain of the most eminent of them did not scruple to fight under the English banner against their own countrymen. In the reign of Robert III. the great Earl of March became a renegade because Robert's heir, the Duke of Rothesay, threw over March's daughter, to whom he had been betrothed, and took a wife from the House of Douglas. In the reign of James II., the Earl of Douglas rebelled against his rightful prince, and when beaten, did not hesitate to offer his services to England against his native country. Their action, we say, was detestable, but we have to recall the fact that the relations of the Scottish nobles to their kings had been dubious from the beginning. As many of them owned domains in both countries, their allegiance was a variable disposition, largely determined by the circumstances of the moment. Moreover, the successive hazards of the Scottish succession had unsettled public opinion with regard to dynastic claims. Robert Bruce had made good his claim by his pre-eminence as a soldier and a statesman, but the fact could not be ignored that John Balliol had as good

a right to the throne as he, and on the accession of David Bruce, the son of John Balliol was preferred by many to the son of the hero-King. And the House of Stewart, we have seen, alike from its origin and from the character of its first representatives, did not command such respect and devotion from the Scottish people as to surround it in special degree with the sacrosanct halo of sovereignty.

But the truth is, that in accusing the Scottish nobles of lack of patriotism we are testing them by a standard which we cannot in historic justice apply to them. It may be broadly said that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the idea of patriotism, as we understand it, was hardly realised by any class in any country of Christendom. If any national experience was fitted to awake patriotic sentiment, it was the experience of France during the Hundred Years' War, yet here is how the French historian already quoted describes the conduct of the French nobility during that disastrous period: 'During the so-called English wars,' he says, 'it was Frenchmen themselves who did most mischief to their country. It was Robert of Artois and Geoffrey of Harcourt who incited the first debarcation of Edward III. on the shores of France; it was with an army partly composed of Gascons that the Black Prince gained the battle of Poictiers; it was a French prince, Charles the Bad, who ravaged the Île de France; it was the Duke of Burgundy who opened the gates of Paris to the English; it was a Norman bishop and Norman judges who burned Joan of Arc.' In England patriotic sentiment was more developed than in France, but in the conduct of the English nobles as a class during the Wars of the Roses there is little appearance of a disinterested attachment to their country.

But if we wish a striking illustration of the fact that patriotism was still a rudimentary feeling throughout the period under notice, we may find it in the indirect testimony of two great historians—in Froissart who wrote at the close of the fourteenth century, and De Comines who wrote at the beginning of the sixteenth. Froissart was the brilliant interpreter of the spirit and ideals of the aristocracy of his time, but, set panegyrist of them though he is, it never occurs to him to commend any of his heroes for self-sacrificing devotion to the interests of their country. The idea of patriotism, in fact, is not in his book. There is but one kingdom he knows, the Kingdom of Chivalry—in which every doughty knight, whatever his race or country,

was the free-born subject. As for De Comines, who is such a striking contrast to Froissart in all his modes of thought and feeling, he gave in his own conduct a practical illustration of the little regard in which he held the claims of country. Solely in the interest of his own personal fortunes, he deserted his natural sovereign, the Duke of Burgundy, at a critical juncture in his affairs, and gave his services to that sovereign's most deadly enemy, Louis XI. of France. From these considerations, then, it would appear that in indicting Scottish nobles for lack of patriotism, we are in fact arraigning them for a crime which was at least common to their class, and which it is, in truth, pointless to lay specially at their door.

The other count against them—that of insubordination against their rightful kings—may be regarded as commensurate with that which we have just been considering—their alleged lack of patriotism; and what has been said of the one charge equally applies to the other. The nobles of every country deemed it their right to rise against their kings when their privileges were infringed, and no other means of redress was open to them. The traditional attitude of the feudal nobility to the Crown was, in point of fact, entirely distinct from the attitude of the clergy and the people. For the clergy an anointed king was a sacred being, designated by heaven for his function. He continued the office of Saul and David; it was sacrilege to touch his person, and impiety to question his authority—so long as it was sanctioned by the Church. In the eyes of the people, the sceptre was the divine symbol of the royal authority; the throne, the fountain of justice. The feudal noble had no such exalted notions of the person of the prince. For him he was not the sovereign, but simply the suzerain, the head of the system of which he was himself a member, and, therefore, only *primus inter pares*. It is true that kings had come to impose themselves as sovereigns as well as suzerains over all classes of their subjects, but the original relation was never forgotten by the class of the nobles, and they never failed to re-assert it when it lay in their power. Even into the seventeenth century both French and Scottish nobles, Protestant as well as Catholic, found the opportunity of reminding their kings of the original bond between them. The French nobility in the reign of Louis XIII. and the Scottish nobility in the reign of Charles I. convincingly proved to these kings that they had not forgotten the traditions of their order.

Thus far we have only been seeking to understand the

conditions which underlay the action of the Scottish nobility. But the more important question remains, What was the general tendency of their action in the development of the country? Had it no beneficent result on the well-being of the Scottish people, no saving influence on constitutional liberty? An adequate discussion of these questions would require much larger scope than a single lecture, but a few points may be suggested for consideration, and be it remembered that we are still concerned with the atrocious two centuries preceding the Reformation.

It would certainly be a large assumption to maintain that in the strife between king and noble, the king was always right and that the noble was always wrong. In the reign of Robert III., one of his Parliaments passed an Act which is thus suggestively described: 'The misgovernment of the realm to be imputed to the king and his officers.' After all due allowance for the exaggerated language of statutes, the 'misgovernment' must have been sufficiently serious, as an Act of a previous Parliament of the same king speaks of 'horrible destructions, herships, burnings, and slaughters commonly done through all the kingdom.' But this was, in greater or less degree, the condition of the country throughout the feeble reigns of Robert II., Robert III., and James III. That the miseries were mainly due to the weakness of these kings is proved by the simple fact that under the vigorous rule of James II. and James IV. order and peace were firmly maintained throughout the country—the Highlands always excepted. As a remedy for misgovernment, the Parliament already mentioned, following the example of the French States-General, enacted that the king 'to excuse his defaults' should summon his officials before his Council and charge them with their misconduct. Whatever may have been their motives, the barons who passed this Act must be credited with going to the root of the evils from which the country was suffering.

In another action of the nobility they were undoubtedly in the right, and the kings in the wrong. In the interests of France rather than in the interests of their own kingdom, one Scottish king after another insisted on leading an invading host into England, and in almost every case with disaster. On such an expedition David II. was taken at Neville's Cross, and the payment of his ransom was an incubus on the country for half a century. Had James IV. listened to the advice of his barons, Scotland would have been saved the calamity of Flodden. Once and again the Duke of Albany, who acted as Regent during the

minority of James V., would have crossed the Border in the interests of Francis I., and was only prevented because the barons refused to follow him. James V., who married two French wives in succession, would have repeated the enterprise of his father, and the discreditable Rout of Solway Moss was the result of the hereditary policy of the Scottish kings, consistently opposed by their refractory nobility.

But the attitude of the Scottish baronage to their kings may be regarded under a wider aspect, and one that reveals a principle in their action which was to be of potent effect to the close of the constitutional history of the country. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was the universal endeavour of kings to make themselves the absolute masters of their subjects. In England the endeavour resulted in the Tudor despotism, in France and Spain in a government of the same pattern. The nobles of Scotland, we may be sure, saw what kings were driving at in other countries, and they had the will and the power to check the process in their own. The English lawyer, Sir John Fortescue, writing in the fifteenth century, says of the King of Scots 'that he may not rule his people by other laws than such as they assent unto.' That the Scottish constitution could be thus described must undoubtedly be put to the credit of the nobles, for the Commons did not count as a force in the legislative action of the country. To the Scottish nobles it was due that this idea of a monarchy limited by the will of the subject maintained itself in Scotland long after it was ignored or forgotten in other countries. Not till the reign of James VI. did any Scottish sovereign succeed in making himself a ruler after the type of Henry VIII. or Francis II., who issued his mandates with the formula—'Such is our royal pleasure.' James VI., even before his migration to England, substituted government by his Privy Council for government through the Estates, and the precedent was exactly followed by his successors, Charles I. and Charles II. But the conception of a limited monarchy for which the nobility had contended was never forgotten in Scotland. It was in accordance with this conception that the Parliament which met in 1641 during the struggle of the Covenant enacted that all the Officers of State should be chosen by the king with the advice and approbation of the Estates, and it was on the same foundation that Fletcher of Saltoun based his patriotic appeals in the Parliament of the Revolution. Deplore as we may, therefore, the

turbulence of the Scottish nobility during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is yet to them that Scotland owes that tradition of constitutional liberty which was finally assured by the Revolution of 1689.

A few words remain to be said regarding the action of the Scottish nobles during the period of the Reformation and the century and a half that followed it. We have been long familiar with the picture of the typical Scottish noble of the Reformation. As he has been commonly represented, he was actuated by but one motive in all his conduct—the desire to lay his hands on the spoils of the ancient church. If such were, indeed, his only incentive, he was at least not alone in his sins, for precisely the same charge is brought against his class in England, Germany, and France. But the truth is that this is too simple a method of treating such a complicated thing as human nature. We remember the saying of Hazlitt that no man ever acted from a single motive, and the saying is as applicable to a class as to the individual. It is an assumption we are not justified in making, to say that nobles like the Lord James Stewart, and the Earls of Argyle and Glencairn, who were chiefly responsible for effecting the change of religion, had no sincere conviction that they did what was right in the interests of truth and the interests of their country. But waiving the question of motives, regarding which the historian does well to be reticent, we cannot overlook one incontrovertible fact; for good or ill it is to the Scottish nobles that we largely owe the Reformation. In Scotland, still essentially feudal, there was no other power that could have effected a revolution which so completely wrenched the nation from its past. Without the support of the nobles the zeal of Knox and his brother reformers could not have accomplished it. The inhabitants of the chief towns all but unanimously favoured the Reformation, but they were powerless to take the initiative without their natural leaders, and as society was then constituted, these leaders could only be the nobles. In Scotland, it is to be remembered, it was in defiance of the sovereign that the Reformation was accomplished, and had the nobles as a body taken sides with the Crown, the reforming movement in Scotland would have been as abortive as it proved in Spain.

The decisive influence of the nobles in affairs of religion is equally conspicuous in the ecclesiastical struggles of the seventeenth century. By the beginning of that century they had from a variety of causes become changed creatures; they had, in fact,

undergone the process which had already taken place in the other kingdoms of Europe. In these countries the intractable feudal baron had been transformed into the obsequious courtier whose chief ambition was to bask in the sunshine of the royal presence. The Scottish noble in his travels saw the splendour of foreign courts, and the grace and accomplishments of the representatives of his own order, and he realised that there was a life more attractive than his grim isolation in his hereditary keep. Thus the Court laid its spell upon him, and henceforward it was to royal favour and not to his sword that he looked for the advancement of his interests. And James VI. had effectual means in his power to foster this new disposition in his nobility: he gorged them with the Church lands which an Act of Parliament, passed in 1584, had definitely annexed to the Crown. Then it was seen how little the Presbyterian ministers could help themselves when the nobles were detached from their interests. Had the nobles been on their side, James would never have succeeded in his policy of imposing Episcopacy on his Scottish subjects.

But, as was to be convincingly proved in the reign of James's successor, the claws of the nobles had not been thoroughly pared. Their hereditary instincts, the memory of their former privileges were too deeply engrained for them to submit tamely to the sweeping measure with which Charles I. began his reign in Scotland. By his famous Act of Revocation Charles recalled all the grants of the Church property which his father had so profusely squandered among his courtiers. It is true that Charles offered what he considered an adequate compensation, but this was not the opinion of the class who were mainly interested in his measure. For a time, indeed, they were constrained to accept the terms which their royal master imposed on them, since the days were gone by when they could levy their retainers in mass, and beard him in his own palace. But the opportunity speedily came when they could show him that they were still the same race who had dictated terms to his ancestors and brought them to their knees. By the imposition of Laud's Service-book, Charles roused the national feeling which produced the National Covenant, and for the time reduced the Crown to impotence. But in the case of this revolution, as in the case of the Reformation, it was again through the joint action of nobles and commons that these results were accomplished. Mighty as the tide of national feeling was, it would have expended itself in vain, had it not been directed and concentrated by the action

of the chief nobility. Here, again, the question of motive recurs. Were the nobles as a body mainly influenced by the desire to recover their arrested domains, or were they sincerely convinced that the Covenant was a righteous protest against a king who had overstrained his prerogative? However this may be, it is at least an indisputable fact of our history, that without the collaboration of the nobles neither the National Covenant nor the Solemn League and Covenant would have been brought to birth by the Scottish people.

The power of the nobles for good or evil is continuously illustrated to the close of the constitutional history of the country. As the conflict between Charles and his people developed, the instincts of their class again prevailed. By the domination of the Church and the domination of the people they saw the privileges of their order threatened as they had been previously threatened by the king. Now, therefore, they threw themselves on the side of the Crown, and with the result that their defection proved the temporary ruin of that Presbyterian policy of which the Covenants had been the triumphant expression. Under the reigns of Charles II. and James II. they are hardly recognisable as the ancient nobility of Scotland. Now, indeed, their teeth were drawn and their claws effectually pared. Such of them as chose to make themselves the agents of the policy of their kings were salaried and nominated officials who had no option but to give effect to the royal pleasure.

But before their story closed, they were yet to give signal proof of their predominant influence in the country. In the Convention that met in Edinburgh after the flight of James VII. the great majority of them declared for William of Orange, and their action decided that, so far as Scotland was concerned, the Revolution was to prevail. Had that majority cast its sword on the side of Dundee, in all probability Scottish history would have followed a different course. But the last action of the Scottish nobility was perhaps the most memorable and momentous in their devious and checkered history: to them we mainly owe the constitutional union of the Parliaments of England and Scotland. In the last Scottish Parliament which expressly met to deliberate on the articles of the Treaty, the votes of the representatives of the burghs and the shires were equally divided, while the vote of the majority of the nobles was cast for Union. Had that vote not been given, the Union must at least have been postponed, and the result of delay on the conflicting interests and the seething

passions of the hour both countries would alike have had occasion to regard with well-founded apprehension.

From this survey of the successive action of the Scottish nobles, one conclusion at least is forced upon us: no similar class has played a more conspicuous and more decisive part in the nation to which it has belonged. Once and again they had the destinies of the country in their hands; it was they who gave Scotland its limited monarchy; the Reformation and the Covenants were largely their work, and but for them the Revolution and the Union might have had no place in our history. With this record of their action before us, can we doubt that in considerable measure Scotland owes to her nobility what she is to-day?

P. Hume Brown.

'Charlie He's My Darling' and other Burns' Originals

THAN the classic version of 'Charlie He's My Darling' there is perhaps no more popular or graceful Jacobite lyric—none that expresses more happily the romantic personal devotion with which the young Chevalier inspired his followers. Yet its origin has hitherto been partly involved in mystery. The classic version first appeared in vol. v. of Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum* (1796). No signature was attached to it; but the connection with it of Burns is proved by a copy of it in his handwriting in the Hastie MSS. in the British Museum. In his notes to Johnson's *Musical Museum*, Stenhouse hazarded the remark: 'This Jacobite song was communicated by Burns to the editor of the *Museum*.' Thus from no data whatever he inferred (1) that the lyric was a contemporary Jacobite song, and (2) that it was merely communicated by Burns; and that admirable antiquary, David Laing, who edited Stenhouse, did nothing either to amend or supplement this very bare and, at the same time, very bold comment. Even the Ettrick Shepherd, who had private access to many Jacobite originals, has very much the same story, and printed the *Museum* version in his *Jacobite Relics* as the 'original' one, inserting at the same time a 'modern' version, doubtless his own:

> 'As Charlie he came up the gate,
> His face shone as the day;
> I grat to see the lad come back
> That had been long away,' etc.,

as if to show how inferior a bard Hogg himself was to the unknown Jacobite lyrist! And not only Hogg, but Lady Nairne—whose ancestors had fought and bled for Charlie and his sire, whose own poetic spark was perhaps first kindled at the flame of Jacobitism, and whose Jacobite lyrics breathe the

true romantic fragrance of Jacobite devotion—even Lady Nairne knew nothing of another Jacobite 'Charlie He's My Darling' than that sent by Burns to Johnson's *Museum*; but apparently failing to relish the love *motif* of the song, she vainly attempted to supersede it by a production which, though irreproachably respectful, is, for Lady Nairne, exceptionally tame. Unlike Hogg, she thought fit to parody the *Museum* song, for it was the *Museum* song and no other that she had before her. The first stanza she appropriated bodily, and it may suffice to quote her second:

> 'As he came marching up the street,
> The pipes played loud and clear;
> And a' the folk came running out
> To meet the Chevalier!'

Nor have editors of Burns' poems been able to come to a satisfactory decision in regard to the lyric. Some, boldly treading in the footsteps of Stenhouse, Hogg, and Lady Nairne, omit it altogether; others, with perhaps even greater temerity, include it, without comment, as the production of Burns alone. In the *Centenary Burns* Mr. Henley and I deemed it advisable to adopt a more cautious attitude, the opinion being expressed that it 'was probably suggested by some Jacobite lyric'; and the facts show that this prognostication, if not quite correct, was not altogether wrong. That Burns would pass a Jacobite song, or a song having connection with Jacobitism, through his hands without leaving on it traces of his impress is hardly credible, even without direct evidence of the amending process; but in this song, as sent to the *Museum*, there are internal characteristics to suggest his part authorship. Not merely is it, artistically, a masterpiece among Jacobite lyrics, but it is in a different plane of excellence from that of the contemporary Jacobite productions. Moreover, it bears marks of interpolation, as well as of condensation or excision; and, above all, it seems instinct with the unmistakeable personality of Burns. Still, since he did not sign it, those with whom internal evidence counts for nothing have naturally taken for granted that the *Museum* song is a *bona fide* Jacobite production.

A faint suggestion that the *Museum* version is not the undiluted and complete original is to be found in a somewhat rare Falkirk chapbook, printed by T. Johnstone, 1814. This chapbook contains a 'Charlie He's My Darling,' which includes most of the *Museum* stanzas with a few additional ones; but even if

this fact were known to editors and Jacobites, it might be argued, with some plausibility, that the song was merely a very base parody or corruption of the *Museum* lyric. Those stall copies, be it remembered, were prepared for the frequenters of the Falkirk cattle trysts, with whom quantity was of more importance than quality, and who also preferred their literature, like their whisky, raw and rough. To cater for their rude patrons the Falkirk editors were not unaccustomed to 'improve,' both by additions and emendations, even the avowed productions of Scotia's favourite bard, and that they should adopt liberties with the *Museum* text of an anonymous production is quite what we might expect.

It so happens, however, that I have lighted on another 'Charlie He's My Darling' in a volume containing a large number of rare white-letter broadsides, the majority of which are dated either 1775 or 1776. The 'Charlie He's My Darling' broadside—which also includes 'The Wandering Shepherdess' and a version of 'O'er Bogie'—is undated, but print and paper are identical with those of the 1775 and 1776 sheets, and one of the engraved emblems, the face of the sun, is identical in every detail with that on several of the dated sheets. Further, among other emblems are the arms of Marischal College, Aberdeen, and a crowned head of George II. the latter being indication of a date anterior to the period of Burns's poetical activity.

But there are also indications, in other sheets, that Burns probably had access to this very volume of broadsides. The third stanza of the *Museum* song is:

'Sae light's he jimpèd up the stair,
And tirl'd at the pin;
And wha sae ready as hersel'
To let the laddie in!'

Now there is nothing corresponding to this in the white broadside song, 'Charlie He's My Darling.' There are, of course, frequent references in the old ballads to 'tirling at the pin,' or 'knocking at the ring'; and the expression 'tirl'd at the pin' is employed with weird effect in the ballad of 'Sweet William's Ghost,' as well as in the 'Lass of Lochroyan':

'When she had sail'd it round about
She tirl'd at the pin,
O open, open love Gregory,
Open and let me in.'

But no Scottish stanza more closely analogous to the 'Charlie' stanza was seemingly in print until after the death of Burns, although two afterwards appeared in versions of at least two distinct ballads 'taken down from recitation.' They may derive from stanzas in two black-letter ballads, 'Fair Margaret' and 'Lord Thomas and Fair Ellinor,' at least no earlier source is known. Here is the 'Lord Thomas' stanza:

> 'But when he came to Fair Ellinor's bower
> He knockèd at the ring;
> But who was so ready as Fair Ellinor
> for to let Lord Thomas in!'

Burns probably knew this ballad, but in the white broadside volume of 1775-76 there is an otherwise unknown version of the same ballad which contains a Scottish rendering of the stanza. It is of interest for other reasons, is entitled 'An Excellent Song—Lord Thomas' Tragedy,' and is dated April 27th, 1776. This is the stanza which concerns our present purpose:

> 'And when she came to Lord Thomas' gate
> She tirl'd at the pin,
> And ready was Lord Thomas himself
> to let Fair Eleanor in.'

Burns seems to have had both versions in remembrance when revising 'Charlie.'

But there are more distinct signs than this of Burns's probable familiarity with the volume. Of that very touching lament, 'The Lowlands of Holland,' there are two well-known versions: that in Herd's *Scottish Songs* and that in Johnson's *Museum*. That Burns had any connection with the latter version Stenhouse had no suspicion; indeed he denounced one stanza as 'spurious nonsense,' and hitherto no one has challenged the verdict of Stenhouse. Yet this same version is found in the handwriting of Burns in the Hastie Collection, and without doubt Burns made use not only of the Herd version, but of another and longer version of 1776 found in the broadside volume. He amended the latter mainly by condensation, the chief contribution of his own being a vivid couplet:

> 'The stormy winds did roar again,
> The raging waves did rout,'

for

> 'The weary seas did rise,
> The sea began to rout.'

But other broadside copies of later date exist, and thus the evidence this broadside supplies of Burns's acquaintance with the 1775-76 volume is only slightly corroborative. A much more important link in the cumulative proof is the fact that the volume contains the original of the song, 'The Taylor,' sent by Burns to the *Museum*, and generally assigned unconditionally to Burns himself. That song derives undoubtedly from a unique and curious production of some twenty stanzas, 'The Taylor of Hoggerglen's Wedding,' which is included in a broadside dated 3rd February, 1776. The two stanzas of 'The Taylor' sent by Burns to the *Museum* were merely selected from the broadside song, all that is really his own being the final chorus:

'For now it was the gloamin,
The gloamin, the gloamin!
For now it was the gloamin,
When a' the rest are gaun, O.'

Although a rude, and even coarse, production, the broadside song is of interest as a rare specimen, in its probable entirety, of the lyric effusions of the older Scottish rustic muse. It gives a graphic and uncompromisingly literal account of the adventures of a travelling tailor of the olden time, and relates with humorous fidelity his courtship of the heiress of a farmer's widow. The idyll is not one of rustic innocence, but all ends morally and happily enough in the tailor's apotheosis as laird of the farm:

'And now the taylor's married,
is married, is married!
And now the taylor's married—
made laird o' Hoggerglen O!'

But it is, perhaps, time to introduce the original 'Charlie He's My Darling,' or at least a portion of it, for there are several stanzas, which, after the lapse of a century and more, no longer quite accord with current notions of propriety:

'It was on Monday morning,
right early in the year,
That Charlie he came to this town,
recruiting grenadiers.
And Charly is my darling,
my darling, my darling,
And Charlie he's my darling,
the young Chevalier.

'As he came walking up the street,
the city for to view;
He spy'd a maid, both young and sweet,
at a window looking through.
And, etc.

. . . . . .

'Then he pull'd out a purse of gold,
it was as lang as her arm,
Here take you that, dear Jenny,
it will do you no harm.
And, etc.

'Its up the rosy mountain,
and down the scroggy glen,
We dare not go a milking
For Charly and his men.
And, etc.

. . . . . .

'And on her best, herself she drest,
most comely to be seen,
And for to meet her true love
she's gone to Aberdeen.
And, etc.

'But when she came to Aberdeen,
this bony lowland lass,
There she found her true love
was going to Inverness.
And, etc.

'But when she came to Inverness
she curs'd the day and hour
That her true love was forc'd to fly
and leave Culloden Moor.
And, etc.

'Now he's gone and left me,
I'm forced to lie alone,
I'll never choose another mate
till my true love come's home.
And, etc.

'If I were free, at liberty
and all things at my will,
Over the see I soon would be,
for I vow I love him still.
And, etc.

'And now my song is ended;
I hope I have said no harm.'

. . . . . .

The ballad, it will be seen, is very dubiously Jacobite in sentiment. Most probably it has reference to the affair of Clementina Walkinshaw. She rejoined Prince Charlie in France on his escape from Scotland and became the mother of Charlotte Stewart, whose hard fate in being debarred from her supposed heritage, the throne of her ancestors, is lamented by Burns in 'The Bonie Lass of Albanie.'

The fine stanza in the 'Charlie' ballad beginning

'Its up yon rosy mountain'

seems related to some song on Charlie's wanderings while in hiding, the 'men,' it may be, being originally those not of Charlie but of Cumberland, who were nearly always swarming in the neighbourhood of Charlie's hiding places. The words 'sae comely to be seen,' of another stanza, are also worthy of remark. They occur in the ballad of 'John of Hazelgreen,' whence Scott introduced them into 'Jock o' Hazeldean,' and they may occur in other old ballads, so that the author of this curiously unequal production was probably well versed in old ballad literature.

In any case this broadside version—wherever Burns may have seen it—is clearly the original of the song sent by Burns to Johnson's *Museum*. It was from this piece of tawdry patchwork that he fashioned his consummately graceful lyric. His main emendations were those of omission: his own direct additions are slight in quantity, however remarkable in quality. He reduced his original from eighteen stanzas to five. In Stanza I. he superseded 'recruiting grenadiers' by the 'young Chevalier'; in Stanza II. he substituted a 'bonie lass,' used elsewhere in the ballad, for 'a maid both young and sweet'; for the desired romantic touch, wholly absent from the original, he had for Stanza III. recourse, as we have seen, to the stanza from 'Lord Thomas,' or rather three amended lines of it, introduced by his own inimitable

'Sae light's he jimpèd up the stair';

for Stanza IV. he condensed Stanzas IV. and V. of his original, substituting

'For brawlie weel he kend the way'

for

'For he had on his trousers,'

the stanza reading:

'He set his Jenny on his knee
All in his Highland dress;
For brawlie weel he kend the way
To please a bonnie lass.'

a thoroughly rustic conception of the ceremonies of courtship; and for his fifth and last stanza he selected the only supremely excellent one of the original almost unchanged, but for the substitution of 'heathery' for 'rosy' in the first line:

'Its up yon rosy mountain,' etc.

But the seeming slightness of the amendments, the result obtained being considered, only the more strikingly attests the delicate artistic gifts of the amender; and perhaps the Bard, in his rôle of vamper, never did more brilliantly. Moreover, he had the satisfaction of transforming, by a few touches of his magic wand, a dubiously Jacobite ballad into a lyric, which up till now has been accepted by many as one of the chief achievements of the Jacobite muse.

T. F. Henderson.

Greyfriars in Glasgow

IN the year 1391 Glasgow came in a rather peculiar way into contact with the Friars-minors. In March of that year Pope Boniface IX. issued letters to the Chapter of the Cathedral, to the clergy and to the people of the City and Diocese, on the death of Cardinal Walter Wardlaw, Bishop of Glasgow, appointing John Framysden, a Friar minor in priest's orders to the See. This provision by the Pope did not hold, however, as we find that Matthew de Glendenwin, Canon of Glasgow and Rector of Cavers in the Diocese of Glasgow, Master of Arts,[1] was consecrated in 1387.[2] Cardinal Wardlaw died in that year, so that Pope Boniface was several years too late in making his provision in favour of the Friar.

If John Framysden had become Bishop, it is safe to say that his order would have obtained an earlier settlement in our city than it did. In the actual course of events, more than eighty years elapsed before the first recorded establishment of the Franciscans in Glasgow took place.

When Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, after his well-known and remarkable early career, ascended the Papal throne as Pius II. in the year 1458, he left behind him the intrigues and questionable devices of his earlier years, and proved an able administrator and a decorous and zealous Head of the Church. He had been employed in diplomatic missions (1432-35) before he took orders, and had visited Scotland and England, and thus knew our country from personal observation.

A recent historian has pictured him as coming 'into the frozen North like a shivering Italian Greyhound on a curling rink.'[3] He has shivered, however, it must be admitted, to some purpose, as he has left two inaccurate and somewhat contradictory, but

[1] Bliss, *Calendar of Papal Registers* (*Papal Letters*), iv. 222.

[2] *Reg. Epis. Glas.*, i. 293. A charter regarding the Hospital at Polmadie is dated 1391, this year being called the fourth since Bishop Glendinning's consecration.

[3] Lang, *History of Scotland*, i. p. 315.

yet interesting accounts of his visit.[4] His interview with James I. forms the subject—treated in a very fanciful way—of one of the celebrated fresco-paintings by Pinturicchio on the walls of the Library of Siena Cathedral.[5] The background of the fresco is a conventional Italian landscape in all the bloom of summer—the real month was December or January—the Court of King James is seated out-of-doors under an Italian portico, and the king on the throne is a venerable old man with a long grey beard. So much for the truth of contemporary art.

The future Pope arrived at Leith after a very stormy voyage from Sluys, and in performance of a vow made on board ship, when shipwreck seemed imminent, his first care on landing was to set out barefoot on a pilgrimage to the most celebrated shrine of Our Lady in the East of Scotland. This was Whitekirk *(Ecclesia quae vocatur Alba)* in Haddingtonshire, a charming old Church still used for divine service. Æneas, by this walk of ten miles, in wintry weather over roads not too well made, so injured his feet that he had to be carried back to Edinburgh in a litter, and it seems that he was lame during the rest of his life.[6]

One result of his visit was, that as an early Traveller in Scotland he had personal knowledge of the country, and thus, when he became Head of the Church, he was impelled to make provision for what he considered its religious wants. Accordingly on 9th June, 1463, in the fifth year of his Pontificate, he issued a Bull to the Vicar-general of the Ultramontane Province of the Observant Franciscans.

The Observants originated towards the end of the fourteenth century in a desire to return to the primitive observance of the rule of St. Francis. In 1415 they obtained formal recognition from the Council of Constance, and were assigned a separate head or Vicar-general.[7] They ultimately obtained from the Pope precedence over the Conventuals, as the older section was termed. At the dissolution they numbered about twelve houses in England, and eight or nine in Scotland. It was to this section of the Greyfriars that the Pope in 1463 issued his Bull. In it

[4] Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland*, p. 24.

[5] Kitchin, *The North in the Fifteenth Century* in *Ruskin in Oxford and other Studies*, p. 236.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 235. It was put forward as an objection to his election as Pope in 1458 that he was a cripple, and thus could not take part with the necessary dignity in the ceremonies falling on him as the Head of the Church.

[7] Little, *Greyfriars in Oxford*, p. 88.

he states that he has lately learned through devotion of his most dear daughter in Christ, Mary, illustrious Queen of Scotland,[8] and her people, that at the request of certain Merchants, the Vicar-general has sent certain brethren of his Order, for the purpose of preaching, into that country in which as yet no house of Observant Friars has been erected, although this would seem to be in the highest degree both useful and consonant to the desires of the people. 'We, therefore,' the Bull proceeds, 'who desire the salvation of all, by these presents grant to you, and to your successor for the time being, liberty within the said Kingdom of Scotland to erect, found and build or to accept equally freely three or four Friaries *(tres aut quatuor domos)* in the event of any persons being found who are led by pious motives to their foundation and erection: As also to receive under the rule of your Order two or three houses of Conventual Franciscans (*duas aut tres domos Conventualium*) where the wiser part or majority consents thereto: Always provided that the Ordinary (*i.e.* the Bishop) agrees to this.'[9]

It will be noticed that the Pope states that he is aware that before the date of this Bull (1463) brethren of the Order of Observantines had been sent into Scotland for the purpose of preaching, but he adds that 'no house of Observant Friars has been erected.' It is evident that these words must be understood in a special sense—that by 'erected' is meant legally sanctioned by the Church—for one or more Observant Convents had found a location in this country before this date.

No time was lost in formally establishing several houses of the Observant Order. Friaries were founded in Glasgow, Ayr, Elgin, Stirling, and Jedburgh. They had already been located in St. Andrews, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Perth, and were now taken over as regular Observant houses.

The Observants were a protest from within against the laxity of discipline which was sapping the devotion and piety which characterised the early Franciscans. They thus had, to some extent, the elements of vitality attaching to all real reforming movements.

In Scotland they found a welcome not only from the King and nobles, but also from the Clergy and people.

In Glasgow they were settled between 1473 and 1479—the exact year is uncertain—on a site gifted partly by John Laing,

[8] The Queen Dowager, Mary of Gueldres mother of the young King James III.

[9] *Monumenta Franciscana*, ii. p. 264.

Bishop of Glasgow, and partly by Thomas Forsyth, Rector. This ground, the northern portion of which was part of the lands of Ramshorn, belonging to the Bishop, and the remainder part of a croft belonging to the parsonage, was situated immediately to the west of Greyfriars' Wynd, now known as Shuttle Street.[10] It did not front the High Street. True to their principles of humility and poverty, the Minorites were content with a site behind the yards and gardens of the burgesses, which stretched back from their dwellings, facing the High Street, to a narrow lane.[11] This lane formed the access to the House of the Franciscans, and thus came to be called Greyfriars' Wynd. From the fact that the site obtained by the Friars was given to them by the Bishop and Rector, we infer that the coming of the Friars met with the express approval of the Bishop and his Clergy. This ground, slightly extended as afterwards noticed, was, as far as is known, the only landed possession in the City belonging to the Minorites. Hence they had no Chartulary to record transmissions. King James III. confirmed them in this site, by Charter under the Great Seal, dated 21st December, 1479.[12]

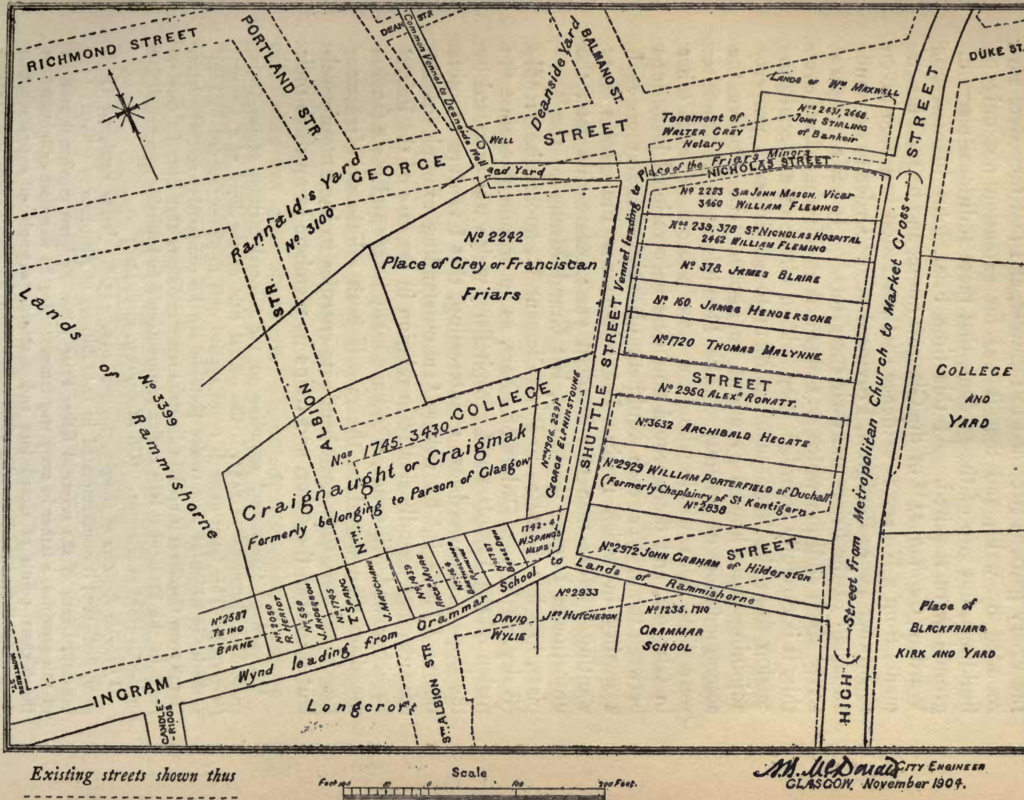
In 1511 Archbishop Betoun, and Robert Blacader, then parson of Glasgow, for their respective interests, conveyed to the Friars a small additional strip of ground on the west, for the enlargement of their Friary and gardens.[13] This ground, so far as it formed part of Ramshorn, was twenty-two feet in breadth, and the portion given by the parson who acted with consent of the Chapter, was twenty feet in breadth. The pieces, taken together, extended from north to south along the whole length of the wall enclosing the Friars' property on the west. We learn one or two particulars regarding the Friary from the Protocols in which these infeftments are recorded. Thus we know that

[10] The writer is indebted to Mr. Robert Renwick, Depute Town-Clerk of Glasgow, editor of *Glasgow Protocols*, for valuable suggestions and corrections. Mr. A. B. M'Donald, City Engineer, and Mr. Renwick have collaborated in the preparation of the *Sketch Plan* of the site and surroundings of the place of the Greyfriars, which is in itself an illuminating contribution to sixteenth-century Glasgow topography.

[11] This is shown by a Protocol printed in the *Diocesan Registers*, vol. ii. p. 71. See *Sketch Plan*.

[12] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 20 Jac. iii. No. 1434. By this Charter their convents in Edinburgh, St. Andrews, and Aberdeen, as well as that in Glasgow, were confirmed to the Friars. The consideration moving the King to this is stated to be the singular favour and devotion which he bore towards them as well as his soul's safety.

[13] *Diocesan Registers of Glasgow*, ii. pp. 431, 435.



SKETCH PLAN showing approximately the PLACE OF THE GREYFRIARS OF GLASGOW and surrounding properties. (For descriptions see '*Glasgow Protocols*,' to which the figures refer.)

the Friary gardens stretched to the west, and that they were surrounded by walls, and that it was for extension not only of buildings, but also of the gardens, that these additional pieces of ground were required. At this time Friar John Johnson was Warden *(Gardianus)* [14] of the Glasgow house, and he took instruments from a Notary as evidence that possession had been given to Brother James Pettigrew, Provincial of the Order in Scotland, on behalf of the Friars and their successors.[15] It was a comparatively small addition which was obtained at this time, but, even this, it is carefully recorded, they held in virtue of a special concession from the Pope enabling them to acquire such property adjoining their houses as might be necessary to improve the accommodation or amenity. The Dominicans and Minorites were thus both within almost a stone's-throw of each other in Glasgow, and there would doubtless be occasional bickerings between them. Yet each would stimulate the other to more zeal, a quality in which neither Dominicans nor Franciscans were wanting. More than two hundred years before this date, the unfortunate Jacques de Molay, last Grand Master of the Templars, in a letter written to Pope Clement V., quotes the friendly rivalry of the two Orders of Friars, as an argument against the fusion of the Templars and Hospitallers, which was proposed by the Pope. His words are so interesting, that I venture to quote them: 'There is,' he writes, 'an outstanding example of the advantage of friendly rivalry in religion in the case of the Friars' Preachers and Minorites, who have many better and more famous members than would be the case if both religious orders were fused into one, since each bends its energies to have more excellent men than the other, and trains its members as much to their

[14] The word '*Gardianus*,' according to the General Statutes of the Order enacted at Barcelona in 1451, is the official title of the head of a Convent (*conventus*). This latter name is to be applied only to places founded by Papal authority in which at least twelve brethren can be comfortably accommodated. If the term *Gardianus* is used in its strict sense it follows that from its employment in the Protocol at least twelve brethren could find suitable accommodation in the Convent at Glasgow. (Cf. *Mon. Franc.* ii. p. 106.)

[15] *Diocesan Registers of Glasgow*, ii., pp. 432, 435-6. James Pettigrew (Petigreu, Pedigrew) is commemorated in the Obituary of Aberdeen as follows: '7th January, Death of the reverend father Friar James Petigrew provincial minister of this province, a father in every way famous. For he was most enlightened in the highest points of sacred lore and a shining example of entire religious devotion. Before receiving the office of minister he thrice ruled the province well and worthily in the office of provincial. Anno Domini 1518.' (*Monumenta Franciscana*, vol. ii. p. 123.)

holy Office as to exhortation and preaching the Word of God, and all this contributes to the benefit of Christian people.'[16]

No doubt there is truth in this view, but it shuts the eyes to the jealousies caused by religious rivalries. In a limited sphere such as Glasgow then was, these jealousies tended at times to break out into open opposition.

Unfortunately, we have no materials which would enable us to construct a connected history of the Order in Glasgow, or elsewhere in Scotland. All that can be done is to glean a very few scattered notices.

Two years after the date when the additional ground was acquired, viz. in 1513, the curtain is again lifted, and we see, on Saturday, 9th April, at two o'clock in the afternoon, a small gathering of clerics before the door of the manse of the Treasurer of the Glasgow Diocese, Alexander Inglis, who lies within his house, sick in all likelihood of a mortal malady. This little group of five consists of four Observant Franciscans belonging to the Glasgow Convent, who along with Master Andrew Sibbauld, Prebendary of Renfrew, have been drawing up and witnessing the Testament of the sick man.[17] The Franciscans are Brother John Johnston, Warden, and Brother John Tennand, Cleric, and Alexander Cottis and Thomas Bawfour, lay-brothers. We know from the Diocesan Registers that the Treasurer died soon afterwards, as we find a claimant to his vacant stall in the Cathedral, sending his Procurator on Saturday, 2nd July, to take formal possession on his behalf. This he did by keeping the seat warm by sitting in it at all the services for three consecutive days.[18] At the same time the Executors, nominated by the late Treasurer, appeared in the Cathedral, and declined to accept the office to which they had been appointed. There were four witnesses to this formal step, one of whom is Brother John Akinhede, Observant Friar Minor.

We have no further records of the Friars in Glasgow till the year 1539, when there occurred the trial for heresy and burning at the stake in our City of two persons, one of whom was Jerome, or Jeremy Russell, a Franciscan Friar. Details of his trial and death are given by Knox, but we are not informed if he belonged to the Glasgow Convent, and no particulars of his previous career are set forth.[19]

[16] Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, T. iv. No. 4680.
[17] *Diocesan Registers of Glasgow*, ii. p. 486. [18] *Ibid.* p. 495.
[19] Knox, *Works* (Laing's Edition), vol. i. p. 63. Tytler, *History of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 225.

Coming down to the period of the Reformation, the Protocols of the Town Clerks disclose to us the fact that Brother James Baxter was one of the Franciscans ejected from their House here.[20] In the autumn of 1559, as stated in Leslie's *History*, there had been attacks on the Churches and Religious Houses in the City. We are told that Châtelherault, Argyll and Arran, along with some others, came to Glasgow, and, to use the words of Leslie, 'profaned the sacred things hitherto unviolated.'[21] The Greyfriars suffered among the other religious orders. Their house here was attacked, and they themselves driven forth.

It is often supposed that the Mendicant Orders must have been worse than their neighbours, seeing that they were the first to suffer in these popular tumults. This view is not tenable. All that happened to them resulted from the fact that they bulked more largely in the public eye, and were living surrounded by the lawless element at all times to be found in towns. They were known to the people, for they were continually mixing among them. Their houses were known also, and being easily accessible and undefended, were convenient objects of attack. It was the handiness of situation in the towns that made the Friaries the first religious houses to be devastated, not the character of the inmates. Whatever the faults of the Friars were, it cannot be said that they lacked zeal and energy. In many cases they were distinguished for cheerful devotion to duty. If they were found grasping after money, it must be remembered that it was not for themselves individually but for their Order.

The truth is that the emancipation of intellect brought about by the Renaissance was reaching our land, and was bearing fruit of a very unripe quality. The old faith and the old forms were being submerged, and in the upheaval thus caused, the froth was coming to the surface, and lawlessness and tumult, never far absent in our early history, were taking the opportunity to do their worst. The Friars were being pushed aside as one of the institutions of a worn-out age.

Some of the more cultured members of the Mendicant Orders became pioneers of the new learning. Some suffered martyrdom as pioneers have often to suffer. Others had to retire into obscurity, after waging a losing battle with obscurantism.[22] At

[20] *Glasgow Protocols*, vol. v. No. 1370.

[21] Leslie, *History of Scotland* (S.T. Society), vol. ii. p. 428.

[22] Friar Matthias Doring is an interesting case in point. In 1461 he had to retire from his position of prominence in the Conventual branch of the Order. (*Vide* Little, *Greyfriars in Oxford*, p. 256.)

the same time one has to keep in mind that there is some evidence of popular sympathy with the Friars in various quarters. The Satirists of the time, who do not spare them any more than they spare the Monks and Secular Clergy, show us by many indirect touches that they look upon the Mendicant Orders as in many ways carrying on religious work with vigour and earnestness, and combining with it a knowledge of physical science, which gives them a place among the leaders of thought in that age. Sir David Lindsay makes the pretended Friar, 'Flattrie,' say to the King:—

> I sweir to you, Sir, be Sanct An,
> Ye met ne'er with ane wyser man,
> For monie a craft, Sir, do I can,
> War thay weill knawin:
> Sir, I have na feill of flattrie,
> But fosterit with philosophie,
> Ane strange man in astronomie,
> Quhilk sal be schawin.[23]

We see, also, from side allusions, that those Friars who had recently arrived in Scotland, were more decorous in demeanour as a class than the Conventuals who had been here for a lengthened period:—

> 'And let us keip grave countenance
> As we were new cum out of France.'[24]

It would be out of place here to discuss the evidence which exists, that the Church generally, and not the Friars alone, had fallen away from early ideals of purity and devotion.

To return to the Greyfriars in Glasgow. In the year 1522 a certain James Baxter was rentalled 'be consent of Jhone Smyth's bayrnis' in the xliiis. xd. land of Haghill.[25] In 1560 'James Baxter, Friar Minor, now ejected' assigns to his kinsman, Mr. Robert Herbertsoun,[26] 'the four merk land of Haghill, then occupied by Robert Graye and George Graye, lying in the Barony of Glasgow, in which lands the said James was rentalled by the Archbishop of Glasgow, superior thereof.'[27] Mr. Renwick is of opinion that this latter James Baxter and the Rentaller of 1522 are the same person. This cannot be proved, but seems very likely. At all events the Friar was a Glasgow

[23] *Satyre of the Three Estates* (Laing's Edition), ii. p. 51.

[24] *Satyre of the Three Estates*, vol. ii. p. 41.

[25] *Diocesan Registers of Glasgow*, i. p. 84.

[26] Herbertson was chaplain of the Chaplainry of SS. Peter and Paul in the Cathedral (*Glasgow Protocols*, vol. v. No. 1380).

[27] *Glasgow Protocols*, vol. v. No. 1370.

man. He had an older brother called Robert who predeceased him. The latter is described as a Citizen of Glasgow, and was owner of a tenement in the City lying immediately to the east of the lands of Deanside, and thus quite close to the Greyfriars' Convent. James Baxter was his brother's heir, and in 1560 he conveyed all his right and title in the estate to Mr. Robert Herbertsoun.[28] Herbertsoun is called his kinsman, and we learn that he was chaplain of the Chaplainry of St. Peter and St. Paul in the Cathedral. This Chapel was one of the four altars or Chapels at the east end of the Lower Church, and was situated between that of St. Nicholas on the North, and that of St. Andrew on the south.[29] It was founded by Mr. Thomas Forsyth, Canon of the Cathedral Church of Ross and Prebendary of Logy,[30] on 16th June, 1498.[31] This is probably the same Thomas Forsyth, who, about twenty years before, had been Rector of Glasgow, and had joined Bishop John Laing in granting a site for the Greyfriars in the City. If this be so, then the friendly relations between the Observant Franciscans and the Chaplain of the Altar of SS. Peter and Paul, which evidently existed at the period of the Reformation, had their origin in the Founder of the Chapel in the Cathedral, and the donor of the site of the Greyfriars' Convent in Glasgow being one and the same person. These friendly relations, thus begun, had subsisted for a period of upwards of eighty years.

The conveyance by Friar James Baxter in favour of his relative was not successful in preventing the Friary from passing entirely out of the control of the Order. In 1562 the Privy Council passed an Act directing the revenues belonging to the Friars, among other Clergy, to be administered by persons appointed by the Crown for the benefit of 'hospitalities, schools, and other godly uses,' and the Magistrates of Aberdeen, Elgin, Inverness, and Glasgow, and other burghs where the Friars' places had not been destroyed, were instructed to make the maintenance of them a charge upon the common good, and to make use of them for the benefit of their respective towns until they were further directed.[32]

It is not known whether at the date of this Act the House of the Greyfriars in Glasgow was still standing and available for 'schools and other godly uses.' In 1567 Queen Mary, by

[28] *Glasgow Protocols*, vol. v. No. 1371.
[29] *Book of Glasgow Cathedral*, p. 317.
[30] Now Logie-Easter, near Tain.
[31] *Regis. Episc. Glas.* ii. p. 500.
[32] *Charters and Documents of the City of Glasgow*, part I. p. lxxxiv.

Charter under the Great Seal, granted to the Magistrates, Councillors, and community of the City, the whole possessions of the Greyfriars in Glasgow, but this Charter expressly reserved to the Friars who were in possession before the change of religion the use of the revenues during their lives.[33] In all probability James Baxter, being an old man, did not enjoy long his share of the liferent thus provided, if, indeed, he was still alive at this date.

By the year 1575 the site of the House of the Greyfriars had become private property. On 23rd December in that year, Sir John Stewart of Mynto resigned 'the place formerly of the Franciscan Friars of the City of Glasgow, with the yards and surrounding wall, and sundry pertinents lying between the lands of the Rector of Glasgow and Medoflatt on the west, the lands of William Hegait on the south, and the common streets on the east and north.[34] Here we have the boundaries of the Friary stated, and one notices that it is said to be bounded by streets on the east and north. The street on the east was not the High Street, as we have already seen, but a lane or vennel now occupied by Shuttle Street; that on the north being a street referred to in contemporary records as 'the common way of the Deneside' and again as the 'common road of the Denside.'[35] The east end of this road lay a little to the south of the present line of George Street, which it crossed toward the west. The road extended from the High Street to the Deanside Well, where it turned due north, and continued up the steep hill till it joined the Rottenrow.

The question presents itself—what extent of ground did the Friary occupy? In the absence of data, we can only arrive at an approximate conclusion. It is evident that the Brethren were finding themselves cramped by want of space in 1511, when the additional strip was acquired, from which one can be pretty safe in assuming that their original site was not very extensive. They had a walled garden towards the west, as we have seen,—and we may take it that the whole area possessed by them was only about an acre.[36]

It seems clear from the contemporary notices which have come down to us, that one of the proximate effects of the Reformation was to lessen the importance and outward prosperity of Glasgow.

[33] *Glasgow Charters*, ii. p. 132. [34] *Glasgow Protocols*, vol. vii. No. 2242.

[35] *Diocesan Registers*, vol. i. p. 365. Cf. note on p. 364.

[36] See *Sketch Plan*.

Before that time the city had several sources of wealth which were then cut off. These were connected with the Church, and its ceremonial observances, and after the Reformation there remained at first nothing to take their place. The Churchmen had their manses and the Dominicans and Franciscans their Convents, in the neighbourhood of the Cathedral. With the change of religion the Secular Clergy and the Friars took their departure or were expelled, leaving their habitations deserted, and thus one of the most flourishing and pleasant quarters of the town soon became ruinous. In fact, the city as a Bishop's burgh had depended very much on the coming and going of the Ecclesiastics of high and low degree, who brought custom to the shopkeepers, traders and fishermen, and gave importance to the town as the seat of a great Cathedral. All this was altered, and thus one is not surprised to find that in 1587 the state of affairs was so bad, especially in the north part of the city, where the Churchmen had dwelt, that the freemen and other citizens cast about to try to find a remedy. In that year they presented a petition to the Scottish Parliament 'makand mentioun that quhair that pairt of the said citie that afoir the Reformation of the Religioun wes intertenyt and uphaldin be the resort of the Bischop, Parsonis, Vicaris and utheris of clergie for the tyme is now becum ruinous, and for the maist pairt altogidder decayit, and the heritouris and possessouris thairof greitly depauperit, wanting the moyane not onlie to uphald the samin bot of the intertenement of thame selfis, thair wyffis, bairnis and famelie.'

This description is very different from that given by Bishop Leslie of the state of matters before the Reformation. Even allowing for his prepossessions in favour of the old form of religion, it seems evident that the town had gone back in wealth since the change of faith. He says in a well-known passage in his history—'Surlie Glasgow is the maist renoumed market in all the west, honorable and celebrate: Afore the haeresie began thair was ane Academie nocht obscure nathir infrequent or of ane smal numbir, in respecte baith of Philosophie and Grammer and politick studie. It [the market] is sa frequent, and of sik renoume, that it sendes to the Easte cuntreyes verie fatt Kye, Herring lykwyse, and salmonte, oxne-hydes, wole and skinis, buttir lykwyse that nane bettir and cheise.' [37]

[37] Leslie, *History of Scotland*, Dalrymple's Translation (S.T.S.), vol. i. pp. 16, 17. The translation is faulty, the order of the sentences being different in the original. It is questionable if Leslie's words support the view taken above. See Leslie, *De Origine* (1578), p. 11.

Evidently the historian speaks from pleasant, personal experience of the roast-beef, butter and cheese of the Western City. It is a rosy picture of the Pre-reformation state of the town, and although possibly a little over-coloured, still the evidence otherwise available points to its substantial truth.

Our citizens, however, did not sit still under this temporary depression. Action, as we saw above, was taken, and the result was an Act of Parliament (1587, c. 113) appointing an influential Commission, at the head of which were Robert, Lord Boyd, and Walter, Commendator of Blantyre, along with the Provost and Bailies, and one half of the Council of the city, in order to go into the matter, and 'tak ordour as thai sall think maist expedient for relief of the decay and necessitie of that pairt of Glasgow abone the Greyfriar Wynd thairof ather be appointting of the mercate of salt, quhilk cumis in at the Over Port or the Beir and Malt mercat upon the Wynd Heid of the said Cietie, or sic uthair pairt thairabout quhair the saids Commissioneris, or the Maist pairt of them, sall think maist meit and expedient.' [38]

The action taken by this Commission resulted, no doubt, in additional importance being given to the trade of that part of the town. We know that the fair was for many years proclaimed annually at Craigmak or Craignaught, part of which had been given as a site for the Friary.[39] The remainder of Craigmak lay immediately adjoining the walls of the Friary buildings,[40] and the fact that a Court was held here once a year 'upon the fayr ewin' for the express purpose of formally proclaiming 'the peace of the fair' gave rise to the curious and erroneous notion stated by M'Ure in his *History of Glasgow*,[41] that the annual fair owed its origin to the Franciscans. Craigmak was perhaps chosen as the place of proclamation from its

[38] *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 505.

[39] *Glasgow Protocols*, No. 1745. In the Rental of Temporalities preserved in the General Register House, the following is included in Glasgow Parsonage: 'The feu-ferme of ane pece land callet Craignaucht, extending to ane aiker of land or therby, liand in the Baronie of Glasgow and Sherefdome foirsaid, set in few to William Hegait and Jonet Grahame, his spouse, extending yeirlie to *xij.s*, with *xvj.d.* of augmentatiown *inde* the yeir complet 13/4d." I am indebted to Mr. Renwick for this transcript. He adds: 'The Parson of Glasgow seems to have been owner at one time not only of the Greyfriars site, but also of a considerable portion of adjoining land.'

[40] In one of Michael Fleming's Protocols of date 2nd March, 1531 there is reference to 'ane pece of land lyand on the baksyd of the Greyfreris callit Craegmak.' *Glasgow Protocols*, vol. iv. No. 1061.

[41] M'Ure, *History of Glasgow* (Edition 1830), p. 57.

being a ridge of high ground in the neighbourhood of the place which had, for many years, been rendered sacred by the residence and ministrations of the Greyfriars. The ground on which markets were held was privileged. Sir James Marwick, after pointing out that the markets in Greece were under the protection of the gods, proceeds to observe that 'the same feeling may have had something to do in times more modern, with the selection of consecrated ground around Churches, or of ground associated with the lives and labours of famous saints.' [42]

There are some interesting points connected with this fencing of the fair each year on 6th July, and the ceremonies which accompanied it. For example, David Coittis, 'mair of fee' or hereditary officer in the barony, in 1581,[43] and again in 1590,[44] proclaimed 'the peace of the fair upon the Greyne,' while the Town Officer, Richard Tod, proclaimed it at the Cross upon the Tolbooth stair. The Court that fenced the fair was called the 'Heid Court of Craignache,' but it confined itself to the one act of administration and continued the other causes that came before it to a more convenient season and place, 'conforme,' as the Record in 1607 bears, 'to ald use and wount.' [45]

The University acquired right to the Franciscan Convent and pertinents in 1572-3, under the well-known 'Charter by the Provost, Bailies and Councillors of the City granting to the Pedagogy, or College, for the maintenance of a principal, being also a professor of theology, two regents and teachers of philosophy and twelve poor students, all the Kirk livings which had been bestowed on the Burgh' by Queen Mary's Charter of 1566-7. The buildings may have been kept up, and in occasional use for University purposes for many years after the Reformation. We have seen that Sir John Stewart of Mynto was in possession of the 'place formerly of the Franciscan friars' in 1575, and in an informing note to the Glasgow Protocols, Mr. Robert Renwick points out that 'he probably acquired it, in return for payment of rent or feu-duty,' and that the College became the landlords, or superiors, and entitled to the annual rent or feu duty under the Charter of 1573.[46] Sir John Stewart

[42] *Some Observations on Primitive and Early Markets and Fairs*, by Sir James D. Marwick, LL.D., p. 32.

[43] *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, 1573-1642 (Burgh Records Society), p. 88.

[44] *Ibid.* p. 154. [45] *Ibid.* p. 267.

[46] *Glasgow Protocols*. vol. vii. p. 130.

was Provost, and in that capacity granted the Charter to the College. Evidently he was much interested in the prosperity of the University.

The Order played an important part in the religious life of Scotland before the Reformation, as, indeed, it did over all the Christian world. As Miss Mary Bateson observes: 'By tact, knowledge of the world, and cheerful humour, the Franciscans soon obtained great secular influence. As confessors to the King and Queen, to bishops and noblemen, they were in control of important consciences: the papacy supported them and found them useful agents.'[47]

In England they furnished an Archbishop of Canterbury in the person of John Peckham (1279 to 1292), and although the Pope did not succeed in his attempt in 1391 to give Glasgow a Bishop from the ranks of the Order, yet we know that here, as elsewhere, it wielded a certain influence as soon as it was established. This influence would doubtless have been greater had the Order arrived in Glasgow earlier.

Many proofs of the power exercised by the Greyfriars are to be found in the notices, satirical and otherwise, scattered through early Scottish Literature. It is clear that they had to be reckoned with in the religious and secular life of the Country. Even Dunbar, in his more solemn moments, turns to the Friars to find the necessary environment:

> 'Amang thir freiris, within ane cloister,
> I enterit in ane oritorie,
> And kneling doun with ane pater noster,
> Befoir the michti King of Glorye,
> Having His passioun in memorye,
> Syne to His Mother I did inclyne,
> Hir halsing with ane gaude-flore;
> And sudantlie I slepit syne.'[48]

JOHN EDWARDS.

[47] *Mediaeval England*, by Miss Mary Bateson, p. 226.
[48] Dunbar, *Poems* (S.T.S.), vol. ii. p. 239.