

Sidelights on the History
Industries and Social Life
of Scotland

By the same Author

MARGARET OF SCOTLAND AND THE
DAUPHIN LOUIS. An Historical Study based
mainly on Original Documents preserved in the
Bibliothèque nationale.

IN BYWAYS OF SCOTTISH HISTORY.
Studies in the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth
Centuries. With Photogravure Frontispiece of
Mary Queen of Scots.

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PRINCESS ISABELLA STUART
(DUCHESS OF BRITTANY)
DAUGHTER OF JAMES I OF SCOTLAND

From the portrait in her "Book of Hours"

(Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

Sidelights on the History, Industries & Social Life of Scotland

BY

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"Margaret of Scotland and the

Duchess of Albany

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To
WALTER W. BLACKIE, ESQ.

*In Recognition of the Interest
and Encouragement for which
the Author is indebted to him*

THIS BOOK IS GRATEFULLY
DEDICATED

PREFACE

In respect of their subject-matter, the score of essays contained in this volume divide themselves into two distinct classes. Those that have been brought together in the first part deal with certain matters of intrinsic interest, though of minor importance, in the history of Scotland, or with individuals connected with it as secondary and therefore comparatively little known characters. The second part consists of a number of papers that convey some notion of the social and industrial condition of the country, mainly, though not quite exclusively, prior to the Union. It will also be found that the studies which constitute the first section fall into two separate groups. The former of these is illustrative of the relations between Scotland and France under the reigns of James I and James II. For the latter, materials have been gathered from that of James IV.

In general terms, therefore, the book may be described as the outcome of an attempt to throw a little light on a few of the more obscure figures and incidents in Scottish history, as well as on some of the less familiar aspects of Scottish life in olden days.

It has not been thought necessary to encumber these mere footnotes with further footnotes. Sufficient

indication of the sources from which information has been drawn will, it is believed, be found in the accompanying list of works consulted. As regards the "Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland" and the "Register of the Privy Council" which are included in it, special acknowledgment is made of indebtedness to the valuable introductions contributed by the respective editors of the volumes of which the entries and minutes have supplied what it may be allowable to call the raw material of several of the essays.

To the editors of the *Glasgow Herald* and of *Chambers's Journal* the author's thanks are tendered for the permission kindly granted him to reproduce articles which originally appeared—mostly in condensed form—in those publications.

L. A. B.

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SIDELIGHTS ON SCOTTISH HISTORY

A Stuart Duchess of Brittany

In the year 1441, James II of Scotland gave audience to an embassy that had been sent to him by John V, Duke of Brittany. It consisted of Jean Hingant and Jacques de Penhoedic, to whom the mission had been entrusted of submitting to the young King of Scots a proposal for the marriage of his sister Isabella with Francis, Comte de Montfort, Duke John's eldest son and heir. This was not the first time that a matrimonial alliance between the royal house of Scotland and the ducal family of Brittany had been suggested by the ambitious head of the latter. Four years earlier, shortly after the accession of James II, Maurice de Pluscallec and Alain de Kérouseré, Archdeacon of Léon, had come to the Scottish Court to solicit the hand of one of the Stuart Princesses for one of the sons of the

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reigning Duke. It was doubtless of set purpose that the offer of marriage was couched in such unusual and strangely vague words. On the one hand, it is true, Duke John's main object being to establish friendly and close relations with a country of which the influence in the political affairs of Western Europe was becoming felt, it was a consideration of minor importance to him through which of the Scottish Princesses the desired connection should be effected. But on the other, if he could hardly conceal, he did not wish to proclaim the fact that, of his three sons, two, Francis and Peter, were already married, and that it was for their younger brother, Giles of Brittany, that a bride was sought. Such a proposal, coming but a few months after the marriage of King James I's eldest daughter, Margaret, with the Dauphin Louis, son of Charles VII of France, does not present the pretensions of the Duke of Brittany in a modest light; and it may well have seemed to the Scottish Monarch, or more accurately to Lord Livingston and the Chancellor Crichton, who, at that time, practically possessed the supreme power which James himself was still too young to wield, that he had shown a presumption not to be encouraged in aspiring to a union between a daughter of the Stuarts and the youngest son of the house of Brittany, on whose behalf not even a distant prospect of his succeeding to the ducal coronet could be urged. No more plausible reason need

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be suggested for the failure of the Breton ambassadors' mission.

At the time of the unsuccessful overtures of 1437, Francis, Comte de Montfort, heir apparent to the dukedom of Brittany, had for the last six years been married to Iolanthe of Anjou, second daughter of the nominal King of Sicily. In 1440, death severed the childless union; and the dispatch, before twelve months had been allowed to elapse, of a second embassy to Scotland, shows that no time was lost in taking steps to provide a new consort for the widowed Francis, who was then a young man in his twenty-sixth year.

Hingant and his colleague were more successful than their predecessors had been. The Comte de Montfort was accepted as a suitor for the hand of the Princess Isabella. As the year of her birth is not recorded, it is impossible to ascertain her exact age. It is known, however, that her elder sister Margaret, the Dauphiness, had not completed her twelfth year at the time of her marriage, in 1436. From this it may be calculated that Isabella could not be more than about fifteen when the negotiations for her union with Francis were entered upon.

Although the overtures of the ambassadors had met with a favourable reception, a further discussion of terms and conditions was necessary before a definite and final agreement could be reached. For the purpose of conducting it, three Scotsmen of distinguished birth and position were

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appointed to accompany Duke John's representatives on their return journey to Brittany. One of them was Sir George Crichton of Cairns and Blackness, a kinsman of the Chancellor. A reference to the mission with which he was entrusted is to be found in the Aberdeen Customs Account of 1442. It is there recorded that the sum of 45 pounds was paid to him "to defray a part of the expenses incurred by him on an embassy to Brittany to treat of the marriage between the Comte de Montfort, first born son and heir apparent of the Lord Duke of Brittany, and the Lady Isabella, second sister of our Lord the King". Together with Crichton, there went as his colleagues, William Foulis, Archdeacon of Saint Andrews, and William Monypenny, who, in later times, as the Lord of Concessault, in France, was to figure conspicuously and honourably as an intermediary in the transaction of much important diplomatic business between the country of his birth and that of his adoption.

On their return home the Breton ambassadors were questioned by Duke John as to the opinion which they had formed with regard to the physical and mental endowments of the Scottish Princess. They replied that Isabella was fairly good looking, straight and well shaped, and seemed fit to bear children; but that, as for the rest, she spoke but little, a characteristic which they did not, however, attribute to any special discretion on her part, but rather to her great simplicity.

Far from being disappointed with this qualified estimate of her, the Duke is reported to have said that she was precisely such as he would wish her to be, and that he considered a wife to be quite clever enough if she could distinguish between her husband's shirt and his doublet.

In thus giving expression to his homely standard of feminine efficiency, the practical Breton Duke, whose words are recorded by the sixteenth-century annalist, Bouchet, supplied Molière with an idea which the dramatist reproduced with almost literal fidelity in one of the best known passages of *Les Femmes Savantes*:—

“Nos pères sur ce point étaient gens bien sensés,
Qui disaient qu'une femme en sait toujours assez,
Quand la capacité de son esprit se hausse
A connaître un pourpoint d'avec un haut de chausse”.

The ultimate success of the matrimonial scheme to which so much importance was evidently attached in Brittany, was practically assured already; and, indeed, there occurred nothing untoward to complicate or to protract the further negotiations which the Scottish representatives had come over to carry through. The results of them were embodied in a treaty which was signed by the agents of the contracting parties on the 19th of July, 1441, and in terms of which the Lady Isabella was to receive from her brother a dowry of 100,000 saluts d'or, whilst the Duke settled on her a jointure of 6000 livres, to be drawn, in

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the first place, from the revenues accruing to the castle and domain of Succinio. This contract was ratified by John on the 29th of September. In the month of August of the following year, a final embassy was sent to Scotland for the purpose of bringing the young Princess home to her intended husband. On the 28th of the same month the Duke died. He had been denied the gratification of witnessing the full realization of the project on which his heart was set, and had not even been granted an opportunity of satisfying himself as to the fidelity of the description which his ambassadors had given him of his prospective daughter-in-law.

Fortune had favoured Princess Isabella. It was to become the bride, not of an heir apparent, but of a reigning duke, that, in the autumn of the year, she sailed from her native land, accompanied by a numerous and imposing retinue of noblemen and high-born dames, of whose names, however, there is unfortunately no record. She landed at Auray and took up her temporary residence in the historic castle, from which she was married on the 30th of October. No account of the ceremony has come down to us, but an interesting memorial of it has been preserved. It is a *Book of Hours*, a wedding gift of Francis to his young bride. It is described as "a pretty little volume in vellum". On one of the pages of it there is a miniature portrait of Isabella, kneeling, with hands joined in an attitude of

prayer. The Princess is represented in ducal attire, with the cornet on her head, but without the mantle. Her dress consists of a tight-fitting basque bodice, square cut at the neck and reaching well over the hips. The skirt is tight and has a train of only moderate length. It is adorned with a panel in which the Lion of Scotland is pictured. As a further means of identification, the arms of the Duchess—per pale the ermine of Brittany and the Lion Rampant of Scotland—are emblazoned on a tablet at the bottom of the picture. The only jewellery displayed is a narrow necklet.

In appearance, Isabella is tall and slight. Her head is gracefully poised on a well-shaped and lissom neck. Youth is apparent both in her figure and in her face, which is oval, with a somewhat pointed chin. Its features are regular, and the expression of the whole countenance is bright and pleasing. So far as can be judged, the hair is fair. According to a custom prevalent during the Middle Ages, as numberless paintings by the Old Masters testify, the figure of a saint has been introduced. The stigmata show that it is intended to represent St. Francis of Assisi, whom the young Duchess held in special veneration. At Nantes, a portrait of her adorns a stained-glass window of his church within the choir of which she expressed a wish to be buried.

A fellow picture of Duke Francis, reproduced by Montfaucon from the *Book of Hours*, indicates

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the difference between his age and that of his wife, who was younger than he by fully twelve years. He appears to have been of medium height and of a dark complexion, as might be expected of a Breton. His features are strongly marked, and impart an expression of sternness that is not attractive, and was probably characteristic. It is certainly not belied by what history has recorded of him.

As a thoughtful and kindly compliment to his bride, Francis had postponed his coronation until such time as she should be able to grace it by her presence, and had arranged that it should follow as closely as possible upon his wedding. It was also his wish that the unusual and unexpected coincidence of two such events should in each case be marked by exceptional pomp and brilliancy. With that object in view he was especially anxious for the attendance of his uncle, Arthur of Brittany, Comte de Richemont, who, as Constable of France, was in the service of King Charles. Robert de la Rivière, who was later to become Bishop of Rennes, was dispatched to Tours with a humble and respectful request to the King that he would grant Richemont leave to honour his nephew by going to Brittany for the two ceremonies. There were difficulties to be overcome, however, for Richemont was on his way to Toulouse, charged with an important mission. But the Breton envoy was so earnest in his solicitations, that Charles, who, on his side, had reasons

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for wishing to conciliate the good will of the new Duke, gave his consent. The Constable was recalled, and with his wife set out for Ploermel, where his nephew was holding his Court. He was accompanied by Regnault de Chartres, Archbishop of Reims; the Dukes of Orleans and of Alençon; the Comte de Vendôme; the famous Dunois; Peter de Brezé, Seneschal of Normandy, and many other French nobles. Awaiting him he found the Duke, with his two brothers, Peter, Comte de Guingamp, and Giles, Lord of Chantocé, besides a brilliant retinue which included representatives of all the noble families in the Duchy, as well as the highest dignitaries of the Church. When to these there was added the "great following of lords and ladies from the Kingdom of Scotland", whom they joined in Auray, it was an imposing assemblage before which the nuptials of Francis of Brittany and Isabella Stuart were celebrated.

At the conclusion of the marriage festivities, Duke Francis with his young bride proceeded in great state to Rennes, where the ceremony of his coronation was to take place. It has been described by Breton chroniclers with an exceptional fullness and minuteness of details, which testify to the care that had been taken to impart to it unwonted solemnity and splendour. It does not appear that Isabella figured in it otherwise than as a spectator; but as such she was given an opportunity of realizing to the full, in the pomp and

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pageantry displayed before her, the importance and the dignity of her husband's exalted position.

It was into a house divided against itself that Isabella had married. During the long years that France and England waged war against each other, the Dukes of Brittany had followed a policy of unveiled and unblushing opportunism. It was never out of consideration for any interests but their own that they favoured at one time the defenders of the country and its invaders at another. But the series of successes inaugurated by Joan of Arc gave them cause to bethink themselves; and it gradually came home to them that they had more permanent advantages to derive from loyalty than from treason. It was not, it is true, till the year 1446, the fourth of Francis' accession, that a formal ceremony marked the renewal of a friendship and an alliance which ought never to have been severed; but almost from the beginning of his reign over the province, the way to a definitive reconciliation had been made smooth for him by judicious advances on the part of his lawful sovereign, the King of France. And it must be recorded to his credit, that, from the time of his taking the oath of allegiance, at Chinon, his conduct was such as to deserve from Chartier, the contemporary historiographer, the recognition that he had "*grandement travaillé à la conquête de la Normandie, et y avait employé ses gens et grandes finances pour le service du roy*".

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The reigning Duke's loyalty, however, was not shared by all the members of the family of which he was the head. His youngest brother, Giles, had when quite a child, been entrusted by Duke John V to the keeping of his grandmother, Joanna of Navarre, the widow of Henry IV of England, whose second wife she had been. Brought up at the Court of Westminster as the playmate of Henry VI, Giles was rather an Englishman than a Frenchman; and it was more as a subject than as an alien that he was treated by the young King of England. The Order of the Garter was conferred upon him; he was appointed to the high dignity of Constable of the Realm, and he was granted a pension of 2000 nobles. On his return to Brittany, in 1443, he received various gifts, including "two bokis of song for his chapel", a cup of gold of the value of 100 marks, and £100. The King of France showed his displeasure at the existence of such friendly relations with the enemy by depriving Giles of his lordships of Chantocé and Ingrande, on the ground that the Breton prince was in alliance with the English, and that he "counselled, favoured, and comforted them".

Angered as was Duke Francis at the attitude assumed by his brother, he was roused to further indignation when it was reported to him that Giles was making aggressive parade of his treasonable sympathies, and declared himself to be a subject not of the King of France but of the King of

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England; and that he even went to the outrageous length of boasting that when he had the support of five or six thousand Englishmen, he would set out for Saint-Mahé, in the very heart of the Duchy, and beard his brother there.

Other influences were at work to envenom the feud between the two brothers. Even before his accession to the ducal throne, Francis was entirely in the power of a favourite, Arthur de Montauban, whom the Breton chroniclers depict in the most lurid colours. He was the son of an Italian mother, a Visconti, from whom he is represented as having inherited all the treachery and all the cruelty for which the Italian Courts of the Middle Ages were notorious. No greater proof of the excess of the Duke's infatuation can be given than the fact that, according to an old chronicle, he encouraged his wife to share it with him. Isabella appears to have imitated his pernicious example only too readily and too well; for the same history records that she used to kiss Montauban in public, that she was passionately devoted to his interests, and that all whom he hated she also hated. From this, it is hardly open to doubt that, though her name does not appear in the account of the grim tragedy that followed, she must have been cognizant of it in all its details.

Amongst the plans which Arthur de Montauban had formed with a view to his aggrandizement was that of acquiring for himself the extensive domains and revenues of the two houses of

Châteaubriand and of Dinan, by marrying Frances of Dinan, who, as heiress to them both, was the richest matrimonial prize in the Duchy. But Giles, on his side, was just as anxious to lay hands on two such tempting sources of income, and thereby to supplement his own apanage of which the meagreness and the insufficiency constituted one of his standing grievances. Although Frances was only eight years old at the time, he carried her off and went through the marriage ceremony with her. By this bold step he secured a wealthy bride, but he made an implacable enemy of the rival whose scheme he had thwarted.

In 1445, Giles of Brittany entered into communication with Mathew Gough, the Governor of Avranches, and with several others of Henry VI's captains in France. Some of the letters which he addressed to them fell into the hands of the Duke, and were of such an incriminating nature that only with the greatest difficulty did Richemont succeed in inducing his nephew to grant the traitor the pardon which he submitted to the humiliation of soliciting on his knees, after a full avowal of his crime. The reconciliation thus effected by the Constable was not of long duration. After betaking himself to his wife's castle of le Guildou, situated on the northern coast of Brittany, about midway between Lamballe and Dinard, and built on a precipitous rock, inaccessible from the sea and strongly fortified

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on the land side, as the ruins of its thick walls and massive towers still show, Giles renewed his intrigues with the English. By taking refuge in this stronghold he gave colour to the reports which soon reached his brother, and which, emanating from his enemies, represented him as having already taken the first step towards helping the English to effect a landing in Brittany.

Several attempts on the part of both the King of France and the Duke of Brittany having failed to induce the characteristically stubborn Breton prince to return to his duty as a loyal subject, they finally decided, by depriving him of his liberty, to make it impossible for him to carry out the threats which he had senselessly uttered against his brother. From this time forward, all those that figure prominently in the tragic story of Giles are men who were either the agents and instruments of his pitiless enemy, Arthur de Montauban, or who on their own account were directly interested in his never being restored to favour. Thus, it was Prégent de Coétivy, to whom the Prince's forfeited lordships had been granted, who was commissioned to take the necessary steps for his apprehension. To disarm suspicion and to prevent resistance, it was a French captain, Regnault de Dresnay, who at the head of 400 men-at-arms in the pay of Charles VII, presented himself before the Castle of le Guildou. Giles, who was playing tennis at the time, interrupted his game and went forward to

receive de Dresnay and his escort. Even if opposition had originally been intended, it had become impossible, and the Prince allowed himself to be taken and carried off to the Castle of Dinan, where he was kept in strict custody.

A commission, which included the infamous favourite together with his brother, and with his unscrupulous agent, Jean Hingant, was entrusted with the task of drawing up the indictment on which the prisoner was to be arraigned and tried for his life. The document bore such obvious evidence of the bitterest animosity that it justified the procurator-general, Olivier de Breil, in refusing to base a prosecution on it, and the Comte de Richemont in again interposing to protect his nephew from the fratricidal fury of the Duke. As the result of these protests, the capital charge that was to have been preferred was abandoned; but even the remonstrances of the King of France could not induce Francis to treat his captive otherwise than with the most ferocious cruelty. How determined he was that no leniency should be shown him may be understood from his having committed him, as Chartier records, to the custody of Arthur de Montauban and his accomplices.

From the various strongholds to which he was successively transferred in the course of his four years' captivity—Moncontour, Touffon, la Haridouinaye—Prince Giles, whose rebellious spirit was at length broken, wrote the most submissive

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letters to his brother; but his jailers took care that these should either never reach the Duke, or that they should be misconstrued if they did; and they even forged one which purported to be from Henry VI, and which, in its peremptory demand for the liberation of the prisoner and in the threats by which it was endeavoured to enforce compliance, was well calculated to exasperate Francis still further.

At length, in 1450, at the instigation of his favourite, the Duke resolved to take measures to rid himself of the captive, who, even in his dungeon, seemed to be as great a source of anxiety and of trouble, by reason of the sympathy which he evoked, as he had been because of his treasonable intrigues, when in the enjoyment of his liberty. To give a faint show of legality to the crime that was contemplated, Montauban's son-in-law, Louis de Rohan, as Chancellor of Brittany, was instructed to draw up in the Duke's name, a warrant by which, without preliminary process, without examination, and without trial, Prince Giles was condemned to death. In order to give this document authority, however, the ducal seal was necessary, but the Keeper had the courage to refuse the connivance expected of him. For this honourable action he was deprived of his office, which was conferred upon the unscrupulous Chancellor himself; and he was thus able to set the official seal to the iniquitous death sentence which he had drawn up.

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The execution, or rather the murder of Giles, was entrusted to Jean Rageart, another of the agents of Montauban's villainies. Having failed to do his hellish work by means of poison, with the assistance of ruffians whom he had hired, he put an end to the unfortunate prisoner's misery by strangling him with a towel, as he lay in his bed. Duke Francis was at the head of the troops which he had supplied for the siege of Avranches, when the news of his brother's death, which was attributed to a stroke of apoplexy, was brought him. Shortly after, as he was on his way from the camp to his quarters at Mont Saint-Michel, he was met by a Franciscan Friar, who had been the murdered Prince's confessor, and who had come to invoke the vengeance of heaven against the primary author of the cruel deed. In a loud voice and in words that inspired all his hearers with terror, he denounced the fratricide, and summoned him to appear within forty days before the tribunal of God, to answer for his crime. A guilty conscience and a superstitious nature combined to give terrible effect to the sentence pronounced by the Franciscan; and the Breton chroniclers record that, on the day appointed by him, Francis, after going through the successive phases of a rapid decline, finally succumbed to terror and remorse.

Two days earlier, on the 16th of July, the Duke, feeling that his death was drawing near, had sent for his brother Peter, the Bishops of

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Dol, Quimper, St. Brieuc, and Nantes, as well as several courtiers and civil dignitaries, and in their presence had made known his testamentary dispositions with regard to the order of succession to the ducal throne. He appointed his brother to succeed him; if, in his turn, Peter should die without male issue, it was the testator's wish that the crown should pass on to their paternal uncle, Arthur of Brittany, Comte de Richemont and Constable of France; and finally, in the event of Richemont's leaving no son, his heir was to be Francis of Brittany, son of Richard, Comte d'Étampes.

The dying Duke justified his action in excluding his two daughters from succession to the throne, by an appeal to the "ancient laws, statutes, and usages of Brittany", and in particular to the treaty of Guérande. By way of compensation, he bequeathed to each of them a dowry of a hundred thousand gold crowns. And he declared it to be his wish that Margaret, the elder, should wed Francis, who stood third in succession to the Duchy; and that her sister Mary should become the wife of John II, Vicomte de Rohan. As a dower to his wife, he left the towns, castles, and castellanies of Succinio, Ruys, Guérande, and le Croisic, together with their appurtenances.

The two daughters, of whose future Francis disposed so arbitrarily, were still young children. There is no record of the exact age of Margaret;

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but she cannot have been more than seven years old when her father's will settled whose wife she was to be. Of Mary we know that she was born rather less than three years before her father's death; for it was towards the close of the year 1447 that, by reason of the condition in which his wife was at the time, the Duke sent Isabella away from Vannes, where an epidemic was raging, and also dispatched Alain de Lescarouéz to Angers and to Cholet, to fetch certain relics, including a finger of St. Margaret, by the special virtue of which it was hoped that the Duchess might be granted a safe delivery. In course of time the two marriages duly took place; and, in the case of Margaret's, the sequel was as miserable as might be expected from a loveless union contracted for reasons of State. Her husband, Duke Francis II, neglected her for a favourite, the Dame de Villequiers; and the Breton annalist attributes it to the young wife's "displeasure" at that "unjust preference", that she died in 1469, when at most in her twenty-sixth year.

Isabella had not long been a widow before she was made to feel that the new Duke looked upon her as an encumbrance and grudged her the provision that had been made for her as dowager. The first indication that we get of this is contained in a holograph letter, which, about the end of December, 1451, was delivered to the King of France by Monypenny, on behalf of James II. "Good brother," wrote the King

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of Scots, "I have heard that the Bretons are speaking of marrying my sister, the Duchess of that country. I certify you that if this should take place, a greater displeasure could not be done me. And therefore I pray you not to suffer it, for I shall never consent that this should be done; and I wish her to be placed where I have ordered, as Monypenny will tell you more fully."

The anxiety expressed by James was not due to the great concern which he felt for his sister's welfare, but to his dread of being called upon, in the event of a second marriage, to pay the dowry which had been promised in 1442, but of which not even a first instalment had yet been sent from Scotland. For the rest, he had not been misinformed. Not only had it been projected to relieve the Ducal treasury by providing Isabella with a husband, but a willing suitor for the hand of the young widow had been found in the person of Don Carlos, Prince of Navarre.

The letter which the King of France had received from James hardly left it in his option to do otherwise than intervene in the matter with regard to which a direct appeal to his sovereign authority had been made. In a letter addressed by him to Duke Peter, he pointed out how inexpedient it would be and to what unpleasant consequences it might give rise if formal negotiations for the marriage of the Dowager Duchess were entered upon so long as she remained in Brittany, and might seem to have acted under

constraint in accepting a second husband; and he expressed it as his wish that, in the Prince of Navarre's forthcoming visit to Brittany, no mention should be made to him of the very subject which, it may be assumed, he was coming to discuss.

In the face of this royal objection, the Duke could not but delay the prosecution of his matrimonial scheme. Not only he, however, but also his successor, Arthur de Richemont, repeatedly brought it forward again, in later years, as is shown by the many official communications that passed between the three Courts of Scotland, France, and Brittany, through the medium of special embassies. There is reason to believe that, apart from the objections raised by her brother, the King of Scots, Isabella herself had no desire to sever her connection with Brittany, where she claimed to have made herself popular, and really seems to have done so, and where the provision made by Duke Francis for her maintenance was ample and satisfactory, and ensured for her more freedom of action than a second marriage would have allowed her. She remained a widow to the end of her life.

But James II had other grievances, and a long official report preserved in the archives of Brittany sets them forth, with an abundance of subordinate but interesting details, and at the same time indicates what steps were taken to convince the Scottish King of the futility of his complaints.

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The document in question is an account of the special mission on which Guy Bernard, Counsellor and Master of Requests, and his secretary, Peter Aude, were sent to Brittany by the King of France. They left Tours on Tuesday, the 27th of April, 1452, and a week later reached Nantes, where they had appointed to meet Arthur of Brittany, Comte de Richemont and Constable of France, and with him the Bishop of Galloway, on whose behalf, as representative of the King of Scots, an interview with Duke Peter, and with his sister-in-law, the Dowager Duchess Isabella, was to be arranged for. On the following Saturday they set out for Rennes, a few miles from which, in the episcopal palace of Bruz, the Duke was residing at the time.

On Monday, the 9th of April, the Ambassadors of the King of France were accorded an audience, at which, after having presented their credentials, they proceeded to set forth the business that had brought them to the Ducal Court. They informed Peter that, a short time before, King Charles being then at Moulins, had received letters which were brought to him from the King of Scots by Thomas Spens, Bishop of Galloway, and Sir Thomas Cranston. As the matters to which they referred and the requests which they contained seemed to the King to affect the person and the dignity of the Duke, he had thought it fitting, as a token of his great love and singular affection for his near and dear kinsman, and good,

true, leal, and obedient subject, to make them known to him before sending a reply.

Then Aude, to whom as a lawyer the office of spokesman had been assigned, began a detailed exposition of the alleged wrongs which James had appealed to his dear brother of France to get righted. They were three in number. In the first place it was stated, that information which had been brought to Scotland by trustworthy persons, represented the Duchess Isabella as having been "very straitly kept" and not allowed full freedom and liberty since the death of her husband, the late Duke Francis; and as having been deprived of her jointure as well as of the furniture and other objects of value to the possession of which she was entitled. That seemed to the King of Scots and to the Estates of his Realm to be very strange and harsh treatment, and they therefore requested the King of France, as Sovereign, to be pleased to send for the Duchess, to keep her with him, and thus to secure for her entire freedom of action as well as the enjoyment of all that rightfully and reasonably belonged to her.

The second point raised by the Scottish Ambassadors on behalf of their royal master concerned his two nieces. It had been reported to him that, although the Duchy belonged to them as the daughters and heiresses of Duke Francis, their uncle had intruded himself into it, and had appropriated the revenues and emoluments

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accruing from it. To redress this injustice King Charles was asked, in the exercise of his right as liege lord, to insist on the surrender of the young princesses, to assume the guardianship of them himself, and to oblige the Duke to restore to the King of Scots or his commissioners all the rents, profits, and issues which he had acquired as the result of his usurpation. Isabella's claim to these, as well as to the custody of her daughters, was expressly set aside, on the ground that she had forfeited her rights by neglecting to safeguard the interests of her children, and by failing to raise a protest when they were ousted from the Duchy. In anticipation of the possibility of a refusal on the part of Charles to support a demand of which the motive was obviously open to misconstruction, it was suggested as an alternative that, besides taking the heiresses under his tutelage, he should also constitute himself the trustee of their estate. To leave no loophole for evasion, it was urged that any measure or enactment passed to their prejudice since the death of their father should be repealed.

In the last of the three points which the Scottish Ambassadors' letters instructed them to raise, there was a recognition of the accomplished fact, and an implied readiness to submit the matters in dispute to the arbitrement of the law courts, that contrasted with the vigorous language and uncompromising tone in which the claims and contentions of the Scottish King had so far been

expressed. Seeing that the Duke, although in violation of his nieces' rights, had usurped the Duchy and was in actual possession of it, King Charles was requested to sequester it and to take it into his own hands, pending the legal proceedings that should decide to whom it rightfully belonged.

The case for the King of Scots having been laid before the Duke, Aude informed him further that King Charles had considered the questions thus raised too serious and important to be decided by him at Moulins, to which only a few of his advisers had accompanied him; and that, wishing to submit them to the deliberation of a fuller Council, he had desired the Ambassadors to proceed to Tours, to which he intended to return within a short time, and where he would communicate to them his reply. This hesitation on the part of the King of France did not seem to augur well for the success of the Scottish mission; and Cranston had accordingly returned home to report as to the course which matters were taking.

In Tours it was consequently to the Bishop of Galloway alone that King Charles communicated the result of the "great deliberations", in which several Princes of the Blood, Prelates, and other members of the Council had taken part. Spens, however, was far from being satisfied with the "good and reasonable things" that were conveyed to him in the royal message. He continued to

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"insist very strongly and to maintain" that Duchess Isabella's freedom and liberty had been unjustifiably restricted. To convince the unbelieving Scot, what seemed to be the most effective means had been adopted. He had been challenged to go to Brittany, to speak to the Duchess herself, and to ascertain from her what truth there was in the reports that had reached the Scottish Court concerning her treatment at the hands of her brother-in-law. His stubborn incredulity had placed him in such a position that he could not but accept the offer; and Bernard, together with his secretary Aude, had been deputed to accompany him on his invidious visit to the Breton Court. Their instructions were to communicate to the Duke the purport of the complaints that had been received from Scotland; to request him to make such arrangements of time and place as would allow the Bishop an opportunity of having a private interview with the Duchess; and to beg that they too might be permitted to speak to her, and to make of her such enquiries as would enable them to report to the King of France with regard to the treatment and condition of both herself and her daughters.

The Duke's reply to Aude's address was courteous and dignified, but in it he made no attempt to conceal the annoyance and the resentment which he felt at what he considered an unwarrantable interference on the part of the King of Scots: "I very humbly thank the

King," he said, "for having been pleased to advise me so kindly and so graciously of the matters which you have brought to my knowledge. I am well aware of the considerateness with which he has treated me, and I am beholden to him for the friendship which he has always manifested in his dealings with me, and of which he has now afforded me fresh evidence. For my poor part, I am his humble kinsman, and have no wish but to serve and obey him as such and as his faithful and loyal subject. And although, in view of the business that has brought the Bishop to me, I have no cause to welcome him or to receive him with good cheer, nevertheless, for the honour of the King, I shall greet him with as much cordiality as I am able, though not with so much as I can show you who have been sent to me as representatives of my liege lord. Since it is the King's pleasure that the Bishop should speak to the Duchess and satisfy himself as to her state and condition, and that you should likewise do so, I am well content that this should be. And I am confident that both he and you will find that all is well with her. With regard to the demands which the King of Scots has made, I know full well how unreasonable they are, and with the help of God and of the King I mean to defend my rights from all attacks and against all pretenders, and will do so, if need be, even to the death. If the King himself had not been satisfied as to

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the justice of my claims, he would not have received me to homage as he recently did." These spirited words impart special significance to Aude's statement that "very soon" after hearing them, Bernard and he withdrew from the Ducal presence.

On their return to Rennes, they sent a message to the Bishop of Galloway, who appears to have taken up his quarters at some distance from the city, to the effect that if he came to it on the next day, he would get news from the Duke. Spens having complied, was duly informed on his arrival that the Duke would be pleased to grant him an audience. A similar summons was received by Bernard and Aude. In compliance with it, all three presented themselves at Bruz on the morning of Wednesday the 11th of April. At the official reception that was accorded them, the French Ambassadors again set forth, but this time in more guarded terms, the object of their mission. They stated that the Bishop of Galloway had been sent to the French Court on special business, by his royal master; that King Charles having been informed by him of his desire to speak to the Duchess Isabella, before his return home, so as to be able to report to King James as to her present circumstances, had appointed them to accompany him to Brittany for that purpose; and that the Bishop had now come to do obeisance prior to his interview with the Duchess. To this Duke Peter replied

with formal courtesy that since the Bishop had come to him from the King, for the honour of the King he was welcome. In the conventional terms suitable to the occasion, Spens declared himself to be the Duke's humble servant, and expressed his eagerness to do his pleasure to the utmost of his power.

The ceremonious etiquette of the Court having been duly observed, the Duke, the Constable Arthur de Richemont, who was also present at the reception, and the Scottish Bishop, drew aside and spoke together for a time; but Aude, to his disappointment, having heard nothing of their conversation, was unable to report the subject of it.

On the following day, as early as nine o'clock in the morning, the French Ambassadors, accompanied by the Constable and by Messire de Villeblanche, presented themselves to do obeisance to the Duchess, and to deliver the letters with which they had been entrusted by the King. When Isabella had made herself acquainted with the contents of these, she drew the Ambassadors aside, so that neither their two companions nor her own ladies should overhear her conversation with them. Then Aude, again acting as spokesman, communicated to her what the Duke had already been told as to the mission on which the Bishop of Galloway and Sir Thomas Cranston had been sent to France, and as to the complaints which they had been instructed to make. They

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also set forth the special purpose for which they themselves had come to Brittany, and concluded with an earnest request, which it had been expressly impressed on them to make, that the Duchess should frankly let them know the exact truth as to her present state and condition, and as to the Duke's treatment of her. They solemnly assured her that whatever she imparted to them would be regarded as confidential, and repeated to no one but the King on whose behalf they had come. Isabella was also exhorted to speak as freely and as candidly to the Scottish Bishop, so that he might take back the fullest and most authoritative information to her brother, the King of Scots.

The Duchess's reply was as straightforward as she had been asked to make it. She assured the Ambassadors that ever since the death of her husband she had been treated with as much kindness and consideration as any lady could lay claim to; that she had every reason to be satisfied, and, in truth, was so; and that those who had spread reports to the contrary had no justification for their slanders. With her hand on her heart she declared by her troth that the Duke loved her, and gave her the most convincing proofs of his affection; that he made ample provision for all her needs, and often enquired of her how she fared; and that, in short, he showed her as much deference and respect as if she were his mother.

The very earnestness of the Duchess's protestations in favour of her brother-in-law would appear to have aroused doubts in the minds of the Ambassadors. They suggested to her that she was perhaps afraid to tell the truth lest it should come to the Duke's ears that she had done so, and her treatment be aggravated in consequence; and they again besought her to hide nothing from them, and repeated their assurance that she could depend upon the utmost secrecy on their part. But nothing that they could urge and no promise that they could make could induce Isabella to retract or modify a word of what she had said; and she declared her willingness to confirm by her solemn oath every assertion she had made. As for the allegation that she had not enjoyed the fullest freedom and liberty of action, she explained that some ground for it might conceivably have been found in the seclusion which she had deemed it seemly to impose upon herself in the early days of her widowhood; but she opposed the most formal and energetic denial to the suggestion that she had at any time been subjected to the slightest restraint. She demanded to be told from whom the King of Scots had received the information that had prompted his interference, and in her resentment at his action, she expressed the wish that he would deal as fairly and honourably by her as the Duke had done and was doing, and would let her have the dowry which he had promised her, but of which she had as yet

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received no part. It was a flagrant injustice and a sin, she declared, in a burst of indignation, that a lady of her lineage should have received no marriage portion. On that point she intended to speak her mind very freely to the Bishop of Galloway; and she would request him to lend her his aid in obtaining what was rightly due to her, and what she now required with a view to the marriage of her daughters.

It was now the Bishop's turn to have his audience of the Duchess. To his formal and ceremonious words of homage, she abruptly replied, even before the French Ambassadors had had time to withdraw, by expressing her astonishment that anyone should have presumed to tell her brother, the King of Scots, that she was being harshly treated by her brother-in-law, and by declaring that, if she had had any grievances to complain of, she would not have hesitated to do so, even in the presence of the Duke himself; but that, as it was, she could only congratulate herself on the unfailing kindness which she had always met with at his hands.

The Bishop's embarrassment at this public rebuff was so obvious that the French Ambassadors tactfully interposed with the suggestion, that he should be granted a special audience later in the day. In accordance with this, the French King's two agents, together with Spens, who on this occasion was accompanied by "one called David", were again received by the Duchess in

the afternoon. Whilst they wished the interview to be as strictly private as befitted the confidential nature of the matters to be discussed, Isabella maintained that there was no reason for dismissing the ladies in attendance on her, and declared that their presence would not influence her to speak anything but the truth. Ultimately, however, the Constable de Richemont, to whom Aude made appeal, prevailed upon her, though not without difficulty, to be satisfied with the presence of two of them only. This compromise having been effected, the Bishop in his turn proceeded to set forth the object of the mission which his royal master had confided to him. After repeating in substance what the Duchess had already heard from Aude earlier in the day, he broached a subject to which no allusion had yet been made, and informed her not only of her brother's wish to see her well married, but also of his readiness to find a suitable match for her in Scotland.

With regard to her treatment at the hands of her brother-in-law, Isabella renewed her emphatic denial of the charges brought against him, and, as she had previously done, demanded to know by whom the false information on which they were based had been conveyed to her brother, not hiding her suspicion that Monypenny was the mischievous bearer of it. As to her marriage, she distinctly refused ever again to cross the water for such a purpose. She was weak and

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ailing she said, and nothing would induce her to renew her experiences of the horrors of a sea journey. Moreover, she had no wish to leave Brittany, where, ever since her coming, she had met with every kindness, and had been treated with unfailing respect and honour, and where she had been and still was loved by the people as no lady ever had been before. She admitted, however, that the Duke had spoken to her more than once of his wish that she should marry again, and had told her that, when a favourable opportunity occurred, he would do all in his power to enable her to avail herself of it; that he would make honourable provision for her; and that if what her late husband had settled on her were not sufficient, he would supplement it by such further additions as could not fail to satisfy her.

The subject of the Dowager's jointure having thus naturally found its way into the conversation, the Bishop was able to enquire whether she were satisfied with it, and whether, in the event of her wishing to administer it through her own officials, the Duke would give his consent to her doing so. In her reply Isabella expressed her unqualified satisfaction with her late husband's testamentary dispositions on her behalf; and from the fact that her brother-in-law had formerly, and of his own accord, offered to make over to her the management of the domains to the revenues of which her jointure entitled her, she felt justified in believing that he would raise no objection if, at any time, she

should choose to assume the responsibility in his stead.

The Bishop's next question touched on a delicate subject, which he introduced by stating that reports which had reached the King of Scots, represented his sister as having been deprived of her personal effects after the death of her husband, the late Duke Francis. To ascertain whether this information was borne out by actual fact, he had, he said, been instructed to ask her what had become of her movable goods. To this direct question Isabella replied in the same tone of impatient resentment as had characterized her former answers to the Scottish Ambassador's cross-examination. With ironical deference to the officious informers to whom her brother had lent an ear, she said that the tale they had told him was false. Nothing had been taken from her. It was true, however, that her late husband was heavily in debt at the time of his death; and as she felt bound in conscience to meet his liabilities if she retained her personal effects, she had deemed it advisable to make over certain rings to her brother-in-law on condition that he should satisfy the late Duke's creditors, and this he had undertaken to do.

The next and final point with regard to which Bishop Spens wished to be satisfied was of comparatively slight importance. He enquired whether, in the event of Isabella's desiring to go on a visit to either the King of France or the King of

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Scotland, or to perform a pilgrimage, or even to undertake a journey for her pleasure, the Duke would give his consent to her doing so. To so vague a query it was sufficient for her to answer that she had no reason to suppose that her brother-in-law would raise any difficulty, providing he knew her to be in honourable keeping, amongst relatives or friends.

Before closing her interview with the Bishop, to whose examination she had submitted with as near an approach to good grace as could be expected of her in the very exceptional circumstances in which she was placed, the Duchess did not forget to carry out her intention of speaking very plainly to him with regard to the marriage portion which her brother had promised her, but had so far neglected to remit. In even stronger terms than she had previously used when mentioning the same subject to the French Ambassadors, she protested against the unfairness of keeping from her, a woman and a widow, that to which she was entitled, and now stood more than ever in need of. It was an unreasonable and a wicked thing, she said, that she, the daughter of so noble a sovereign as the King of Scotland, should, on her marriage, have received neither money nor lands. To be treated as she had been, she indignantly declared, made her appear as no better than a bastard; and she earnestly and repeatedly requested Spens to bring the matter before James, and to do for her all that lay in his power. The Bishop could not

but admit the justice of Isabella's claim, though, on the King's behalf, he urged the unconvincing excuse that her brother had acted "for her own good and for the advancement of her daughters, when he should see that there was need for it". With this the audience terminated, and when the Constable of France and Messire Henri de Villeblanche, together with the ladies-in-waiting and the maids of honour had again been admitted into the hall, Spens laughingly greeted them with the remark that the Duchess was a clever advocate against herself.

At this point it became apparent that Messire Henri de Villeblanche's presence was not merely casual, but that he had been deputed to represent Duke Peter and to take an active part in the proceedings. Addressing the Duchess, he reminded her that her brother-in-law had formerly offered to make over to her the administration of her jointure, in conformity with the testamentary dispositions of her late husband; and he informed her that he had been instructed by the Duke to renew that offer in his name. He added that, if she were willing to make herself responsible for one-half of her late husband's debts, she should receive one-half of the personal effects, in conformity with the custom of Brittany. And further, he made known to her that it was her brother-in-law's intention, in consultation and concert with the King of France and the King of Scotland, to make suitable and honourable arrangements for her marriage, and, when it

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took place, to bestow upon her so much, in addition to the rings, tapestries, and silver plate to which she was entitled, that she could not but be satisfied with his liberality. Then, turning to the Bishop of Galloway, Messire Henri told him that in his will Duke Francis had directed that the elder of his daughters should marry Monsieur d'Étampes; expressed his readiness to show him the clause in question; and assured him that it was intended to conform as far as possible with the wishes of the testator.

The whole conference was brought to a close by Isabella, who, after reiterating all that she had previously said as to her absolute satisfaction with her brother-in-law's treatment of her; as to her firm conviction that he would put her in full possession of her jointure at any time she chose to claim it; and as to her unqualified denial of all the mischievous reports by which the King of Scots had been deceived, impressively added the earnest hope that God loved her soul as much as she believed the Duke loved her person.

Two days later, when Bernard and Aude, together with the Bishop of Galloway, presented themselves to take formal leave of the Duke, he repeated and confirmed all that had been said in his name by Messire Henri de Villeblanche; and to the ceremonious greetings and conventional assurances of loyalty which he commissioned the French Ambassadors to tender to King Charles, he added the hope that no further heed would be

given to such unfounded complaints and unreasonable requests as had been made by the King of Scots.

In her anxiety that the King of France should be fully informed, and that his mind should be set at rest concerning her alleged grievances, Isabella was not content to depend on the official report which she knew the Ambassadors would submit to their royal master. In a letter which she herself wrote to Charles, she repeated all the denials of harsh treatment and all the assurances of unqualified satisfaction which she had given his representatives; and she availed herself of the opportunity thus afforded her to solicit his helpful intervention on her behalf in the matter of her dowry. That there is no documentary evidence to show that she ever received even an instalment of the 100,000 saluts d'or, cannot be looked upon as a convincing proof that nothing was ever paid her; but taken in connection with the known circumstances of the case, it may well influence us in forming an opinion as to what must necessarily remain a subject for conjecture.

The Bishop of Galloway's report as to the results of his mission to the Courts of France and of Brittany appears to have satisfied the King of Scots that his sister's position was in all respects satisfactory, and that further interference on his part for the alleged purpose of redressing her grievances would be unwarrantable. Such, at least, is the inference which may fairly be drawn

from the fact that, from this time forward, no reference to the subject of either her jointure or her freedom of action is to be met with. But there still remained two questions with regard to which James considered himself justified in reiterating his remonstrances and his appeals to the King of France. These were Isabella's projected marriage with the Prince of Navarre, and her daughters' right to the Duchy. With regard to the first of these, which appears to have been that of which the settlement presented the greatest difficulty, without being able, for lack of material, to follow the whole course of the protracted negotiations, we know from the result, as has already been indicated, that the King of Scots, not improbably aided by his sister's disinclination to leave Brittany, was able to make good his opposition. As to the latter, there is evidence that the discussion of it was included in the instructions with which the Bishop of Galloway and David Lindsay were sent to France in 1453, and again in 1455. On the former of these two occasions Charles pleaded pressure of more important affairs as an excuse for postponing consideration of the matter. On the latter he deputed the Comte de Dunois and the Bishop of Coutances to discuss it with the Scottish Ambassadors. There is no extant report of the conference; but the outcome of it may be inferred from the fact that, on the 31st of August, King Charles, by letters patent, approved and

confirmed the last will and testament of Duke Francis I, and consequently authorized the exclusion of his daughters from succession to the Duchy.

It can hardly be considered as otherwise than natural that, except in connection with the controversial matters which have been set forth, we should catch only very occasional glimpses of Duchess Isabella after the death of her husband. But even prior to that date, her presence at certain State functions that took Duke Francis to the Court of Charles VII, is all that can be gathered from contemporary chroniclers. They do not even make reference to the meetings which must assuredly have taken place between Isabella and her sister Margaret, the Dauphiness. There has come down to us, however, touching testimony to the sentiments of affection by which they were bound to each other. In the *Book of Hours* presented by the Duke to his young bride, a blank space has been utilized for the insertion of some verses on the death of Margaret. M. Vallet de Viriville, who first drew attention to them, had no doubt as to the handwriting, which he compared with the Duchess's signature in other parts of the volume. He even ventured the opinion which, on his authority, has been unquestioningly adopted by all subsequent writers, that the "Complainte" was not merely transcribed but actually composed by Isabella herself. M. Francisque Michel identifies it with the song mentioned in the *Recueil des plus célèbres astrologues*, by Simon de Phares,

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who states that it became very popular, and that he himself had sung it in his younger days. If we bear in mind that, at the time of her sister's death, Isabella can hardly have been more than sixteen or seventeen; that she had been less than three years in France; and that, according to the testimony of the Breton ambassadors, she was not brilliantly endowed intellectually, the question of authorship may not seem to have been placed beyond all doubt. But, in any case, circumstances impart sufficient interest to the poem to justify its reproduction:—

La très-doulce Vierge Marie,
Veillez ceulx et celles garder
Qui orront piteuses nouvelles
Orresendroit et raconter
De Madame la Dauphine
Trespasée nouvellement.

La très-doulce Vierge Marie,
Quant la dame du hault paraige
Sentit le mal qui approchoit,
En soupirant moult tendrement
Son âme à Dieu recommendoit,
Elle et son noble linaige
De France et d'Escocce auxi,
Et par desur tretouz les autres
Le Dauphin, son loial mary.

"Adieu, Dauphin, mon très-chier Sire!"
A plourer la dame se print;
"Pour vous, j'avoie la mer passée
Où j'ai prins moult de grans plaisirs.
Si avoit tretouz mon linaige
De France et d'Escocce auxi,

Car j'avoie esté mariée
Au plus noble des fleurs de lis.

"Adieu! très-noble roy de France,
Père de mon loial mary,
Adieu, mon père, roy d'Escoce,
Et ma dame de mère auxi.
Adieu, fin franc duc de Bretagne
Frère de mon loial mary
Quand saurez que seray trépassée
Pour moy aurez le cueur marry.

"Adieu! toutes saintes églises,
Pape, cardinaux; cette fois,
Adieu! toute la seigneurie
De France où est le pais courtois.
Adieu! noble royne de France,
Et toutes vos dames auxi;
Je vous prie, ma très-chière dame,
Comfortez mon loial mary.

"Adieu! noble duchesse de Bourgoigne,
Dame Isabeau, o cueur courtois!
Adieu! Catherine de France,
La comtesse de Charoloys.
Adieu! duchesse de Bretagne,
La mienne seur o cueur jolis;
Si vous povez par nulle voye,
Mettez pais en la fleur de lis!"

En soupirant est trépassée
La dame dont est fait mention,
Recommendant à Dieu son âme
Pour lui prier faire pardon:

"Vray Dieu de consolacion
Veillez mon âme rachater,
Car jay voy bien qu'en nulle voye
A la mort ne puis eschaper."

From casual references to the Duchess, either

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in the chronicles or the archives of Brittany, we may gather some personal details concerning her. Thus we learn that, in 1454, she received twenty new gold crowns, of the value of £32, 18s. 4d., for the purpose of buying personal adornments to be worn at the wedding of her daughter Margaret with the Comte d'Étampes; that in 1469 that daughter, who in the interval had herself become Duchess of Brittany by the accession of her husband to the ducal throne as Francis II, bequeathed to her a heart-shaped diamond brooch, and a gold chain "*à neuz de Cordeliers*", that is to say, knotted in imitation of a Franciscan friar's girdle; that, in 1485, she made a free gift of all her daughter Margaret's personal effects to the Vicomte de Rohan, her younger daughter Mary's husband, on whom, nine years later, she bestowed all the goods that belonged to herself in virtue of her marriage with Duke Francis I; that, in 1487, during the siege of Auray, in the reign of her son-in-law, the Duke, fearing lest she should meet with ill-usage, provided for her safe removal from the Castle of Succinio, which she had made her habitual residence, to the fortified town of Guérande; and that, in 1495, she made a donation of 2000 gold crowns to the cathedral church of St. Peter, in Vannes, and gave directions that the amount should be raised by the sale of various "cups, ewers, jugs, bowls, basins, necklaces, rings, furs, jewels, precious stones, and rich tissues".

In a will which she signed in 1485, Isabella gave directions for her burial in front of the high altar, in the church of St. Francis, at Nantes, but in the deed of gift drawn up in 1495, in favour of the cathedral of Vannes, she expressed a wish that her body should be laid to rest there. In the absence of other evidence it may be inferred, from the fact that her portrait adorns one of the stained-glass windows of the Franciscan church, that effect was given to the formal will and not to the later document.

The exact year of Duchess Isabella's death is not recorded; but even if we assume that it occurred shortly after the date of the last document that bears on her history, it cannot have occurred till she had reached her seventieth year. She had outlived all the members of the family into which she had married, and seen the extinction of the ducal house.



A Plot in the Scottish Guard

On the 20th of May, 1455, King Charles VII, who at the time was holding his Court at Bourges, received a Scottish embassy. It consisted of the Bishop of Whithorn, of the Archdeacon of Glasgow, and of David Lindsay, and was accompanied and introduced by Messire Jehan de Nevizac. The object of the special mission, which James II had sent to his dear brother and ally, was to hasten the settlement of the affairs of his sister Isabella, Dowager Duchess of Brittany, whose unsatisfactory position since the death of her husband had already been the subject of repeated remonstrances and appeals. After the conclusion of the official audience, at which they delivered the royal letter entrusted to them, the Commissioners requested to be heard further in private. When alone with the King, they informed him of what they had heard since their arrival, concerning the offences committed against him by several of their fellow-countrymen who were in his service, and in connection with a plot which was alleged to have been formed against himself and his army, as well as against some of his kinsmen and of his chief military leaders. They took it on themselves to request that he

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would deal sternly with the offenders, assuring him that their Sovereign would be deeply grieved when the matter came to his knowledge, and that, if the malefactors were in Scotland, the severity of the punishment which he would inflict upon them would serve as a deterring example to the whole nation.

Without giving a reply that committed him to any definite course of action, Charles appointed Count Dunois, the veteran of the English war; Pierre Doriolle, one of the administrators of the royal finances; and Patrick Flockhart, who held the command of the Scottish Guard, to discuss the matter with the Ambassadors. That the result of their deliberations was not such as to suggest leniency in dealing with the alleged conspiracy became apparent when, less than three months later, Robin Campbell was arraigned at the bar of the High Court of Justiciary, on a charge of high treason. In the indictment, in which he was styled lieutenant to Robert Cunningham, Captain of the men-at-arms and archers, it was set forth that, whilst the King, with a large company of Princes of the Blood and other noblemen of the realm was, in person, besieging the town of Caen, at that time held and occupied by the Duke of Somerset and other Englishmen, he, together with William Cunningham, Robert Johnston, and James Haliburton, had promised the Duke of Somerset, in consideration of the payment of four thousand gold crowns and fifty

pounds English money, to seize, with the help of some Englishmen, the Count Dunois; the Lord of Villequier; Jacques Cœur, the famous financier; and Jean Bureau, at that time treasurer of France; to lead five hundred men of the garrison between the two lines of the besiegers to the lodging of the King, who was also to be captured and taken to Cherbourg; and, with a thousand footmen from the beleaguered town, to surprise and overwhelm the royal artillery, set fire to the powder supplies, and spike the guns. On evidence which has unfortunately not been preserved, Campbell was condemned to be drawn on a hurdle, from the Conciergerie where he was imprisoned, to the market-place, there to be beheaded; his body was to be quartered, and each of the quarters was to be affixed to the gallows of one of the four principal gates of Paris; his head was to be exposed at the end of a spear on the pillory; what remained of his body was to be hung on the common gibbet; and all his possessions within the realm were to be confiscated and escheated to the King. The sentence, which does not appear to have aroused any indignation amongst the culprit's fellow countrymen in France or to have called forth any protest on their part, was at once carried out.

The evidence against the three Scots Guardsmen, who had been mentioned as Campbell's accomplices, had not been deemed sufficient to justify their being brought to trial on the same capital

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charge as had been preferred against him. But the convicted traitor's revelations and their own admissions had incriminated them too deeply to allow of their immediate and unconditional release; and they were consequently detained awaiting the result of further investigation. And moreover, the preliminary procedure in the lieutenant's case had resulted in the discovery of circumstances that cast very grave suspicion on his captain. As early as the 25th of April, Robert Cunningham had been committed to the Castle of Amboise, and entrusted to the special care of Foulquet Guidas, the governor of the stronghold and state prison. A month later, the official enquiry into his conduct had resulted in the discovery of evidence, of which the nature may be surmised from the fact that the King's Council judged it expedient to appoint Master Philippe Gervays to receive, and to take charge of all letters addressed to the prisoner, whether such correspondence dealt with his own private affairs or with any other matters. And whilst the payment of 137 livres and 10 sols, as an instalment of the sum due for his board from the 25th of April to the 18th of June, is not suggestive of harsh treatment, the fact that when his presence was required in Paris, he travelled in the custody of the provost-marshal, makes it clear that he was very seriously dealt with as a state prisoner.

When James II's Ambassadors returned home, considerable excitement was caused by the news

which they brought with them of the dishonourable death of one Scotsman by the hand of the executioner, and of the imprisonment of several others, including a member of so distinguished a family as that of Cunningham. And they were soon made aware that the views which they had expressed to the King of France, and with which they had credited their own Sovereign, were very far from being shared by either King James or his subjects. No time was lost in taking practical measures to inform Charles of the discontent which his action had aroused in Scotland. The Bishop of Whithorn was again dispatched to France, accompanied on this occasion by the Provost of the Collegiate Church of St. Andrews, and by Archibald Cunningham, brother to the incriminated captain. They were commissioned to deliver to King Charles a royal letter, which had been written in Stirling on the 15th of April, 1456. In this important communication, which embodied both a protest and a claim, and which, though couched in language that was toned down by the conventional courtesies of diplomatic intercourse between two friendly and allied sovereigns, was not lacking in firmness, the King of Scots stated that from accounts brought home by some of his subjects he had gathered that, for reasons unknown to him and on the false and malicious information of envious rivals, his kinsman, Robert Cunningham, had been apprehended and cast into prison, and was still kept in strict confinement.

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If he were guilty of any criminal acts of treason against the most noble person of the King of France, his own Sovereign, far from wishing to make any request on his behalf, was only anxious that justice should be done on him in strict accordance with his offence, and without any show of favour, lest an easy pardon should be unto others an inducement to crime. This declaration of the most rigid impartiality on the part of James was followed by an emphatic expression of his disbelief that any act of treason could have been perpetrated by one whose whole kith and kin had always distinguished themselves by their loyalty to King and Country. On the strength of so palpably weak and unconvincing an argument, Charles was asked to put no faith in any charge that had been brought against Cunningham by his rivals or by persons whom he had reason to hold in suspicion, unless those accusers were in a position to produce direct and irrefragable evidence of his guilt. And it was further urged upon the French Sovereign as a duty, arising no less from the usages, laws, and customs of his own kingdom than from the tenor of the treaties and alliances between the two countries, that he should afford the accused an opportunity of defending himself either by single combat, or by any other legitimate means that lay at his disposal. It was further requested that, if his innocence were made manifest, he should be informed of his indebtedness to the intercession

of his Sovereign, and that his formal acquittal should be officially made known to the three Ambassadors who had been specially commissioned to make representations on behalf of their fellow-countryman.

Accompanying the royal letter, which reached Charles on the 16th of October, 1456, during his stay at Lyons, there was a humble petition bearing the seals and signatures of eleven Scots noblemen, and presented by Robert Cunningham's brother, Archibald. They appealed for the release of their compatriot and kinsman, as to the cause of whose imprisonment they declared themselves to be entirely ignorant, but whom they believed to be the victim of a "perverse and sinister" denunciation on the part of his rivals. They pleaded his many and unwearied labours in the course of the protracted war. They recalled the old alliance and the loyal friendship between the two countries; and to add weight to their petition, they offered to meet in fair fight, according to the recognized law of arms of the Kingdom of Scotland, and at such time and place as it should please the King of France to make known to them in writing, any and all who dared to come forward in support of the false, "putrid", and malicious accusation preferred against Cunningham.

Although the letter of King James and the petition of his nobles are the only documents of Scottish origin bearing on the case, that have

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come down to us, it is obvious from the wider scope of Charles VII's reply, that other representations must have been made to him. It is to be gathered from the several points to which he refers that the news of Robin Campbell's execution had aroused great ill-feeling in Scotland, and threatened to affect the friendly relations between the two countries, and that for the purpose of appeasing the widespread discontent to which vague reports had given rise, and which had found expression in very "sinister" comments, a request had been made for the communication of an official report of the proceedings which had resulted in Campbell's condemnation. With regard to the other prisoners, it had been asked that, if the charges brought against them had not been substantiated, they should at once be released; or that, in the event of their having been adjudged guilty, a full statement of their case also should be handed to the Scottish Ambassadors, to be delivered by them to their Sovereign.

The King of France prefaced his reply to the various demands and protests that had been addressed to him with a grateful acknowledgment of the great, good, and agreeable services which those of the Scottish nation had rendered him in the past, and with a cordial recognition of their loyalty, love, and affection for him. But he also laid stress on the special favour which he had always shown them and on the absolute trust which he reposed in them, and of which he had

given proof by committing to them the guard of his own person; and he declared that his sentiments in this respect had not been and would not be affected by any lapse in the conduct of a few, his experience telling him that neither France nor Scotland, nor any country, was wholly free from such unworthy and disloyal individuals. After those preliminaries, Charles passed on to the special case of Robin Campbell. He pointedly remarked that he thought the Scottish Ambassadors must already have had sufficient knowledge of the crime which their fellow-countryman had committed, and which, of his own accord, without the application of any force or constraint, he had more than once deliberately confessed. Nevertheless, to satisfy them, and to enable his good brother, the King of Scots, and those of his nation, to know and to understand the whole truth, he would give his instruction to the High Court of Justiciary to submit for inspection the report of Campbell's trial, together with his confession, and, if it should be desired, to supply copies of both, which might be taken to Scotland or anywhere else, and used in such a way as the King of Scots might deem fit.

In dealing with the case of Robert Cunningham, Thomas Haliday, and their fellow-prisoners, the King of France, whilst courteous in his language, made it sufficiently clear that he was not to be moved from his purpose of administering strict justice. It had been very displeasing to

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him, he said, to find that their conduct afforded just cause for putting them in ward. He had done nothing but after careful and mature deliberation, and on the strong evidence which several enquiries supplied, and which was at least partially confirmed by their own admissions, as had already been fully set forth to the Ambassadors. In a matter which was of such vital importance, and which touched not only his own person but also that of his lieutenant-general and of his chief military leaders, and which might have entailed the loss of his army and done irreparable harm to the whole realm, there was no cause for wonder if the King had been advised to make a thorough investigation, and, pending the result of it, to detain those against whom there were such "great and vehement presumptions". Reversing the situation, Charles declared that if any of his subjects had done in Scotland what the inculpated Scots had done in France, it would have been a joy to him to learn that his good brother had acted in the same way as he himself had done. And he concluded with the expression of his assurance that when James and his subjects were fully informed as to all the circumstances, they would give their ungrudging approval to all the measures which he had taken with a view to discovering the whole truth.

The King of France's reply was drawn up at Saint-Pryet, in Dauphiné, and handed to the Scottish Ambassadors in the month of January,

1457; and in accordance with the promise which it contained, the High Court of Justiciary was instructed to lay Robin Campbell's confession before them. That was done on the 11th of February; and, after making themselves acquainted with its contents, the Scottish Commissioners, as is recorded, thanked the Court for the impartial manner in which justice had been administered (*ont remercié la cour de la bonne justice*).

In the brief account of the plot given by Father Forbes-Leith in *The Scots Men-at-Arms and Life Guards in France*, it is suggested, if not definitely stated, that "Robert Cunningham regained his liberty" as the result of the action taken on his behalf by his King and by his kinsmen and friends in Scotland. Such a presentment of the case is inaccurate and misleading. There is, on the contrary, evidence to prove that Charles had adhered to his determination to sift the matter to the bottom, and not to allow himself to be influenced by personal considerations. And that evidence is supplied by the fact that, in June, 1457, Robert Cunningham in his turn appeared at the bar of the High Court of Justiciary. There is no extant record of the full proceedings in his trial; but we have, in a manuscript possessed by the Bibliothèque nationale, a summary of the sentence passed upon him on the 27th of the month. It bears that, by reason of certain offences of which he had confessed himself guilty, he was con-

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demned to appear before the King prior to the 15th of the following month of August, and to beseech his mercy and pardon; he was deprived of all offices as captain of strongholds and men-at-arms; was declared incompetent ever again to hold such offices; and was forbidden under pain of imprisonment and of confiscation of all his goods, to approach within ten leagues of the person or the residence of the King for the space of three years, reckoning from the day on which he should appear as a suppliant in the royal presence.

As to the fate of the other Scots Guardsmen implicated in the plot, the only clue is afforded by a manuscript which is to be found in the Bibliothèque nationale, and which contains extracts from the *Comptes de la gendarmerie du Roi*, for the year ending September, 1457. It consists of a reference to one whose name does not occur in any other of the extant documents bearing on the case, and is in the form of an entry recording the payment of 27 livres and 10 sols to "Thomas Conighan, an esquire from the country of Scotland, who had served the King in his wars, to enable him to go forth of the realm (*pour s'en aller de tous points hors du royaume*), as has been ordered by the High Court of Justiciary". This suggests that banishment was the punishment inflicted on the subordinate offenders.

In his zeal for the honour of the illustrious corps of which he is the historian, Father Forbes-Leith endeavours to show that "even the best

writers on the reign of Charles VII have been mistaken in asserting that Robert Cunningham was then (at the siege of Caen) captain of the Scots Lifeguards, and Robert Campbell one of its officers". This he supports by the negative argument that "their names are not to be found on the Muster Rolls of 1450". But as against this omission there is the judgment of the High Court, which, in the case of Campbell, gives him the designation of "Lieutenant de Robert Congan capitaine des gens d'armes et de traict pour le Roy nostre Sire", and in that of Cunningham, styles him "capitaine de certain nombre de gens d'armes de l'ordonnance du Roy . But, indeed, the discrepancy between earlier writers and Father Forbes-Leith seems to have arisen from a confusion of terms. Accepting, as we may, the latter's statement that Robert Cunningham was not appointed Captain of the Scots Guards before 1473, it only proves that this officer did not get the chief command of the corps until that date, and in so far his criticism is justified. But that does not invalidate the assertion that Cunningham not only was in the Guard, but also was at the head of a company in it many years earlier. And, in further support of this, we may add the evidence supplied by another entry in the "Accounts". It records the payment, in 1455, of 200 livres: "Robert Conighan, escuyer, capitain de gens d'armes".

It may be argued from the comparative leniency

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of the sentence passed upon the Scots Guardsman that his offence was far less heinous than that for which Campbell atoned with his life; but we cannot, with any regard for historical truth, and without ignoring the authority of contemporary documents, accept the view which "ascribes to envy and jealousy the persecution suffered by Robert Cunningham". But, if he was not actually guilty of high treason—a concession which may justifiably be made—it does not seem impossible that the investigation set on foot in connection with the plot may have revealed some understanding between him and the scheming Dauphin, who, as is known from the sworn evidence of Antoine de Chabaunes, Comte de Dammartin, did try to secure the complicity of some of the leading men amongst the Scotsmen in his plots against his father. Such a theory would go far to explain Cunningham's reinstatement by Louis XI. But whatever may have been his offence against Charles VII, he may be considered to have made atonement for it by his fidelity and devotion to his successor. L'Hermite de Soliers, the historian of the noble families of Touraine, of one of which Robert Cunningham was the founder, says of him that "he was killed whilst performing the duties of his office in the door of the King's lodging, His Majesty being in one of the suburbs of Liège with the Duke of Burgundy; and his death apparently saved the life of his master, into whose house the enemy had almost forced their way".

A Scots Soldier of Fortune

The French chronicles that record the military events in the early decades of the fifteenth century make mention of a captain, variously indicated as Canede, Quenede, and Quenide, "escot", with sufficient frequency to attract attention. The Scot whose name underwent those quaint transformations was Hugh Kennedy, fourth son of Sir Gilbert Kennedy of Dunure. It is stated by the author of the *Historical and Genealogical Account* of the principal branches of that powerful Ayrshire family, that Hugh "wes first putt to have been ane Freir; bot, his currage not agreabill to sa base ane office, lost the same, and passit with the Laird of Blaquhane to France, to Chairllis the VII". That was in 1420. In the course of the following year the Scottish contingent of some eight or nine thousand men, that had been sent to the assistance of the Dauphin, first came into contact with the English at Baugé; and Kennedy, who, at the head of a hundred men, held a bridge that was the only passage over a neighbouring river which the Duke of Clarence attempted to cross, is mentioned amongst those whose prowess contributed to the success of the day. In 1427,

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with three or four thousand foot soldiers, he helped to raise the siege of Montargis, which had been closely invested by the Earls of Suffolk and Warwick.

On October 12, 1428, the English laid siege to Orleans. Within a fortnight Kennedy, at the head of a body of Scottish auxiliaries, forced his entry into the city and brought welcome assistance to the beleaguered inhabitants. In the following February, when it was known that Sir John Fastolfe was on his way from Paris with provisions, consisting chiefly of salt fish, for the besiegers, Kennedy was amongst those that sallied out to intercept him. If, in accordance with the plan proposed by him and the other Scottish leaders, the long line of wagons had been attacked as soon as it approached, the ignominious defeat that followed would have been avoided. As it was, he was one of the very few Scotsmen who survived that disastrous day.

After the death of John Stuart of Darnley and of his brother William, who both fell at that ill-fated Battle of the Herrings, Kennedy appears to have taken a still more prominent part in the stirring events of the times. We find him mentioned as the one Scottish leader who, after Jeanne d'Arc's entry into Orleans, took part in the council of war at which it was decided to attack the English in the strongly-fortified position of the Tournelles. And when, as a result of the Maid's first triumph over the English, the town of Lagny

made dutiful submission to the King of France, it was he who, with Ambroise de Loré, was sent to garrison the stronghold, which, being situated on a navigable river between Paris and Melun, commanded one of the principal approaches to the capital. Such was its importance that, when Jeanne d'Arc, to mark her disapproval of the policy adopted by Charles for the recovery of his kingdom, found means to withdraw from him and his counsellors, it was to Lagny that she betook herself, knowing there were men there who, as the chronicler Perceval de Cagny reports her to have said, waged good war against the English.

Whilst the Maid was at Lagny, Kennedy was associated with her in a noteworthy occurrence. Tidings having been brought that a company of between three and four hundred men, under the command of a notorious freebooter, one Franquet d'Arras, after having ranged through l'Ile de France, was on its way back to Picardy, it was determined to cut off its retreat. After an obstinate engagement the French succeeded in either killing or capturing their opponents. Franquet, who was amongst the prisoners, instead of being admitted to ransom, was put to death as a murderer, a thief, and a traitor. The incident is of special interest, not only because it was the last of Jeanne's military exploits, but also because it supplied her enemies with one of the charges brought against her at her trial—that of not

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having interfered to prevent the execution of Franquet. As late as the year 1432 Kennedy was still one of the captains in command at Lagny, and special mention is made of him as having held out for four months against Bedford himself, and successfully resisted all attempts to capture the stronghold until Charles was able to send troops, largely composed of his Scottish auxiliaries, to the relief of the garrison.

So far, such information as we can gather concerning Hugh Kennedy's career is supplied by the chroniclers of the period, in whose narratives he figures as one of the successful leaders of the mercenary troops on which the King of France was obliged to depend. And it must be admitted that he was not an over-scrupulous one either. It is recorded of him that, on one occasion, the loyal inhabitants of Tours, amongst whom some members of the royal family were residing at the time, finding themselves threatened with a visit from him and a body of eight hundred horsemen, at the head of whom he had been laying the country round under contribution, sent him a present of two hundred livres to induce him to betake himself to the other side of the Seine. And the municipal accounts contain an entry that fully bears out the statement. There exists, however, in the Bibliothèque nationale, a manuscript never yet published which enables us to add a few details to the adventurous life-story of the Scots soldier of fortune, and to present him in the new

character of a diplomatist. The document is a circumstantial account of an embassy which Charles VII sent to Scotland, in 1434, for the purpose of urging the fulfilment of the Treaty of 1428, concerning the renewal of the "auld alliance" between the two countries, and the marriage of the Princess Margaret, daughter of James I, with the Dauphin Louis. The diplomatic mission consisted of Regnault Girard, lord of Bazoges, Master of the King's Household and Member of his Council, and Hugh Kennedy. They sailed from La Rochelle, in a whaler called the *Marie*, on November 14. Owing to stress of weather it was not until fifty-four days later, on January 8, that they landed, in the south-west of Scotland, at a port which cannot be identified under the name of "Lococen" which Girard gives it. In performance of a vow which they had made when threatened with shipwreck during a storm that drove them, "according to the map, more than a hundred leagues beyond the coast of Ireland", the tempest-tossed travellers performed a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Ninian, at Whithorn, where they made the votive offering of a silver ship bearing the arms of the King. The return journey was by way of Castle Kennedy, where Hugh entertained and "greatly fested" his French colleague. Taking ship again, the Ambassadors proceeded to Dumbarton, to await the return of the messenger whom they had dispatched, as soon as they landed, to inform King James of their arrival.

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During their nine days' stay in Dumbarton the Ambassadors learnt that the Duke of Somerset's brother had but recently left the Scottish Court, where he had come in great state on a mission which, according to rumour, had for its object the prevention of the proposed matrimonial alliance with France. On hearing the news, Kennedy told Girard that, in order to avoid creating an unfavourable impression on his countrymen, their own appearance in Edinburgh must be no less imposing than that of the Englishmen had been. He consequently sent to Ayrshire to summon his kinsfolk and friends; and it was a stately cavalcade of over threescore that made its entry into the capital on January 25. Before the negotiations with which the Ambassadors had been entrusted could be brought to a successful issue further powers had to be obtained from Charles. The necessary journey to France was undertaken by Hugh Kennedy. He left Scotland the day before Shrove Tuesday and did not return till September 12. The duty then devolved on him of superintending the levying of a force of some twelve hundred men to serve as an escort to the Princess Margaret on her journey to France. On March 27, 1436, he sailed from Dumbarton on board the *St. Giles*, one of the eleven ships that formed the convoying squadron, and reached La Rochelle three weeks later.

As to the remainder of Kennedy's career we have no further information than is supplied by

the *Historical and Genealogical Account*. Its statement that he returned to Scotland after going to the Holy Land with Charles VII, though obviously erroneous, may nevertheless give us a clue as to the length of his stay in France. For between 1443 and 1445 there was not only great talk of a Crusade but also some preparation for one; and the Queen subsequently considered her husband's "strange and mysterious death" to have been a punishment inflicted on him for neglecting a divine call he had received to go forth and do battle against the Turks. It may well be that the adventurous Scot was one of those who volunteered for the expedition that never set out, and that it was about this time that "he took leave of the King of France, and gatt in recompanse of his service mony gritt rewards of gold and mony, and, abuiff all, leif to weir airmis quarterly in his airmis, to wit, flour-de-lyse, quhilk that house weiris to this day". On his return to Scotland he "bocht the ten-pund land of Arstensar, and buildit the house thairof, and conquiest mony ma landis, be the benefeitt off the stipend of the King of France".



A Scottish Claim to a French Province

In the desperate straits to which he was reduced after the disastrous battles of Cravant and of Verneuil, Charles VII, King of France, appealed for assistance to the King of Scots. Towards the end of April, 1428, he sent him an embassy consisting of John Stuart of Darnley, Reginald Archbishop of Reims, and Alain Chartier. The threefold mission with which they were entrusted was to propose a renewal of the old alliance between France and Scotland; to sue for the hand of the Princess Margaret on behalf of the Dauphin Louis; and to solicit the dispatch of a military force to help the French in their struggle against the English invaders. The first result of the negotiations—to which James readily consented, and of which he entrusted the conduct to Henry Leighton, Bishop of Aberdeen; Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse; and Edward Lauder, Archdeacon of Lothian—was embodied in the letters patent which he issued from Perth, on the 17th of July, and by which he made it known that he had ratified the former treaties and leagues of amity existing between the two nations,

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and that he and his nobles had solemnly sworn on the Gospels to fulfil all the conditions which they imposed. Two days later, a similar document announced that the King of Scots had given his consent to the proposed union of the two royal children, when they had reached marriageable age. It set forth his conditions as to the dowry, maintenance, and jointure of the future Dauphiness; it fixed the amount of the forfeit to be incurred by either party in case of default; and it contained his formal promise to send his daughter to France within the next twenty months, and with her a contingent of 6000 Scots fighting men. That he had not said his last word, however, was suggested by a clause which claimed for the representatives whom he was about to send to France, the right to demand an increase both of the settlements and of the penalty to be incurred.

The Archbishop of Aberdeen and his two colleagues having already acted on behalf of the King were appointed by him as his ambassadors to Charles. As was to appear from the agreement signed at Chinon on the 30th of October, they had been instructed to insist on a substantial addition to the amounts previously mentioned both as dower and as forfeit. But there was a condition which the Treaty of Chinon, as it has been called, did not include, and which was the subject of a special document drawn up and signed in the early days of November. This was

a charter by which the King of France, in consideration of the military help to be afforded to him by King James I, conveyed to that monarch the county of Saintonge, a maritime province on the west coast of France, immediately to the north of the Gironde, together with the castle and castellany of Rochefort-sur-Charente.

The negotiations that had led up to this were scarcely concluded when Joan of Arc began her wonderful career. Its success placed Charles in such a position that he felt independent of the help which he had previously been so anxious to secure, and, grudging the price which it would cost him, he made no further effort to obtain it. Neither, on his part, did James, whose whole attention was absorbed by the internal administration of his kingdom, press for the fulfilment of the engagement that had been entered upon; and the Treaties of Perth and of Chinon were allowed to fall into abeyance. They might have been conveniently forgotten altogether but for the rumours that reached the King of France of a projected alliance between Scotland and England. Alarmed at the possibility of so undesirable a complication, Charles, in the autumn of 1433, sent an embassy to Scotland to inform his good brother and ally that, whilst the improved state of affairs in France enabled him to dispense with military assistance, he was nevertheless anxious to give effect to the matrimonial agreement; and this was accompanied by a request

that the Princess Margaret should be sent to France with as little delay as possible.

That was the beginning of further negotiations that dragged on for more than two years longer; and it was not till the spring of 1436 that the Princess sailed from Scotland to become the child-bride of the future Louis XI. The military escort by which she was accompanied consisted of no more than some 1500 men, whose further services Charles had distinctly declined, and for whose immediate return to Scotland as soon as the Dauphiness had landed in France he had made special stipulations and arrangements.

If James I considered that, in the new circumstances that had arisen, the Scottish claim to the province of Saintonge still held good, his assassination within a few months after his daughter's marriage prevented him from taking any steps to press it. It was not lost sight of, however, and in 1459 his own son and successor, James II, instructed William Monypenny, lord of Concessault, and John Kennedy, Provost of St. Andrews, to put it forward on his behalf. But Charles and his Council had anticipated some such action; and the Bibliothèque nationale possesses amongst its manuscripts a memorandum of the reply that might "reasonably be made" if, at any future time, the King of Scots, or one of his successors, should claim the province of Saintonge, by virtue of the Treaty of 1428. It was to be said that when the King of France

should send for the 6000 combatants promised by the King of Scots, he would be ready to fulfil the conditions of the compact with regard to the cession of the province. And, if it were urged that the 6000 men, or at least a part of them, had been supplied as an escort for the Princess, the answer was to be that all the details of her journey had been dealt with in a separate and subsequent treaty, by which the older one was not abrogated; that, moreover, only some 1200 men had been provided for the voyage, instead of the escort of 2000 that had been promised; and that these had not been kept in France, but had at once been shipped back to their own country. The argument was ingenious. James may not have been convinced of its honesty, but he appears to have realized the futility of any further endeavour on his part to overcome the French King's manifest unwillingness to recognize the validity of his own charter; and the matter was allowed to drop.

After this rebuff, interest in the cession of Saintonge lay dormant for fourteen years. Nor was it then by the action of James III, who had succeeded to the Scottish throne, but by that of his Parliament, that it was again aroused. In 1473, "the lords, prelates, barons, and commissioners of burghs" suggested that an embassy should be sent "to consider and understand the mind and disposition of the King of France, if he will be inclined or induced to content or pleasure

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our sovereign lord, to put him in possession of his counte of Xanctone, after the forme of his charter of his most noble progenitor". But there is no sequel to the Act of Parliament which records this "avisement"; and the situation remained as unsatisfactory as before,

During a period of nearly half a century no attempt appears to have been made to obtain recognition of the Scottish claim. But in 1516, shortly after the accession of Francis I to the French throne, and when the Duke of Albany was acting as Regent during the minority of James V, the Bishop of Ross was sent as ambassador to France, and one of the objects of his mission was to demand "restitution" of the province and County of Saintonge, which had been granted by Charles VII to James and his successors, in perpetuity. To this it was answered that the Most Christian King had never heard of such a gift as was alleged; that the matter was too important to be disposed of lightly and without mature deliberation; that, as the province constituted a part of the patrimony of the Crown, Francis was precluded by his coronation oath from alienating it; but that, on his return to Paris, he would communicate with the officials of his Treasury, and would be guided by their report. This "inane and Gallic reply", as an indignant Scottish transcriber has styled it in a marginal note, was not accepted without protest by the Regent and Estates of the Realm of

Scotland. But the French King was unconvinced by the historical summary which they submitted to him, and in which, whilst laying stress on all that the Scots had done for France, they omitted all reference to the promise which James I had made, but had never been called upon to fulfil, and on the actual carrying out of which Charles had declared that the cession of Saintonge depended. And once again the Scottish claim was set aside.

In 1530, about the time that the marriage of James V with the eldest daughter of Francis I became the subject of negotiations between the two countries, the long-standing Saintonge question must have been reopened, for it was then that the still extant "transumpt", or certified copy, of the Charter of 1428 was made. What special purpose that document was intended to serve there is no evidence to show. It is not without significance, however, that it was never sent to France. Nor did James avail himself of the opportunity which his marriage contract afforded, to press his claim to the coveted province. It may have been as a substitute for it that the inland county of Gien was made over to him. If such were the case, it was but a poor exchange for the stretch of seaboard which the possession of Saintonge would have secured for the Scottish Crown.



A Scottish Queen's Trousseau

On the 5th of May, 1496, Richard Fox, Bishop of Durham, and Keeper of the Privy Seal; William, Bishop of Carlisle; and Thomas, Earl of Surrey, were appointed plenipotentiaries to treat for the espousals of the Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry VII, to James, King of Scots. That first effort on the part of the English monarch to establish more friendly relations between the two kingdoms was rendered abortive by the attitude assumed by James IV towards Perkin Warbeck, of the genuineness of whose claim to the English throne he appears to have been fully convinced. After the ill-advised Raid of Ellem, when the pretender, understanding that no further effort would be made on his behalf, had sailed from Scotland, and brought his adventurous career one stage nearer to its tragic close, it was King James himself who revived the project of a matrimonial alliance with England. In June, 1499, he wrote to inform Henry of his intention to send an "honorable embassy", consisting of Robert Blacader, Archbishop of Glasgow; Patrick, Earl of Bothwell; Lord Hales, Great Admiral of Scotland and Warden of the West Marches; Andrew

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Forman, Prior of May, Apostolic Prothonotary; and Sir Robert Lundy, the Treasurer, to treat for marriage with the Lady Margaret; and requesting a safe-conduct for his commissioners together with "an hundreth horses". Henry met these advances by again appointing the Bishop of Durham to carry on, in his name, the proposed negotiations. As further evidence of his anxiety to bring the projected union to a successful issue, he applied to the Pope for the dispensation rendered necessary by the relationship between James and Margaret, who were both descended from John, Marquess of Dorset; Margaret, through his son John, Duke of Somerset, Henry VII's grandfather, and James, through the Marquess's daughter Joan, Queen of James I.

On the 8th of October, 1501, the King of Scots gave his commissioners their final instructions; and, four days later, they began their journey to the English Court, for the purpose of celebrating his betrothal to the Tudor Princess. Amongst those that accompanied them were the English pursuivant "Banelee", and a man "of the Queen of England's chamber, that was with him", each of whom received twenty French crowns for their journey; Lion King at Arms, whose allowance of as many unicorns was considerably more liberal; and Sir John Home of Aytoun, who was granted twenty-eight pounds "to his passage in England". It has been

surmised by the poet Dunbar's biographer, that the author of *The Thistle and the Rose* was also one of the party for whom "a hundred horses" were provided.

On the 24th of January, 1501-2, the marriage contract was signed at Richmond. It set forth that the Princess was to be brought to Lamberton Kirk by the 1st of September, 1503, and that the marriage was to be celebrated within a fortnight from that date. By the 1st of July, her husband was to endow her for life with lands yielding £2000 sterling, or six thousand pounds Scots annually; and in addition to that it was stipulated that she was to have a yearly income of one thousand pounds Scots, or 500 marks sterling, at her own disposal. It was provided by a special clause that twenty-four of her attendants were to be English. The King of England was to bestow on his daughter as a dowry, the sum of thirty thousand gold English nobles, known as "angell nobillis". One-third of that amount was to be paid on the marriage day, and the balance within the two years following it. Henry does not appear, however, to have considered himself to be strictly bound by the last of these conditions; and it was not till considerably after that date that the last instalment was handed over, in the town of Coldingham, to the Scottish commissioners. The political significance of the matrimonial alliance was indicated and emphasized by the signing, on the same day, of two further

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treaties, one providing for "perpetual peace" between the two countries, and the other for the extradition of robbers and murderers on the Border.

On the 25th of January, the solemn "fyancells" of the right high and mighty and right excellent Prince and Princess, James, King of Scots, and Margaret, eldest daughter of King Henry VII, by the Grace of God, King of England and of France and Lord of Ireland, took place in the royal manor of Richmond. The King's commands to attend the imposing ceremony had been issued to "the substance of the Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, that were neare to London"; and, in compliance, there had come the Archbishops of Canterbury and of York, together with the Bishops of Winchester, Chester, Rochester, and Norwich, a score of Peers, with the Duke of Buckingham at their head, and a number of representatives of the lower nobility. The high-born ladies that graced the solemnity included the Lady Mary, the King's daughter; the Lady Catherine, the Queen's sister; and the Lady Catherine Gordon, whose hand her cousin, the King of Scots, had ill-advisedly bestowed on Perkin Warbeck, and who, after the execution of her husband, was retained at the Court of Henry VII, and treated with a consideration and a liberality that have seemed to some to be more than a recognition of her rank as a daughter of the house of Huntly. Outside the

nobility of England, there were the Ambassadors and Commissioners of Scotland—the Archbishop of Glasgow; the Earl of Bothwell; and Andrew Forman, now styled Bishop-elect of Moray, with many knights and squires; the Pope's Orator, and his Collector; Don Pedro de Ayala, ambassador of Spain; Misser Francisco de Capello, representative of the Republic of Venice; and “a Gentleman of the French King's called l'escuyer Poland”. Attended by this distinguished company, the King and Queen with their noble children heard High Mass, at which a “notable sermon” was preached by the Reverend Father, the Lord Richard Fitz-James, Bishop of Chichester. From the chapel the royal party together with their noble and illustrious guests, proceeded to “the Queen's great Chamber”, where Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, procurator of the King of Scots, and with him the Princess Margaret, repeated, as the Archbishop of Glasgow read it out to them, the formal declaration which constituted the betrothal. Then “the trumpeters blew up and the minstrels played in the best and most joyfulest manner”, whilst the bridal party retired to dine. The afternoon was devoted to jousts in “hosting harness” and the day closed with a “notable banquet”.

On the morrow, when all were assembled in the great hall, the Queen of Scots, as Margaret was now styled, by the voice of the principal Officer of Arms, conveyed her thanks to the

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noblemen that had taken pains and charge to joust for her sake. After prizes had been awarded to the victors, there was, in the same hall, "a goodly pageant, curiously wrought with Fenestrattis, having many lights burning in the same, in manner of a lantern, out of which sorted divers sorts of Morisks"; and also "a very goodly disguising of six gentlemen and six gentlewomen, who danced divers dances". The festivities of the second day closed with a banquet, after which the Earl of Bothwell sent to the Officers of Arms the gown of cloth of gold that he wore when he "was fianced in the name of his Sovereign Lord", and with it a hundred crowns. On the third day there was more jousting, and many spears were doughtily broken. In the evening the guests were again entertained at a State banquet, after which the King sent his presents to the Scottish commissioners and to their attendants. The Archbishop of Glasgow and the Earl of Bothwell each received a "cupboard" of plate, consisting of a cup of gold "covered"; six great standing pots of silver "pounced", that is, ornamented with dots over the entire surface; twenty-four great bowls of silver, with their covers; a basin and a ewer of silver; and a "chasoir" of the same metal. The royal gift to the Bishop-elect of Moray took the shape of a standing cup of gold and a thousand crowns of "gold of the Solaile", in a goodly bag of crimson velvet richly adorned.

Lyon King of Arms of Scotland was presented with a purse containing a hundred crowns of gold, and with a gown of fine satin; whilst "gowns of black velvet, in full honourable manner" were distributed amongst the other members of the Scottish deputation.

Six months elapsed between the betrothal and the departure of the child-bride for the North. They were devoted to the task of completing the elaborate preparation of the young Queen of Scots's trousseau. It had begun as far back as November, 1501, when the Yeoman of the Wardrobe received, for the Princess Margaret, "a gown of tawny cloth of gold tissue", that is to say, of a material consisting of interwoven threads of gold and tawny, or orange-brown, silk, trimmed with ermine backs and lined with "ermyn wombes"; a gown of purple velvet with tabard sleeves, similarly furred; two kirtles, one of tawny, the other of russet satin; an ell of black velvet, and an ell of "right crymsyn velvet", each for a hood "of the French fashion"; half an ell of black and half an ell of white sarcenet for two tippetts; three ells of canvas to line the edges of four gowns for her; three-quarters of crimson satin for a pair of kirtle sleeves; and one yard of black sarcenet to line a pair of sleeves of "white cloth of gold of damask".

After the ceremony that had raised Princess Margaret to the position of Queen of Scots, there still remained much to be done in order to send

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her forth suitably equipped to sustain the dignity of her native land and of her house in the kingdom of which she was to share the throne. Accounts have been preserved which testify to the activity that reigned at the English Court between January and July, and which also convey interesting information as to the extent and the liberality of Henry VII's provision for his daughter. They tell us the material, colour, style, and adornment of sixteen gowns that were added to the royal trousseau. The three handsomest were of cloth of gold, one of them with raised work, another of interwoven gold and purple silk threads, whilst the third was of that "cloth of gold tawny tissue" which had been selected for an earlier costume. It was furred with ermine and adorned with "powdryngs", a term applied to a special kind of ornamentation, probably consisting of black tail-tips, disposed as if sprinkled over the surface. No less than three thousand two hundred of these were used for another gown, of which the material is not indicated, but of which the sleeves took two "tymbres", which means twice forty, ermine skins.

Of the six velvet gowns mentioned in the Accounts one was crimson, two were purple, and three black. One of these last was furred with mink, of which seventeen skins, each costing two shillings and sixpence, were required. The Court tailor's bill for it amounted to six shillings and eightpence. It had narrow sleeves. Another with

broad sleeves took five hundred "powdrings" for those sleeves together with the collar, and the "vent" or V-shaped opening at the throat. The third and least elaborate had a "purfle," or decorated border, also of velvet. One of the two gowns for which purple velvet was used, was trimmed with "shanks", or skins of the legs of kids, and had a broad "purfle" of "pampilion", a fur of which nothing but the name is now known. The other had ermine and "powdrings" for "purfle", collar, and "vent", whilst the single crimson velvet gown was more plainly trimmed with a broad "purfle" of ermine.

Satin, though less costly a material, averaging six shillings a yard as against nine shillings for velvet, was used for gowns which in other respects were amongst the most elaborate. One of them had its rich crimson set off by an edging of cloth of gold, and was furred with "shanks" and with "buge", which has been variously explained as the dressed skin of lamb or of kid. Another, of more sober black, was hardly less effective with its "pendant sleeves" lined with ermine, and with the seven hundred "powdrings" that adorned them as well as the collar and "vent".

In the costume of the period the gown was the handsomest and stateliest of the garments worn by women. In addition to it their wardrobes were provided with the plainer kirtle. For the ten kirtles that were included in the young Queen's trousseau the richest material employed was cloth

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of gold of an inferior quality, in which, instead of silk, linen threads of the kind used for the "dorick" of Tournay were interwoven with the gold. There was also, perhaps as "second best", a kirtle of tawny damask—a handsome silk fabric with elaborate designs and figures. The number of black satin kirtles suggests that both the material and the colour were those most favoured for ordinary wear. The one kirtle of black cloth lined with linen may be supposed to have been intended to do duty as a very simple house dress. The only other articles of apparel for which black cloth seems to have been thought suitable were a "slop", or morning cassock, fastening up to the neck; the loose outer garment known as a surcoat; a mantle; a hood; and a long and broad tippet. Velvet—black or crimson—was not used for any of the kirtles, except as trimming. In one case, however, the edging was of satin "tinsel"—a tissue into which silver threads were woven.

Eight pairs of sleeves that appear as separate items in the Accounts are suggestive of thrifty provision for renovation, unless, indeed, it be thought that, with a view to securing variety of attire at slight expense, those parts of the dress were made detachable. They were of black, crimson, or green satin, of green satin "tinsel", or of gold-coloured, tawny, green, or black sarcenet. If we were to suppose what is obviously most unlikely, namely, that Margaret took nothing with her to Scotland but what had been made especially for the occasion

and is entered in the Accounts, we should have her setting out with the scant equipment of two petticoats, both of scarlet cloth. According to the fashion of the day, women wore as part of their apparel a "barbe", which consisted of a piece of white plaited linen passed over or under the chin and reaching midway to the waist, and also a "frontlet", which was made to fold over so as to form a kind of broad, horizontal peak, that shaded the face from the sun. Like the "barbe", it was sometimes made of linen—of the fine Paris fabric in the Queen's case. But she also had "frontlets" of black velvet, and of sarcenet. These were for use when on horseback. As the word "hat" was anciently applied to all coverings for the head, it is difficult to determine whether the two hats, one crimson and the other scarlet, with which Margaret was provided differed from these "frontlets". The kerchiefs mentioned in the Accounts may also have been, as the literal meaning of the word implies, a part of the head-dress. But as they were made of "cypres", a light, transparent material resembling cobweb lawn, it is at least as likely that they were intended to be worn as what are now known as "fichus" or neckerchiefs.

Linen, as is well known, always constituted a very important part of a bride's outfit in ancient days. Indeed, the "spinster", as her name implies, was supposed to be mainly employed in providing herself with it in anticipation of her marriage. It may therefore be assumed that only

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a very small part of what the English Princess took with her was fashioned out of the "fourteen ells of linen cloth" delivered to her "for smokkes, rayles, and nyghtkerchers", garments about which it may be explained that the "smock" was the undermost of those worn by women, and that the "rail" was a loose wrap for undress. If the "night-kerchers" were for the head and not for the shoulders, they were not its only covering, seeing that we also find mention of "night-bonnets" of ermine, with crimson velvet border. Though it is not impossible, it seems hardly likely that both were worn together; and we may perhaps assume that the much more elaborate and imposing, as well, we should say, as more uncomfortable "bonnets", were reserved for special occasions.

For foot-wear the additions to the outfit consisted of five pairs of knitted and six pairs of woollen hose, three pairs of shoes, two pairs of buskins, one lined and one furred; one pair of riding boots, lined with cloth; six pairs of slippers, with "pynsons" or pumps to wear inside them; and one pair of night slippers, lined with cloth.

To complete the list which the minuteness of the Accounts enables us to draw up, there remain to be included such sundries as silk laces and ribbon girdles of various colours; two dozen pairs of gloves, several pounds of thread, needles, and some twelve thousand pins. But in addition to all this, objects such as no bride of the present day is expected to take with her to her new home are to be

found amongst the effects supplied to the Queen of Scots. Foremost amongst these are two beds—a “bedde of cloth of gold of estate” and a “bedde of vysis”. The materials for the former of them consisted of yellow damask lining for the valance, with silk and gold for the fringe. In the fuller enumeration of those supplied for the other we find green velvet for the valance, and crimson and green damask for lining it; fringe of silk and gold; green velvet for the tester and “syller” or hangings; both crimson and green damask for curtains; and green velvet for the counterpane.

Another elaborate piece of furniture was the chair of State, with its cloth of gold, silk and gold fringes and ribbons, gilt copper bosses, and five thousand gilt nails. To match it the cloth of State, or dais, was made of the same costly fabrics. It bore an escutcheon of the King's arms “sett in the mydds, with two bests (beasts) bering it”. And in this connection it may be incidentally noted that Henry was particularly careful to have either his badge, which was a portcullis, the Red Rose of Lancaster, or his armorial bearings displayed wherever it was practicable, not only on his daughter's bed, chair, and litter, but also on the two altar-cloths for her oratory. In addition to the crucifix that was embroidered on one, and to “the picture of Our Ladye of Pitie” that adorned the other, each had “a scochyn (escutcheon) of the King's arms” at the foot, with five roses and five “portculeys” in the front. It is not mentioned,

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however, whether the threescore and fourteen "sticks" of arras supplied by Cornelius van der Strete were similarly adorned. But we know that the English cognizance was blazoned on the saddle, pillion, and trappings of the Queen's horses, and on the jackets of her footmen and littermen. And the very last warrant issued to the Keeper of the Wardrobe, Sir Robert Lytton, was for the delivery of a coat of the King's arms to Somerset Herald and to Bluemantle Pursuivant, and of a banner of the same to each of the five trumpeters and of the two sackbuters who were appointed to accompany the Queen of Scots to the realm of Scotland.

A Lost Landmark

Lamberton Kirk stands out as a landmark in the history of the relations between Scotland and England. It figures in a document from which, in the course of the next century, the Union of the two countries was to evolve. In the treaty signed at Richmond, on January 24th, 1501-2, by the ambassadors of James IV, and the representatives of Henry VII, and having for its object to settle the conditions of the marriage of the King of Scots and Margaret Tudor, it was stipulated that, at her royal father's charges and expense, the English Princess was to be brought to Lamberton Kirk by September 1st, 1503.

The Queen of Scots, as Margaret had been styled from the day of her betrothal by proxy to the brilliant Stuart who sat on the throne of the Northern Kingdom, began her long journey on Saturday, July 8th, accompanied by a train of between five and six hundred persons. Proceeding by such easy stages as were rendered necessary by the number of her retinue as well as by the elaborate ceremonial that marked her passage through the towns that lay on the road, she arrived in Berwick three weeks, to the day, after her departure from Colieweston.

The progress of the child-bride, whose age was less than half his own thirty years, had been watched by James with characteristic chivalry. On the day when she bade what was destined to be a last farewell to her father, the expectant bridegroom recognized with the handsome gratuity of twenty-eight shillings each, the services of two messengers who had ridden in advance and brought the latest "tidings forth of England". Four days later Watte Turnbull was given 26*s.* 8*d.* sterling "for to pass in England, to meet the Bishop of Moray"—who, with Sir John Home, had been sent south in the early days of June—"and to bring tidings". For the remainder of the month he and Quentin Focart were kept riding to and fro, crossing each other, between Edinburgh and the advancing cortège.

When it was reported that Margaret was nearing the Border, active preparation for her reception was set on foot. On July 23rd, David Templeman was dispatched "to the lords and ladies of Lothian, for meeting of the Queen". In the meantime, under the superintendence of James Doig, "pailzons", or tents, with their equipment of canopies and cloths of estate, had been got ready. On the 25th they were conveyed to Lamberton, together with feather beds, sheets, blankets, and bed-stuff. At the same time twenty loads of bent, the coarse grass which in those days did duty for carpets, were sent on from Dunbar, a distance of over twenty-five miles,

through country of which a great part was described by Sir William Brereton, more than a hundred and thirty years later, as consisting of "the largest and vastest moors" he had ever seen.

On Tuesday, August 1st, after resting two days in Berwick, Margaret began the stage of her journey that was to take her beyond the limits of her father's kingdom into that of her husband. It was a stately procession that passed through the Scots gate of the frontier town. At its head was the Master of the Horse, accompanied by the Earl of Northumberland's three pages, arrayed in embroidered jackets of cloth of gold. The trappings of the spirited horses on which they were mounted were of the same rich fabric, and hung "full of small bells that made a great noise", as their riders displayed their horsemanship in "pannades and gambades at pleasure". Behind them came a gentleman leading a courser covered to the ground with housings of cloth of gold, embroidered with orange. He bore, as did all that composed the brilliant van, "a green tree, in the manner of a pine", as a badge. Next rode the Earl of Northumberland, who, with his magnificent retinue, had joined the cavalcade at York. He wore beneath a purple cloak edged with cloth of gold, a sumptuous jacket, "well wrought in goldsmith work and embroidery", and was mounted on a splendidly appointed horse, whose harness glittered with studs and fringe of gold.

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The Somerset herald and his pursuivant Blue-mantle, in tabards embroidered before and behind and on each shoulder piece with the arms of England in their proper tinctures, five trumpeters and two sackbuters, with the same escutcheon displayed on the banners that fluttered from their instruments, preceded the central figure of the pageant, the girl-Queen herself. She sat in a stately horse-litter which bore, besides the royal arms of England, the red roses of her house, and her father's badge, the crowned portcullis. She was gorgeously arrayed in "a gown of tawny cloth of gold of tissue", trimmed with ermine backs, and lined with "ermyn wombes", and was "adorned with gold and precious stones". Her littermen, and the footmen that were "always nigh her", were clad in doublets of green damask and crimson hose. Her richly caparisoned palfrey followed, led by Sir Thomas Worteley, her Master of the Horse. Between her litter and her chariot, which she had given up to the gentlewomen in attendance on her, there came, in an imposing body, and amidst the jingling of the silver bells that adorned the harness and trappings of their prancing and curveting horses, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Durham, and the Earl of Surrey, Lord Gray, Lord Latimer, and the Lord Chamberlain, with many other nobles and knights. A number of gentlewomen, "on horseback, honourably appointed", rode behind the chariot. The Captain of Berwick and

my Lady his wife, "accompanied by many gentlemen and gentlewomen richly arrayed and clothed in a livery", swelled the imposing train, which was estimated at "eighteen hundred or two thousand horses, all well appointed".

In the meantime everything had been made ready at Lamberton for the reception of the Queen of Scots. Doig had set up four "pailzons". One of those tents was "ordained for recreation", and was reserved for Margaret with the Lords and Ladies of her immediate suite. The other three were respectively assigned to the pantler, the butler, and the cook. The deputation that had been sent to meet the bride at her home-coming, was headed by the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Archbishop of Glasgow, and the Earl of Morton, and comprised many Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and Squires, "honestly", but not sumptuously, attired in jackets of velvet, damask, or camlet, on some of which the arms of the wearers were emblazoned. In addition to those that bore official rank as representatives of the King of Scots, there was a great multitude of people, estimated at a thousand, about half of whom were "mounted after the manner of the country".

As the English cavalcade neared the appointed spot, five Scottish clarions "blew a melody, which was good to hear and to see", whilst the gentlemen of the Queen's escort excited the astonishment and the admiration of the onlookers by

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the "gambades" which they made their horses perform as they filed past. When the royal litter drew up in front of the state pavilion, the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Moray, and the Earl of Morton knelt to receive the Queen, who, on setting foot for the first time on Scottish ground, graciously acknowledged their respectful homage by kissing each of them. Then she passed into the tent, where "a lady of the country, clothed in scarlet, with gentlewomen, appointed after their guise, offered her some new fruits". Of the remainder of the numerous company, "each one delivered himself to make good cheer and drink, for there was plenty of bread and wine, so that each one was content". The luncheon was followed by the formal and ceremonious leave-taking of the Earl of Northumberland, and the other nobles whose mission was now over. Then the Queen, whose English retinue was thus reduced to some five or six hundred, mounted on horseback, and rode on to Fast Castle, where she was welcomed by the Bishop of Moray's sister and her husband.

It would be difficult to conceive a greater contrast than that which exists between Lamberton Kirk such as all this pageantry of four hundred years ago leads the fancy to picture it, and Lamberton Kirk as it now appears to the visitor whom antiquarian interest may send out in search of it. For it is, indeed, a search. Lamberton Toll may be discovered without much effort, though hardly

without enquiry. Four miles to the north of Berwick, on either side of the high road, there are two cottages which it is flattery to describe as unpretentious. They constitute the entrance into Scotland, and it could hardly be less imposing. From their position immediately to the north of the imaginary boundary line that separates the two countries, they used to offer the same facilities as did the better known Gretna Green for the hurried and irregular marriages to which Scots law gave validity, but their former notoriety does not appear to arouse any interest now. It has been left to one of the motoring associations to make it possible for the traveller from the South to know when he is crossing the frontier. With a little care he may notice on his right, at the nearer end of the small block of two buildings, and at the top of what might have originally been intended for a clothes pole, a narrow metal plate—it might be called a label—bearing the word "Scotland", with an indication of the distance to Edinburgh. Such is Lamberton Toll.

Three or four hundred yards on the Scottish side of the old toll, a rough cart road branches off towards the west. It leads to a farm, through the yard of which it passes, and beyond that to the few hut-like cottages that constitute one of the very humblest of steadings. Behind the farm there is a patch of waste ground, so overgrown with rank grass as to make it difficult to notice at first sight that it is strewn with head-stones

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in every stage of ruin and decay, some fallen, others leaning forwards, or backwards, or sideways, many mutilated, all weather-beaten and moss-covered. For absolute neglect and abandonment that old churchyard can assuredly have but few equals. If there be any relic of the old Kirk itself, it must be in the walls that enclose a nave measuring thirty feet by seventeen, and a chancel twenty-eight feet long by fourteen feet broad. The space within them does not seem to be much more cared for than the sordid waste that surrounds it, though, as a tablet not yet time-worn and bearing comparatively recent dates seems to indicate, it still serves as a family burial place.

It is hardly conceivable that the few square yards of that enclosure really represent the dimensions of the old church, which was of sufficient importance to be made the subject of special grants, from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards, by those of the English kings within whose territory the chances of war and the changes of treaties sometimes brought it; and but for the testimony of history, the most vivid imagination could not picture the mean, almost pitiful surroundings, as the site of an epoch-making pageant.

Perkin Warbeck in Scotland

Under date of the 4th of November, 1488, the Register of the Great Seal records, that at the request of Dame Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, James IV granted a safe-conduct to Richard Hardelstoun, knight, and to Richard Ludelay de Ireland, who were accompanied by a retinue of forty persons. The Accounts of the Lord Treasurer supply the further information that, a few weeks later, the sum of £10 was paid to an English herald that came with letters from the same Princess. Taken by themselves, those two entries might be understood as merely bearing testimony to a wish, on the part of the widow of Charles the Bold, to cultivate the friendship of the King of Scots, who had succeeded his father some five months earlier. But, in the political circumstances of the period, to be on good terms with Margaret of York could have but one meaning. She was the second sister of Edward IV, and her proud spirit chafed at the manner in which the War of the Roses had been brought to a close by the accession of Henry Tudor, and his marriage with her niece Elizabeth. Having, as Bacon says of her, "the spirit of

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a man and malice of a woman, abounding in treasure by the greatness of her dower and her provident government, and being childless and without any nearer care", she "made it her design and enterprise to see the majesty royal of England once again replaced in her house; and had set up King Henry as a mark at whose overthrow all her actions should aim and shoot".

Amongst the King's friends Margaret was "called Juno, because she was to him as Juno was to Æneas, stirring both heaven and hell to do him mischief". In her hostility to the house of Lancaster she had strenuously supported the claims of Lambert Simnel, and her Court had served as a rallying point for the partisans of that pretended Earl of Warwick. What those facts suggest as to her motive in entering into negotiations with James is strongly supported by two entries that occur, within a few months of each other, in the year 1489. They record the payment of £5, 8s. to "Rowland Robyson, that brought the letters to the King from the Duchess of Burgundy"; and of £18 "to the herald that came furth of Ireland, and past to the Duchess of Burgundy". Brief and commonplace as are those two statements, they assume special significance when it is borne in mind how strong a feeling of affection for the house of York still existed in Ireland, and when it is learned that the Duchess of Burgundy's emissary subsequently

played a conspicuous part as the confidential agent of Perkin Warbeck. In view of those facts there is reason to suppose that, as early as 1488, preparations were being made to put forward the Yorkist pretender, and that James IV had already been cast for a part in what Bacon describes as "one of the longest plays of that kind that hath been in memory".

The tragi-comedy, with the staging of which the Duchess of Burgundy has commonly been credited, opened in 1491, with the landing of Perkin Warbeck in Cork, where he succeeded in persuading many of his identity with Richard of York, and in securing the powerful support of the Earls of Desmond and of Kildare. At the same time he also put himself into direct communication with James IV; and the wording of the entry that supplies evidence of the fact is indicative of Scottish opinion as to the validity of his claims. It sets forth that, on the 2nd of March, that is, in the last days of the year, according to the computation of the period, the sum of ten unicorns, equal to £9, was "given, at the King's command, to an Englishman, called Edward Ormond, that brought letters forth of Ireland from King Edward's son and the Earl of Desmond". And it is significant, too, that a few weeks later, about the beginning of May, 1492, Rowland Robyson's reappearance at the Scottish Court is evidenced by the payment to him of five unicorns.

In the following year, hostilities having broken out between England and France, Charles VIII, who was fully aware of the advantage which there would be for him in having in his power a claimant to the throne that Henry occupied, offered his support to the Pretender if he would come over to France. Perkin "thought himself in heaven now that he was invited by so great a king in so honourable a manner", and gladly set out for Paris. He was there received with great honour by Charles, who lodged him in great state, and "the better to give him the representation and the countenance of a prince", assigned him a body-guard, of which Monypenny, *Sieur de Concessault*, was the captain. But all this was merely intended to intimidate Henry, and to induce him to come to terms; and therefore, as Bacon quaintly phrases it, "upon the first grain of incense that was sacrificed upon the altar of peace at Boulogne, Perkin was smoked away". But the King of France acted loyally and honourably towards his guest, in so far as he refused to deliver him up to Henry, though repeatedly and earnestly pressed to do so. He would not go beyond dismissing him, after having given him due warning that the help originally promised him would not be forthcoming.

After being thus abandoned by the King of France, Warbeck proceeded to Flanders, to the Duchess of Burgundy, "pretending", as it is

put by Bacon, who sets forth the view of those who believed in a deeply laid scheme concerted between Margaret and a carefully schooled impostor, "that, having been variously tossed by fortune, he directed his course thither as a safe harbour: no ways taking knowledge that he had ever been there before, but as if that had been his first address". Whether acting in all sincerity or merely playing the part which she had assigned herself in a bold imposture, the Duchess took every care "in the presence of others, to pose him and sift him, thereby to try whether he were indeed the very Duke of York or no". And when at length his answers seemed to justify conviction, she was, or, as Bacon's incredulity expresses it, she "feigned herself to be transported with a kind of astonishment, mixt of joy and wonder, at his miraculous deliverance; receiving him as if he were risen from death to life: and inferring that God, who had in such wonderful manner preserved him from death, did likewise reserve him for some great and prosperous fortune". Openly acknowledging him as her nephew, and "giving him the delicate title of the White Rose of England", she did him all princely honour, and appointed a guard of thirty halberdiers, clad in a parti-coloured livery of mulberry and blue, to attend his person. And beyond this, she exerted her influence to such good purpose that she succeeded in obtaining for him the recognition and the protection of

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Maximilian, King of the Romans, and of the Archduke Philip.

In July, 1495, at the head of a considerable force which had mainly been supplied him by Maximilian, the Pretender set sail from Flanders and attempted to raise the standard of revolt in Kent. The opposition of the peasantry sufficed to defeat his efforts; and he thereupon endeavoured to retrieve this first failure by making a descent on Ireland. Before setting out on his reckless and ill-considered expedition he had taken steps to interest the King of Scots in his cause. In this he had been so far successful that the Venetian agents, Contarini and Trevisano, writing from Worms, on the 3rd of June, to the Doge and Senate, informed them of the arrival on that day of four ambassadors from Scotland. In a later communication they reported that the Scottish envoys were believed to be requesting Maximilian to league with their sovereign against England. Should his proposal be accepted, James promised to favour the Duke of York, his object in doing so being to recover Berwick and certain other places belonging to him which had been held by the English for many years. But even before this there was a report that he had already done something to embarrass Henry by supporting his rival. As early as the month of May, Sebastian Badoer, Venetian ambassador to Ludovic Sforza, Duke of Milan, had communicated the intelligence that "the King of Scotland had sent a number

of ships with many troops in favour of the son of the late King Edward". That the news, though probably exaggerated, had nevertheless a foundation of fact is evidenced by the circumstance that one of the ships engaged in the abortive siege of Waterford by the Pretender and the Earl of Desmond "bore the very Scotch name of *the Kekeout*, which may be Englished *the Spy*".

The spirited resistance of the inhabitants of Waterford and the energetic action of Sir Edward Poynings, the royal commissioner, having convinced Perkin and his counsellors of the futility of their attempt to obtain possession of the town, it was decided that he should go over to Scotland. It is probably in connection with the negotiations which this step involved that, in July, traces of Roland Robinson's presence are again to be found in the Lord High Treasurer's accounts. As evidence of his success in securing for his employer not only the open recognition but also the further and more active support of King James, there appear, under the date of the 6th of November, three entries which show that the sum of sixty shillings was disbursed by the Treasurer for the removal from Edinburgh to Stirling of the sideboard that held the cups, plate, and other articles of display; of the "chapell graith"; and of tapestry to adorn the Castle hall, in anticipation of "the ressauing of the Prince of England". And about the same time David

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Caldwell received eighteen shillings for "the grathing of his chalmeris in his luying in the toune".

Owing to a discrepancy between the dates in two of the entries in the Accounts, it is uncertain whether Warbeck arrived in Stirling on the 20th or on the 28th of November, though the earlier of the two dates has been accepted as the more likely. Bacon says that the Pretender came into Scotland "with a well-appointed company"; but his assertion is hardly consistent with the statement of the very considerable "expenses made upon Prince Richard of England and his servitors" for their personal equipment. It has been suggested, however, that, after the unsuccessful attempt on Waterford, Warbeck probably remained in concealment in Ireland, whilst steps were being taken to obtain for him the protection of the King of Scots. That view receives considerable support from the complete obscurity which enshrouds his movements for the whole period between July and November; and it also affords a plausible explanation for the appearance of the adventurer and his party in a condition that necessitated their royal host's liberality.

At Stirling Warbeck was solemnly and ceremoniously received by King James in a public audience. Declaring himself to be Richard, Duke of York, brother of that unfortunate Prince, King Edward V, the Pretender told his romantic story. He had been saved from death by the murderer

of his brother, secretly conveyed over sea, and there, after a time, suddenly forsaken, upon what new fears, change of mind, or practice, God only knew; he had then resolved to remain in hiding and to conceal his identity till the tyrant, Richard III, were dead, and after that event to put himself into the hands of his sister. The usurpation of "one Henry Tudor, son to Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond", had, however, compelled him to defer his return to England for several years longer. But, at length, ashamed of his base and servile way of life, he had made himself known to the lady Duchess Dowager of Burgundy, his most dear aunt, and to Charles, King of France, by both of whom he was publicly acknowledged and lovingly assisted. But it seemed that God above, for the good of the whole island and the knitting of the two kingdoms of England and of Scotland in a strait concord and amity, by so great an obligation, had reserved it for his royal host to place him on the throne of his ancestors. He concluded his appeal with a solemn promise that, upon the recovery of his inheritance, he would do the utmost that lay in his power to show his gratitude to his protector and benefactor.

To this address James is said to have made a brief, but pithy reply, assuring his guest that "he should not repent him of putting himself into his hands". And the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer amply testify to the generosity

with which the King of Scots fulfilled his promises of support. It was perhaps in view of the state reception of "Prince Richard of England", in the hall of the Castle, that the Court haberdasher, Thome Cant, supplied three and a half quarters of "Rissillis blak, to be a pare of hoiss to the Prince", together with half an ell of purple damask to ornament the garment, as well as lining and points for it. The charge for the whole was set down at sixty shillings. Shortly after this further expense was incurred in order to equip the princely guest suitably for the tournament which was given in his honour, and for which, at a cost of nine pounds, eighteen shillings, there were provided for him "ane hogtoun", or hoqueton, of white and purple damask lined with "small white", and a pair of "arming hose" of white kersey, entailing, together with the lining and points, the further outlay of fourteen shillings.

The Prince's "servitoris", that is, presumably, his personal attendants, as distinct from the partisans that accompanied him, appear to have been nine in number, including two trumpeters and an armourer. Six of them were provided with "hogtounis" of tartar—a rich silk stuff originally brought from the East—ornamented with ribbons, and with damask gowns. The trumpeters were clad, at the King's expense, in damask gowns, camlet doublets, and red kersey hose; whilst the armourer received for his equipment five ells of "Rowane tanne", a velvet

doublet, a "hogtoun" of "Rissillis broune", and hose of "Rissilis blak".

On the side of the Scots the "persounis that tourenayit with the King and justit", were Sir Robert Ker, Patrick Hume, Patrick Haliburton, and William Sinclair, and their expenses were defrayed, to the amount of fifty pounds, out of the royal purse. The various entries of the "Expens maid apone the abilyement of the Kinges stable" on the same occasion show that one thousand and four pounds, nineteen shillings and two pence were spent in the purchase of velvet, of silk and gold fringes, and of leather "points", for the trappings of his horses.

For his personal equipment the King was supplied with "ane armyng doublet", the materials for which consisted of two and a half ells of crimson satin, three ells of Holland cloth, and three ells of broadcloth, and cost ten pounds, fifteen shillings. His "arming hose" was of white kersey. The entries state that these articles were provided "agane Sanct Mungois daye", and consequently indicate the 13th of January as the date of the tournament. It has been surmised that James himself took an active part in it, and that it was while jousting that he received the hurt of which there is evidence in the purchase of half an ell of white kersey to make a mitten for his "sare hand"; of an ell of "double tartar" to "put about the mitten"; and of five quarters of "taftais" for a sling "to turse his sare hand".

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Nor was this generous treatment of his guest the only evidence of the Scottish King's belief that he was entertaining Richard, Duke of York. "The more to put it out of doubt that he took him to be a great prince, and not a representation only, he gave consent that this duke should take to wife the Lady Catharine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntley, being a near kinswoman to the King himself, and a young virgin of excellent beauty and virtue." The event to which Bacon thus refers has also left a trace in the Accounts. It is but slight, and consists of the entries which set forth that, before the close of the year 1495, which would be the beginning of the year 1496, according to modern reckoning, there were bought from Thome Cant, fourteen ells of white damask, at forty shillings an ell, "to be the Princis spousing gowne", and, "till his hois", three and a half quarters of Rissillis black, costing thirty-five shillings. The "great coat of the new fashion, with sleeves", for which seven ells of velvet, at three pounds an ell, were required, and which was lined with five and a half ells of damask at forty shillings an ell, being mentioned immediately below the "spousing gowne", may plausibly be looked upon as belonging to the wedding outfit, which Warbeck owed to the liberality of King James. These entries, unfortunately, bear no precise date to help us to determine that of the wedding itself; but their immediate proximity to those that refer to the tournament suggests that there may have

Perkin Warbeck in Scotland III

been a close connection between the two events. And apart from that, we know that a tournament was, in those days, a usual accompaniment of a royal wedding.

For his personal expenses, during his stay in Scotland, the Pretender was allowed an annual pension of one thousand three hundred and forty-four pounds, which was paid to his confidential agent Roland Robinson in monthly instalments of one hundred and twelve pounds. In addition to that, the Lord Treasurer was frequently called upon to disburse considerable sums "to red Inglissmennis costes", that is, to defray the expenses of Warbeck's followers. In the one month of May, 1496, those additional charges amounted to one hundred and twelve pounds, seven shillings and eightpence. Nor was it the royal treasury alone that felt the burden. The burghs were also called upon to bear their share of it, either in money or in kind. The Accounts of the Chamberlain of Stirling for the period between August, 1495, and June, 1496, include the contribution of one chalder of corn towards the expenses of the Duke of York and of the Englishmen that came with him. Evidence of similar charges is to be found in the Accounts of the Chamberlains of Fettercairn, of Moray, and of Fife; and in their Account for 1496-7, the Customars of Aberdeen take credit for the payment of twenty pounds to Andrew Wood of Blairtoun, as remuneration for his labours in connection

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with the levying of contributions towards the maintenance of the Duke of York; and when he travelled it was made incumbent on the local authorities to defray the expenses incurred for the feeding of his horses and the wages of their grooms. They were even required to pay the ferry dues for taking them across the Forth. That his followers were quartered in various towns and imposed as guests on the municipalities is suggested by an entry in the Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen. It records that, in July, 1496, certain Councillors were "chosen and sworn the great oaths", to raise "through the whole town, five shillings and four pence each day, for the space of one month, to the sustentation of eight Englishmen of the Duke of York's". These emissaries of the Pretender's had been "directed to the town" by the King; and it is suggestive of the business upon which they had come, and not indicative of much sympathy on the part of those to whom they appealed, that, besides putting the municipality to the expense of their entertainment, they cost it the further sum of five marks as payment to the messenger who was dispatched to the King "to recover licence to the toune to remain at hame fra the weir", in order that it might defend itself from the "aul inemyis of England". And when, for so flimsy a reason, leave had been given to stay away "from the passage in England, in fortifying and supplying of the prince of England, Richard Duke of York",

a further tax was voted as a "propin", or gift, to the King. Warbeck himself, when in Edinburgh, resided with the Friars Preachers. It was not by them, however, nor by their guest himself that the cost of his maintenance was met. The Exchequer Rolls show that special rates were raised for the purpose. Nor was the Pretender called upon to draw on his allowance, even for the taxes which custom imposed on princely liberality. His offerings on such occasions as St. Nicholas's day, Candlemas, or Rude day in Holyroodhouse, that is, the 14th of September, came from the royal treasury, and were but little inferior to those of his host.

Within a few days of Warbeck's appearance at the Scottish Court, messengers had been sent out with letters to the Lords and Barons of Strathearn and Atholl, to the Earl Marshall and the Barons of Angus, and to Lord Maxwell, summoning them to Perth to meet "the Prince of England", on whose behalf James was anxious to enlist their interest and sympathy. At the same time, "letters for wappinschawing" were dispatched to the Sheriffs of the north parts and Caithness, as well as to those of the south and west parts. That was the first step towards the levying of the troops with which it was intended to cross the Border for the purpose of promoting a rising in favour of Henry VII's rival. The spring and summer of the year 1496 were devoted to active preparations for the raid. Woodmen were sent

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to Melrose and to Irneside, near Lindores, to fell timber for the construction of the close carts required to transport gunpowder and gunstones, and of the open wagons on which the artillery was to be conveyed. In the arsenals at Leith, Edinburgh Castle, and Holyrood, smiths and wrights were tasked to the full in getting the ordnance into working order. Artificers were busy fashioning the poles and turning the ashen tops, sewing, binding, and ornamenting the canvas, and painting and gilding the vanes of the pavilions intended for the King and the Duke; whilst others were employed on the more delicate work of shaping and adorning with silver and gold leaf the standard and the banner that were to display the red and blue colours of the House of York. Whilst this was going on, Roderic de Lalain, a Burgundian, acting as the Duchess Margaret's confidential agent, was maintaining communication between Scotland and Flanders, in a ship which the King had bought for sixty pounds, from two Breton traders, "Johne Delphin and Guilliam Bucter", and given him for the purpose of bringing over reinforcements and supplies. One of the means to which the King had recourse for the purpose of meeting the costs of the expedition was the imposition of a "taxt of speris", or "spear silver". It yielded rather more than one thousand pounds; and the contributions to it ranged from the Abbot of St. Mary's Isle's four pounds, fifteen shillings, to the hundred and

eighty-two pounds paid by "John of Striueling for the Westland". In addition to this, the King received ninety-four unicorns, equal to a sum of one hundred and fifty-six pounds, twelve shillings, from the coining of a chain containing twenty-one and three-quarter ounces of gold.

Through John Ramsay, the forfeited Earl of Bothwell, who had succeeded in obtaining permission to return to Scotland, and who, thinking by his treason to avenge his protector and benefactor, the late King, acted as spy on behalf of England, Henry was kept well informed as to the warlike preparation that was being made, as well as to the purpose for which it was intended. By various means, both direct and indirect, he endeavoured to delay, if he could not altogether avert, the threatened hostilities. With this object in view, he sent the Bishop of Durham to Scotland as the head of an embassy that was instructed to initiate negotiations concerning a matrimonial alliance with England. To this James offered no direct opposition; but he doubted the genuineness of the proposal, and refused to commit himself definitely, stating that he would not withdraw his support from the Duke of York "unless such things were concluded as the Bishop came for"; but that was asking for much more than the English King was at that time willing to concede.

By reason of the marriage projected between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Catherine

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of Aragon, Spain willingly lent Henry her aid. And there was this further, though unavowed reason for the help that Ferdinand and Isabella were ready to afford: it was their intention to make the King of England take action for them and against France, as soon as a rebellion in England in favour of the alleged Duke of York had ceased to be a threatening possibility. France, on the other hand, was no less anxious to be of service to Henry, in order that he might not lay himself under any obligation to the Spanish sovereigns by accepting their good offices. A letter addressed by Ferdinand and Isabella to de Puebla affords a ludicrous yet striking instance of the unscrupulous length to which this rivalry was carried. "With regard to what you write," they say, "that the King of France has sent a paper, with the seal of his Council, and a declaration from the King-at-arms of Portugal, stating that *he of York* is the son of a barber, and offering to send over his father and mother, we have to observe that, if the King of England wishes something of the kind, we can do it much better than the King of France. We can send him the declarations of many persons who knew him, amongst whom is a Portuguese knight, of the name of Ruy de Sosa. He is acquainted with the whole matter, and is a person of authority and good faith. Having been Portuguese ambassador in England, he knows the Duke of York very well, and has seen him there.

Two years later he saw this other person in Portugal. You must speak of this matter to the King of England as though it all came from you, and inform us what he says in reply."

The fabrication of false evidence was not what Henry VII was anxious to procure. He knew of but one way of convincing the world that the Pretender's claims were baseless, and that was by obtaining possession of his person. At his earnest request de Puebla repeatedly urged Ferdinand and Isabella to get Warbeck into their power. "That was the most important point; that was the whole thing. That done, and the King of Scotland detached from France, the King of France would be in such a miserable condition" that he would accept any conditions imposed on him by Spain, and keep them without disturbance. And to the report which he sent of the insidious arguments thus put forward by Henry, the Spanish Ambassador added his own earnest recommendation: "If your Highnesses have the so-called Duke of York in your power, and hold him in your royal hands," he wrote, "you may be sure, according to what I am told, that you can absolutely do your will *in omnibus et per omnia* in England". But his dispatch ended with a warning, impressing them with the necessity for using the greatest caution in any action they might take, for the Scotch were "astute in the highest degree". To these appeals the Spanish sovereigns replied at first

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in ambiguous and evasive terms. "Concerning your wish that he of York were in our power," they wrote to de Puebla, "you can assure the King of England that we will employ ourselves in the affair as in one that concerns ourselves." Further solicitations drew a slight concession from them. They would not, they said, entice him of York to come to Spain, but they would keep him if he should fall into their power; and, with scant respect for consistency, with a view to bringing about such a contingency, they authorized their agent to do, if he could, the very thing to which they pretended to object. With this compromise, Henry was not yet satisfied, but he was encouraged by it to press his request with still greater firmness. It was met with a refusal by Ferdinand and Isabella, who, in justification of it, expressed their conviction that more was wanted of them than merely to get Warbeck into their hands, and that, if they succeeded in doing so, they would not be expected to keep him, but would be asked, with the same persistency, to give him up to Henry. And nothing, they protested, would ever induce them to play so dishonourable a part.

The Spaniards were more anxious than their official correspondence allowed it to appear, to induce the King of Scots to withdraw his support and protection from the Pretender. The scheme which they had devised with this object in view, hinged on the possibility of dazz-

ling James with the prospect of a matrimonial alliance. Ferdinand and Isabella, it is true, had no daughter to give him in marriage, for all of them were disposed of already. But as he was still in ignorance of that impediment, no scruples prevented them, as they wrote with cynical frankness to de Puebla, from deluding him as long as possible, with the hope of obtaining an Infanta for his consort. They had not at first taken the King of England into their confidence with regard to this plan. But when, through his spies at the Scottish Court, Henry had been informed of the arrival of a Spanish agent and of the business with which he had been entrusted, and had demanded of de Puebla an explanation of circumstances that seemed suspicious to him, they instructed their ambassador to asseverate that they had no other purpose in their negotiations with Scotland than to win over the King of Scots, and to make him friends with the King of England, so that he might no longer show favour to *him of York* or enter into an alliance with France. That, by all the means available to them, they intended to put him off some time longer with vain hopes, in order that he might not begin war with England or join the King of France; and that whatever negotiations they had with him were solely for this purpose, they protested to be as true as God was truth. Whatever might otherwise have been the success of their ingenious but unscrupulous

scheme, it was thwarted by a fortuitous circumstance which they themselves reported to de Puebla. Their letters to their ambassadors in Scotland arrived there before the ambassadors themselves, and fell into the hands of the King of Scots, who became suspicious that the embassy had been sent at the instance of the King of England, and consequently avoided entangling himself in matrimonial negotiations.

Charles VIII, to whom Henry had also appealed for assistance in the matter, took no such elaborate precautions to save appearances. But the very readiness with which he consented to bring his influence to bear on his Scottish ally, aroused in the English King anxious and disquieting doubts as to what the consequences might be when the Spaniards learnt what part he had played in bringing so important a personage as Perkin Warbeck into the power of France. As a way out of the difficulty in which he found himself, Henry resolved to forestall any untoward discovery, by playing the part of informant and imparting to de Puebla his own carefully modified version of the incident. With this object in view, he invited the Spanish ambassador to stay with him for a week "in a park twenty-five miles distant from London". He then took occasion to "open his whole heart" to his guest, telling him how King Charles, on learning that his scheme for the production of testimonies stating who Warbeck was, did not

meet with approval, and that it was equally unacceptable that the Pretender's father and mother should be brought to England, had, of his own accord, undertaken "to obtain him to be delivered in person", and intended to send an ambassador to Scotland, for the purpose of effecting this. Not only did Henry swear "by the faith of his heart", that he wholly disapproved of this interference, which, he predicted, "would not turn out profitably either to England or Spain", but he also declared that, "if the French ambassador should go by way of England he would retain him a whole year, and not permit him to go to Scotland". In spite of those brave words, no attempt was made to prevent Concessault, the same nobleman that had been captain of the guard of honour assigned to Perkin Warbeck by the King of France, in 1493, from travelling through England to the Scottish Court. The offer which he made to James, of one hundred thousand crowns, "to have this said Perkin sent in to France", as the spy Ramsay wrote to the King of England, was refused; and it is not impossible that the ambassador's personal partiality to the Pretender and a consequent lack of zeal on his part, may have been to some extent responsible for the failure of his mission; for Ramsay reported that "he and the boy were every day in counsel".

In the meantime, the King of Scots's preparations for the invasion of England had progressed

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apace, and were now nearing completion. On the second of September, he summoned a Council, before which he requested the Pretender to appear, in order that a final agreement might be drawn up as to the return that should be made by him, if successful, for the help afforded by James. The restoration of the seven sheriffdoms, the surrender of the castle and town of Berwick, and the payment of one hundred thousand merks within five years, were the terms proposed by the Scottish Council. They were not such as could be accepted without due consideration, and Warbeck requested to be allowed, and was consequently granted, twenty-four hours within which to look more closely into them and to make known his decision. Next day, after a prolonged discussion, the conditions finally agreed upon and embodied in an official document, were to the effect that the Scots should recover Berwick, and should receive, as compensation for the expenses of the campaign, the sum of fifty thousand merks, payable within two years.

About this time, Roderic de Lalaing, a Burgundian nobleman, reached Scotland, bringing with him, in two little ships, the contingent which the Duchess Margaret had promised, and which consisted of some threescore Germans. A very suggestive account of his reception at the Scottish Court, and of the more than cool manner in which he behaved towards the Pretender, is given

by Ramsay: "I stood by", wrote the Scottish traitor to his English employer, "when the King received him in presence of Perkin; and thus he said in French: 'Sir, I am come here according to my promise, to do your Highness service, and for none other man's sake am I come here, for if I had not had your letters of warrant, I had been arrested in Flanders, and put to great trouble for Perkin's sake'. And he came not near Perkin; and then came Perkin to him, and he saluted him, and asked how his aunt did, and he said, 'Well'; and he enquired if he had any letters from her to him, and he said he durst bring none, but he had to the King."

The Pretender was not without hope of support from some of the powerful families in the North of England; and the observant Ramsay had noticed, and had made it his business to report, the coming and going of a messenger, by whose means, if the spy had been correctly informed, communication was kept up with the Dacres and the Skeltons. But, on the other hand, Henry's agent claimed to have induced several that stood very near to James, to refuse him their help in an expedition of which, in common with both the nobility and the people of the country, they wholly disapproved. At the head of them was the King's brother, of whom it was reported that he would not, for aught that James could do, come to the host, against the King of England; and who had been earnestly advised by the

Bishop of Moray, another of the malcontents, to cross over into England, and to place himself under the protection of Henry, a course of action which the young Prince seemed inclined to follow.

Great stress was laid by the informer on the Scottish King's lack of funds for financing the expedition, and also on the dissatisfaction of his subjects. "I take on me", he wrote, "that the King of Scots had not a hundred pounds until now that he has coined his chains, his plate, and his 'cupboards'; and there was never people worse content of the King's governance than they are now." He also reported that he had gone to Edinburgh Castle and seen "the provision of Ordinance", which he considered very inadequate. It consisted of "two great curtaldis that were sent out of France; of ten falcons, or little serpentes; of thirty cart guns of iron with chambers, or breech-pieces; and of sixteen close carts for spears, powder, stone cannon-balls, and other stuff belonging to the guns. He stated further that, a week later, the King was to be at Ellem Kirk, within ten miles of the marches of England, and Perkin and his company, to the number of fourteen hundred, "of all manner of nations", with him; and that the invasion of England, "in the quarrel of this said feigned boy", was fixed for the seventeenth of the month. From other sources we know that the whole artillery was in charge of John Sandilands of Hillhouse, who had two Flemings and a Frenchman under him,

as master-gunners. They had the help of a hundred and forty-three carters with a hundred and ninety-six horses, and of seventy-six men, "with spaid, schule, and pik mattock, to pas with the artailyery, and to draw the gunnis in peththis and myris". These were hired for fourteen days, and paid in advance, at the rate of twelve pence a day, for man and horse alike.

On Holy Rood day, that is, on the fourteenth of September, the King and his guest heard mass in the Abbey, and made offerings of eighteen shillings and fourteen shillings respectively. They then proceeded to Restalrig, where the host was assembled. There forty shillings were given to the priests to say a trental of masses for the King in the Lady Chapel, and another trental "before Sanct Triduane". A further donation of fifteen shillings and sixpence was made "to our Ladyis lycht and werk". The help of Heaven having been thus invoked, the march southwards was begun. With halts at Haddington, St. John's Cleuch, Dunse, and Langton, it took the cumbrous artillery, with its teams of oxen, six days to get to Ellem.

In one of Ramsay's letters to Henry VII, there is a passage which, though containing no direct mention of Warbeck, can hardly be understood otherwise than as a reference to a plot for kidnapping him. "Please your Grace," it runs, "anent the matter that Master Wyot laid to me, I have been busy about it, and my lord of Buchan

takes upon him the fulfilling of it, if it be possible; and thinks best now, in this long night, within his tent to enterprise the matter; for he has no watch but the King's appointed to be about him; and they have ordained the Englishmen and strangers to be at another quarter, leaving but a few about him." The plausibility of the interpretation usually put upon those words is increased by the fact that "my lord of Buchan", who is named in them, is the same James, Earl of Buchan, who a few years earlier had, together with Sir Thomas Todd, and for the paltry consideration of a loan of two hundred and sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence, entered into an indenture with King Henry VII, by which it was agreed that the two traitors should deliver King James IV, and his brother, the Duke of Ross, as prisoners into Henry's hands. There is no record, however, that in either case, Buchan's ready and venal treachery materialized into an attempt to carry out the proposed abduction.

Before his departure from Edinburgh, Warbeck had sent out the "mony proclamations" which one of the Secretary's clerks, Sir John Reid, familiarly known as Stobo, received eighteen shillings for copying. In this appeal to his "lieges and people of England", the Pretender assured them that it was very far from him to intend their hurt or damage, or to make war upon them, otherwise than to deliver them and himself from tyranny and oppression. Then, "the very

Richard, Duke of York, younger son, and now surviving heir male of the noble and victorious Edward the Fourth, late King of England", set forth the various counts in his indictment of his "mortal enemy, Henry Tudor", who, though boasting himself to have overthrown a tyrant, had, ever since his first entrance into his usurped reign, put little in practice but tyranny and the feats thereof. He charged him with having trodden under foot the honour of the nation; with selling its best allies for money; and with making merchandise of the blood, estates, and fortunes of peers and commoners alike, by feigned wars and dishonourable peace, only to enrich his coffers. He accused him of the cruel murder of many nobles whom he held suspect or stood in dread of. He denounced him for keeping the Duke of Warwick a prisoner, and for marrying ladies of the blood royal to base kinsmen and friends of his own, and surrounding himself with "caitiffs and villains of birth". A long enumeration of the "robberies and extortions" of which the usurper had been guilty was followed by a solemn pledge that all "unlawful impositions and grievous exactions" should be "foredone and laid apart". Remission and free pardon were promised to all who, having been misled into adherence to Henry, should renounce him and, within convenient time, submit themselves to their rightful sovereign. And, forasmuch as the putting to death or taking alive of the usurper might be the means of staying

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much effusion of blood, it was solemnly declared that whoever should "take or distress him", though the party were of never so mean a condition, should be rewarded "with a thousand pounds in money forthwith to be laid down to him, and an hundred marks by the year of inheritance", besides what he might "otherwise merit, both towards God and all good people, for the destruction of such a tyrant". In order to remove any unfavourable impression that might be made by his appearance at the head of an army largely composed of the inveterate enemies of those for whose good he professed to come, the Pretender, taking God to witness, declared that, in lending his support, the King of Scots had no object in view but the upholding of a righteous cause, that there was no pact or promise in his favour, and that he had undertaken to return to Scotland as soon as he found that his active co-operation was no longer necessary to get the upper hand of the enemy.

On reaching the Border the Pretender was not long in discovering that his appeal had been made in vain. No Englishman came to reinforce the invading army, which found compensation for its disappointment in spoiling and plundering the country, slaying without regard for age or sex, and wantonly burning castles, fortalices, and towers. In this display of savagery the Pretender found an excuse for withdrawing with some show of magnanimity from an enterprise that had so signally

miscarried. With expressions of profound compassion for the sufferings and the distress of those whom he called his subjects, he appealed to James to put an end to the pillage and the slaughter, protesting that he would rather lose his crown altogether than obtain it by the ruin of his people. The King of Scots is said to have retorted with an ironical remark on the considerate leniency that spared the country for the benefit of a rival; but he does not appear to have raised any objection to the Pretender's abandonment of the expedition. He himself was detained until the beginning of October in the English borderland by reason of the defence offered by the House of Heiton, to which he had laid siege; but Warbeck turned northwards at once, and by the 21st of September he was at Coldstream, on the Scottish side of the Tweed.

In a very unromantic but wholly convincing way the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer at once begin to indicate the effects produced on the Pretender's agents and associates by the abortive invasion of England. They record the payment by the King's command, on the 7th of October, of one hundred merks to de Lalaing; on the 15th, of two hundred pounds to Roland Robinson "for the red of the Inglismen to the sea", in terms of "an indenture made betwixt the King's good grace and the Duke of York"; and on the 19th, of four-score and ten pounds to the Lord of Monypenny, and of twenty-eight pounds to the French heralds that were with him, "when he passed to the sail".

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And it has been assumed with much plausibility that "Odonelis man", who, on the 15th of October, received four pounds four shillings from the royal treasury, was a messenger who was sent back to Ireland to convey to the chief of Tyrconnel the tidings of Warbeck's failure.

James was not only humiliated and mortified by the failure of an expedition for which such elaborate preparation had been made, he also realized that the Pretender's written agreement, to deliver the town and castle of Berwick and to pay fifty thousand marks, was not likely ever to be fulfilled. The situation had thus become a delicate and difficult one, and a letter from Ferdinand and Isabella to their ambassador de Puebla shows that there were interested parties who saw in it an opportunity of at last attaining their ends. "It seems to us", they wrote, "that the King of England ought not to let slip the occasion now offered to him of arranging his affairs. The King of Scots has at present less to hinder him, and may do what the King of England desires, with respect to *him* who is now in Scotland. For the King of Scots seemed formerly to be under some obligation to *him*, since *he* had come well recommended to Scotland. Such obligations no longer exist, since *he* went away without being advised to do so, and the King of Scots looks upon *him* since his return almost as a prisoner. Thus the reasons for his having hitherto backed *him* no longer exist. We therefore think that the King of England should

not reject the offers of the King of Scots if he wish to make peace, and if he will deliver *him* who is now staying at his Court, or will promise to keep *him* in such a manner that no danger need any longer be feared from *him*. The ill-advised affray in England must be forgotten. Tell all this in our and also in your name to the King of England, and assure him that we would act in the same way if we were in his place."

James, to his credit, held different views as to his obligations towards his guest, and in spite of such solicitations and such pressure as the Spanish sovereigns' letter suggests, he consistently refused to surrender him. It becomes obvious from the sequel, however, that the Pretender was warned not to depend any further on Scottish support, and advised to form other plans for the recovery of his kingdom. But, if his departure was now deemed necessary, it was neither hurried nor undignified. A ship called the *Cuckoo*, belonging to Guy Foulcart and Guillaume Pomptom, two Breton traders, was hired for his use and amply equipped in the port of Ayr. The provisions for the voyage consisted of two tuns of wine, two thousand biscuits, two pipes of cider and beer, nine pipes and one-third of a tun of ale, as much bread as cost fifteen pounds fifteen shillings and twopence, eight bolls of oatmeal, seventeen carcasses of beef, twenty-three sheep, one hogshhead of herring, twelve large cod, six stone of cheese, one hundred candles, and a supply of peats and coal. By the King's

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command there were given three and a half ells of "Rowane tannee to the Duchess of York, to be hir ane see gounne", and two and a half ells of "Ristlis blak to be hir clokis". The travelling expenses of the thirty men, who seem to have now constituted the whole of the Pretender's following, were fully paid. And it is suggestive that fourteen pounds had to be given to "the Prothonotar to quit out the Duke of Yorkis broune hors that lay in wed (pledge) in the toune". As a further and final proof of his regard and consideration for his guest, the King of Scots entrusted him to the care of the distinguished seaman, Robert Barton, with whom he sailed for Cork about the middle of July, 1497.

The White Rose of Gordon

Doctor Rodriguez de Puebla, the Spanish Ambassador at the Court of Henry VII, writing to Ferdinand and Isabella in 1498, reported to them that, in the course of conversation with the English King on the subject of the claims put forward by Perkin Warbeck, he had been told how the Pretender had deceived the Pope, the King of France, the Archduke, the King of the Romans, the King of Scotland, and almost all the Princes in Christendom except the Spanish sovereigns themselves. As regards James IV, there can be no doubt that, in the young man who appeared before him at Stirling on the 20th of November, 1495, he believed he was receiving, not the son of a Flemish merchant, but Richard, Duke of York, the younger of the two Princes supposed to have been murdered in the Tower by order of their uncle, Richard of Gloucester. Of the many proofs which his conduct affords as to the sincerity of his conviction, none bears more weight with it than the marriage which he undoubtedly sanctioned, and possibly arranged, between the alleged "Prince of England" and Lady Catherine Gordon, a daughter of George, second Earl of Huntly.

It is not recorded in what circumstances the Pretender and the Scottish lady first met; but an interesting memorial of their courtship has been preserved in the Spanish archives. It is a copy of the letter in which the Claimant to the English throne besought "the brightest ornament of Scotland", her in whom alone all his hopes rested, to accept for ever one who in all things would cheerfully do her will as long as his days should last.

In view of what has been recorded as to Lady Catherine's beauty, we may not dismiss as mere fulsome flattery her suitor's glowing description of her face, "so bright and serene, that it gives splendour to the cloudy sky"; of her eyes, "as brilliant as stars, which make all pain to be forgotten and turn despair into delight"; of her neck, "which outshines pearls"; of her "fine forehead"; of her "purple light of youth"; of her "fair hair"; and of "the splendid perfection" of her whole person. We may suspect, however, that in the eyes of the writer those charms were not lessened by "the riches and immutable prosperity" which "the nobility of her lineage and the loftiness of her rank" secured for the object of his admiration and of his judicious choice.

When the Pretender wrote his fervid appeal to the noble lady to whom, he declared, he had ever been devoted from the first hour he saw her, he had, as the whole tenor of the letter suggests, already received such encouragement as gave him reason to hope that she would think

him worthy of her love, and that he might perhaps be the most fortunate of all her admirers, and, indeed, "the happiest man on earth". Nor did the sequel fall short of his sanguine expectations. About the middle of January, 1495-6, the marriage of "the Prince of England", as he was frequently styled, and of Lady Catherine Gordon, was celebrated in Edinburgh, and it was probably in honour of the occasion that a tournament was held on St. Mungo's day, the 13th of the month.

After her marriage, the Lady Catherine is lost sight of in the excitement of the military preparation for the invasion of England on her husband's behalf. When she reappears, the abortive Raid of Ellem has taken place, the Pretender has been given to understand that he must no longer depend on the support of Scotland, and arrangements are being made to convey him to Ireland. They include the provision, "by the King's command", of a "sea-gown" of tawny Rouen cloth, and of a cloak of Lille black "for the Duchess of York", who, in July, 1497, sailed from Ayr with the adventurer to whose fortunes she had now linked her own.

On the authority of Hall, who, in his account of Perkin Warbeck, states that, at his departure from Scotland, the Pretender was accompanied by "his wife and family", some modern writers have assumed the birth of several children within the eighteen months that had elapsed since his

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marriage. Apart from the obvious improbability of this supposition, there is, it must be admitted, no positive evidence in refutation of it. But, when it is remembered with what minute care every item of expenditure in connection with "the Prince of England" is entered in the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, it is difficult to believe that the birth of even one child and the subsequent ceremony of its christening can have taken place without leaving any trace in those records. Nor does this view involve a charge of inaccuracy against Hall. In order to reconcile his words with what seems to be the actual truth, nothing more is necessary than merely to take the term "family", which he uses, as intended to designate the "familiar servitors", as the members of a household were commonly styled in his days.

Great as we may imagine Lady Catherine's disappointment to have been at James IV's abandonment of her husband's cause, it must have been increased when the cold reception with which he met in Ireland induced him to sail for the West Country, in the hope of obtaining support from the rebellious Cornishmen. And the voyage southwards was marked by a further incident that cannot but have brought home to her the hazardous nature of the enterprise on which they were both embarked. Off the English coast, they fell in with the fleet that had been sent out, under the orders of

Lord Broke, for the purpose of intercepting them. The ship on which they were, and which was manned by Biscayans, was boarded by the commander. Summoning the captain and the crew into his presence, Broke produced his warrant and called upon them, as faithful subjects of sovereigns with whom King Henry was on the friendliest terms, to deliver up Perkin Warbeck, if he were concealed in the ship. But "the obstinate Biscayans", as they are called by Puebla, who relates the adventure, were neither intimidated by his show of authority nor seduced by his offer of "2000 nobles, besides many other favours". They "swore, in spite of all this, that they had never known or heard of such a man as Perkin, though he was all this time in the bows of the ship, hidden in a cask".

On the 7th of September, 1497, the Pretender landed at Whitesand Bay, between Land's End and Cape Cornwall, and proceeded eastwards with the five or six score men who composed his whole force, and whom a pinnace and two small ships had sufficed to bring over from Ireland. To provide for his wife's safety before taking the field on his last desperate venture, he arranged that she should stay in the islet of St. Michael's Mount, off the southern coast. Gathering a considerable number of supporters amongst the disaffected Cornishmen, he passed into Devonshire, and reached Exeter about the middle of the month. Two days' resistance on the part of

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the inhabitants sufficed to discourage him, and raising the mock siege, he marched forward as far as Taunton; but, on the 21st, learning that the royal army was approaching that town, he "fled from his company", in the middle of the night, taking "no leave nor license of them", as Henry VII himself sneeringly reported, and shaped his flight towards Southampton, probably intending to take ship and cross over to France. But, by this time, "a good number of well-horsed men" had been sent to scour the country for him "in every quarter"; and, to stimulate their zeal, a reward of 1000 marks had been promised to anyone that brought him alive. To avoid immediate capture, he took sanctuary in Beaulieu Abbey, which was at once surrounded by his pursuers. Seeing that there was no hope of escape, he surrendered on the promise that his life should be spared, and was taken back to Taunton, to the King, before whom he appeared on the 5th of October, and whom he followed to Exeter.

When the scouts who had ridden westwards came to St. Michael's Mount, the search which they made of the Priory and Castle resulted in the discovery of Lady Catherine; and the old chronicler Hall records that they "brought her streight lyk a bondwoman and captyve to the King". Henry, "wondering at her beauty and amyable countenance", and thinking her "a praye more mete for the chief capitaine than for the

meane souldiours, began then a lytle to phantasie her person". Not only did he give expression to his regret that she should have allowed herself to be deluded by a worthless impostor and to his sympathy with her in the miserable state to which she had been reduced, he also comforted her with the promise that he would provide for her safe and honourable entertainment and treat her as if she were his own sister. But, before sending her "accompanied with a goodly sorte of sad matrones and gentlewomen (because she was but a young woman) to London, to the Queen, as a true and undoubted token of hys triumphe and victory", he gave himself the satisfaction of hearing the Pretender repeat, in his wife's presence, the confession of imposture which had already been obtained from him.

The only contemporary chronicler who records the dramatic interview between the two captives is Bernard André, who appears to have filled the double office of laureate and historiographer to the King; and it may be doubted whether the rhetorical outburst of denunciation and invective which he reports, was really indulged in by the stricken lady or merely written up by himself, to please his royal patron. But even he admits that it was not without some show of grief—*egriusculè*—that she parted from the man to whom she had plighted her troth.

An entry in Henry's Privy Purse Expenses supplies the information that, on the 15th of

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October, the sum of £7, 13s. 4d. was paid to Robert Suthwell for horses, saddles, and other necessaries, brought for the conveying of my Lady Catherine Huntly; and from another we learn that she received £2 on the 1st of December. With these casual notices, the Pretender's wife disappears from contemporary records for the next five years.

No information is available as to the manner in which Lady Gordon bore herself in the days of her husband's humiliation, nor is there any evidence as to whether she was given any further opportunity of seeing him before the tragic termination of his adventurous career at Tyburn, in November, 1499. The earliest subsequent references to her occur in the Accounts of Sir Robert Lytton, Keeper of the Great Wardrobe. And the numerous entries that are to be met with in the course of the years 1502 and 1503, testify to the fulfilment by Henry VII of the promise which he had made to her in Exeter. Gowns and kirtles of velvet, satin, and damask, with furs for lining and trimming, fine linen for smocks, "rails", and kerchiefs, and, indeed, all the costly materials used for the female attire of the period, were provided for her, as if she were a princess of the blood. And when, in 1503, King James IV of Scotland was betrothed by proxy to the daughter of Henry VII, Lady Gordon was present at the ceremony and given precedence next to the royal family. The widow

of the alleged impostor, Perkin Warbeck, could not have been treated with greater consideration if she had been recognized as the Duchess of York.

For the next seven years, available documents throw no light on the life of Lady Gordon at the English Court. But, in 1510, the second year of the reign of Henry VIII, there is evidence that the accession of the new sovereign had not entailed for her any diminution of royal favour. After having obtained letters of denization in May of that year, she received grants of the manors of Filbertis, Longwittenham, Fyfield, and Eaton, in Berkshire, together with sixty acres of meadow land in the parish of More, in Oxfordshire. All these, with the exception of the first of them, had belonged to John, Earl of Lincoln, and had been forfeited by his attainder, under Henry VII. Prior to this date, Lady Gordon was already in possession of lands of the yearly rental of £100, and the recipient of a pension amounting to £66, 13s. 4d.

There now comes to be mentioned a remarkable incident, which is recorded by John Lesley in his *Historie of Scotland*, and which introduces an element of mystery suggestive of grave doubts and suspicions as to the real reasons that underlay the apparently magnanimous treatment of the Pretender's widow by Henry VII and his son. About this time, the chronicler tells us, there came to Scotland a fair woman, who called

herself Catherine Gordon, and pretended to be the Lady Gordon who had married "Richard, Duke of York". She was well entertained by the Earl of Huntly's friends, and accompanied them to the famous shrine of Saint Duthois, in Ross. No doubt as to her identity appears to have arisen so long as she was amongst her kinsfolk. On coming to Edinburgh, however, "she confessed to the King her abuse, which he concealed also upon her, and caused her depart forth of the realm shortly".

The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, whilst bearing out Lesley's strange story in some particulars, differ from it on one important point. They convey the impression that James IV did not merely refrain from exposing the impostor, but actually gave her his countenance and help. We learn from them that "Lady Gordon" was in Scotland on the 24th of August, 1511. She spent the Christmastide of that year at Court, and was provided with a gown of tawny velvet, of which the material alone cost £34, 7s. 6d., and the trimming and making nearly the same amount. At the same time, a tawny satin kirtle was added to her wardrobe; and even her shoes were paid for by her royal host. By the 10th of the following March she either had left, or was on the point of leaving Edinburgh, for, on that day her servant, Mychelsone, received £7, which he was to take to her, "to furnish her necessaries, after the King's command". Two

entries that occur in November, 1512, respectively state that James Sinclair got £7 "to ride over the Mounth with my Lady Gordon"; and that, on the same occasion, and for the same purpose, a female attendant, Margaret Preston, was provided with a gown of French russet. And the Mounth being the name given to the mountain chain that extends from the Eastern Sea, near Aberdeen, to the Western Sea, at Fort William, the journey here referred to may be assumed to have been the pilgrimage into Ross-shire, of which mention is made by Lesley.

As late as the 13th of May, 1513, that is to say, less than four months before the disaster of Flodden brought the reign and life of James IV to a close, "Lady Gordon" was still in Scotland; and an indication of the consideration with which she was treated is to be found in the record that, when mourning was assumed for the death of the King of Denmark, she was supplied with "a dule gown" of Paris black, similar to that of the Queen. These details, with which Lesley was unacquainted, give his story a wholly different complexion, and justify the assumption that, for some reason which may not have been unconnected with Warbeck's claim, the King of Scots was anxious to have the Pretender's widow, or, failing her, one who could personate Lady Gordon, at his Court and at his service.

Lesley's narrative closes with the statement that, "in this meantime Lady Catherine Gordon

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herself, 'called the 'White Rose', was dwelling in England, and had a goodly rent of lands there, given to her by King Henry the Seventh, where she lived many years thereafter honourably". This, there are authoritative documents to prove. And it is, assuredly, more than a mere coincidence that they should bear convincing evidence of a desire to prevent her from removing herself beyond the limits of English jurisdiction. As a means to this end, an English husband was found for her in the person of James Strangways, a Gentleman Usher of the Chamber. The date of her marriage is not known, but may be taken to have been approximatively the same as that of a grant which was drawn up on the 28th of September, 1512, and which assigned to her and her husband, in survivorship, the lands which had formerly been made over to her alone. This important document contains the significant proviso that she should not go from England to Scotland, or any other foreign country without licence; and the same condition is attached to a renewal of the grant, which bears the date of the 23rd of June, 1517, and in which she now figures as Dame Catherine Gordon, widow. A month later she appears as the wife of Matthew Cradock, in a royal licence authorizing her to dwell in Wales. This concession was due to the fact that her third husband, who had been knighted in recognition of his loyal services in fitting out and manning a ship for the French

war of 1513, was a gentleman of Glamorganshire.

Between the date of his marriage with Lady Gordon, who was his second wife, and that of his death, which took place in 1531, Sir Matthew had a handsome monument, with recumbent effigies, built for himself and her, in the chapel of St. Anne, in St. Mary's Church, Swansea. From the inscription upon it, it was long believed that "Mi Ladie Katerin, his Wiffe", was interred beneath it, as well as himself. That such is not the case, however, has been established on the authority of two documents to which we owe our scant information concerning the later years of Lady Gordon. One of them testifies to her removal from Wales to Berkshire. It bears the date of 1535, and is a grant to Christopher Assheton, a Gentleman Usher of the Chamber, for thirty years after her death, of the lands held by him in right of his wife Catherine, late wife of James Strangways. The other is Lady Gordon's testament and last will, which is still preserved at Somerset House. She made it by the loving licence and gentle sufferance of her most entirely beloved husband, Christopher Assheton, of Fyfield, on the 12th of October, 1537, being then "sick of body, but of perfect and whole mind". In it she describes herself as "some tyme wife unto James Strangwis", and also as late wife unto her dear and well-beloved husband, Sir Matthew Cradock, of Cardiff, but

makes no mention of her first husband, the Pretender, Perkin Warbeck. After bequeathing her soul to Almighty Jesu her Redeemer and Maker, to His sweet mother our Lady Saint Mary, and to all the Holy Company of Heaven, and her body to be buried in the parish church of Fyfield, in such place as shall be thought necessary and meet by the discretion of her dearly-beloved husband, she provides for the distribution at her funeral, and at a requiem mass to be said a month later, of 500 pence, to "five hundred of the impotent and poorest that can be found in the county of Berks", in the hope that, through their devout prayers, it may please God to mitigate her pains, so that her soul the sooner may attain to the fruition of his Godhead. She also desires her husband and her executor to "have the oversight" of the perpetual chantry which she and James Strangways had founded in the monastery of St. Mary, "in Southwark, by London" for the daily celebration of a mass for the repose of the souls of the deceased members of their respective families.

As regards her worldly affairs, Lady Gordon's chief concern appears to have been that all her debts, as well as those of Strangways and Cradock, should be fully satisfied. Her personal effects were disposed of in very few clauses. To her sister, Alice Smith—a sister of whom the genealogists of the Gordon family make no mention—she gave "a best gown of black saye, the

sleeves lined with velvet, and a kirtle of black worsted". The remainder of her apparel was to be divided in such manner as her executor should think meet, between her cousin, Margaret Keynes, and her "diligent servant", Phillip Hulle. To her solicitor she left the white gelding, which she had received as a gift from Christopher Assheton. To her executor she willed 40s. "for his pains". And finally, she gave and bequeathed to every one of her "household yeomen servants" the sum of 6s. 8d. sterling. That the will was proved on the 5th of November, 1538, is the sole fact that we have for our guidance in approximating the date of Lady Gordon's death. It has been stated that the first Earl of Pembroke was her grandson. Such is not the fact. That nobleman's grandmother was Sir Matthew Cradock's first wife. There is no reason for doubting the accuracy of the *Scots Peerage*, which says that Lady Gordon had no children by any of her husbands.

APPENDIX A

Perkin's Letter to Lady Catherine Gordon

"Most noble lady, it is not without reason that all turn their eyes to you; that all admire, love, and obey you. For they see your twofold virtues, by which you are so much distinguished above all other mortals. Whilst on the one hand they admire your riches and immutable

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prosperity, which secure to you the nobility of your lineage and the loftiness of your rank, they are, on the other hand, struck by your rather divine than human beauty, and believe that you are not born in our days but descended from heaven.

“All look at your face, so bright and serene, that it gives splendour to the cloudy sky; all look at your eyes as brilliant as stars, which make all pain to be forgotten, and turn despair into delight; all look at your neck, which outshines pearls; all look at your fine forehead, your purple light of youth, your fair hair; in one word, at the splendid perfection of your person; and, looking at, they cannot choose but admire you; admiring, they cannot choose but love you; loving, they cannot choose but obey you.

“I shall, perhaps, be the happiest of all your admirers, and the happiest man on earth, since I have reason to hope you will think me worthy of your love. If I represent to my mind all your perfections, I am not only compelled to love, to adore, and to worship you, but love makes me your slave. Whether waking or sleeping, I cannot find rest or happiness except in your affection. All my hopes rest in you and in you alone.

“Most noble lady, my soul, look mercifully down upon me your slave, who has ever been devoted to you from the first hour he saw you. Love is not an earthly thing, it is heaven-born. Do not think it below yourself to obey love's

dictates. Not only kings, but also gods and goddesses have bent their necks beneath its yoke.

"I beseech you, most noble lady, to accept for ever one who in all things will cheerfully do your will as long as his days shall last. Farewell, my soul and my consolation. You, the brightest ornament of Scotland, farewell, farewell."

APPENDIX B

Lady Catherine Gordon's Will

Extracted from the Principal Registry of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice.

In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

IN DEI NOMINE, AMEN, the xij day of October in the yere of our Lord Godd Mⁱ V^c XXX one.

I, Lady KATHERIN GORDON, wife vnto Christopher Assheton of Fyfelde, in the countie of Berkes, Esquier, some tyme wife vnto James Strangwis of Fifeld afore saide, Esquier, deceased, and executrice of the testament and last will of the same James Strangwis, and allso late wife vnto my dere and wel-belouyd husband Sr Mathew Cradock of Cardiff in Walys, in the countie of Glamorgan and Morgan, Knight, deceased, and executrice of the testament and last

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will of the said Sr Mathew, being seke of bodie and of perfitt and hole mynde, by the loving licence and jentill sufferaunce of my saide moste entierlist belouyd husband Christopher Assheton, make my testament and last will in maner and forme following, that is to saye, First I bequeth my soule to All-mighty Jeshu, my redemar and maker, and to his swete mother our Ladye Saint Marye, and to all the hollie company of hevin, my bodie to be beried in the Parrishe Church of Fifeld aforesaide, in suche place as shalbe thought necessarie and mete by the discretion of my saide derely belouyd husband. And further, I will that my saide husbände in whom is my speciall truste, that he will give, att my burying and monethes mynde, vnto five houndreth people of the Impotent and porest that can be founde in the saide county of Berks, five houndreth pense, thorow whose devote praiers it may please God to mytigate my paines, that my soule the soner may atteign to the fruicon of his godhedde. And further, I will and most specially desire of my saide welbelouyd husband for the time, performance and full executing of the testaments and last willes of my foresaide late husbändes Sr Mathew Cradock, Knight, and James Strangwis, Esquier, and that the dettes of them and every of them, the rather may be performed, satisfied and paied, that my welbelouyd in Christe and loving brother in lawe, Richard Smyth to be my executor of this my present testament and laste will. And that

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my said executor, as my speciall trust is in hym, lewie, receve, and gather, by accion, sute, or other wise, all suche money and somes of money dew or hereafter to be dewe quyte my saide late husbands or any of them. And with the same money so by hym levied and gatherid to pay or cause to be paied to every person and persones all dettes and dewties to them and every of them dew or to be dew by my saide late husbandes Sr Mathew Cradock and James Strangwys, or euery of them, or by me, the said Ladye Katherin Gordon, vntill the full some so by hym levied and gatherid be vnto them fully satisfied, content and paied. To whome I give for his paynes taking in the behalf, as my trusty, belouyd executor, xl s sterling. Allso I give and bequeth to my cosyn Margaret Keynes such of my apparell as shalbe thought mete for her by the discretion of my husband and my saide executor. Allso I give and bequeth to my trusty and welbelouyd frende, Robert Woodless, sollicitour, in all my matters, actions, and sewtes, as well in England as in Wales, my white gelding whiche I hadd of the gifte of my welbelouyd husband Christofer Assheton. Allso I give and bequethe to Phillip Hules, my diligent syr vunte such of my apparell as shalbe thought mete for her by the discretion of my said executor. Allso I give and bequethe to every of my howsholde yomen syrvuntes, over and above their wages, vjs viij d st. Allso I give vnto Thomas Smythe, my syr vunte, all my interest

and terme yett to come in my landes callid Lan[]nok in the countie of Glamorgan and Morgan. And where as I in my life and my said husband James Strangwys, in the Monasterye of Saunte Mary Overe inn Sowtherke, by London, founded, constituted, and ordeynd in the same monasterye a perpetuall chaunterye, with one preest therein, dayly to syng masse for the soules of my father the Erle of Huntley and Gordon and my Lady and mother his wyfe, my soules, my saide husbandes sowle, James Strangwys his father and mother and all christien soulles, I desier my saide husband and my executor to have the over sight of the same Chaunterye, so that all masses and other oraysyons may be song and saide according to the very true fundacion thereof. Allso I give to my sister Alice Smyth a best gowne of black saye, the sleves lyned with velvet, and a kertle of blacke worstede. Thes being wittnes of this my last will and testament: my saide husband CHRISTOFER ASSHETON — — PHILIPP HULLS — — WILLM PIGOTT — — and ELENE RAFF.

Proved 5th November, 1538.

The Fenyait Freir of Tungland

In the picturesque village of Tongland, some two miles to the north of the town of Kirkcudbright, a single small and low arch, apparently the north door of a transept, is all that remains of the Abbey which Fergus, Lord of Galloway, founded in the later years of the twelfth century, and in which he established a colony of White Canons, from Cockersand in Lancashire. In their home on the banks of the Dee, the disciples of St. Norbert appear to have lived an uneventful life, for the name of their house does not figure in Scottish history during the four centuries of their existence as a community. Only one of their number, and he of equivocal reputation, has left a faint trace in the records and the literature of his day.

In the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, under date of March the eleventh, 1503-4, it is entered that the sum of fourteen shillings was given "to Gareoch, pursuivant, to pass to Tungland, for the abbacy to French Master John". On the next day there is a further entry which, by suggesting as it does, that he had dealings with a money-lender, throws a shade of suspicion on the character of the man

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—John Damian by name—whose appointment to be their head Gareoch had been sent to notify to the monks of Tongland. It is to the effect that, by command of James IV, the Treasurer paid twenty-five pounds to Bardus Altovite, Lombard, in settlement of a debt owed him by the “French medicinar” whom it had pleased the King to raise to the dignity of Abbot. The seven pounds that were given to Master John himself a few days later may be looked upon as having been intended to defray the expenses which his journey and his instalment would entail.

On the very day that John Damian received this royal viaticum Master William Dunbar celebrated his first mass in presence of the King, whose bounty to the newly-ordained priest amounted to seven French crowns, equivalent to four pounds eighteen shillings Scots. The poet, who had wedded himself to the Church very much against his own inclination, and

“Lyk to ane man that with a gaist wes marrit”,

was very keenly alive to the material advantages which his connection with it might bring; and his minor poems show with what varied and persistent ingenuity he appealed to the King for promotion to some benefice. The preferment of a foreigner to an office, such as that which he himself coveted, and of which he felt himself so admirably suited to enjoy the sweets, roused Master William's indignation. When

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occasion occurred, a few years later, he gave vent to it in a ballad entitled "The Fenyeit Freir of Tungland"; and, before accepting as absolutely authentic all the details which the poem contains concerning the career of one who certainly does seem to have been an adventurer, it is well to give their due weight to the circumstances in which the disappointed petitioner composed it.

According to Dunbar, Damian was a "Turk of Tartary" who had come "through the boundis of Barbary, and lay full long forloppin" (vagabonding) in Lombardy, in the garb of a stroller. Had it been discovered that he was a Mohammedan he would have had to face the alternatives of embracing Christianity or of becoming a slave. He avoided both by murdering a monk and assuming his habit. Being able to read and write, he succeeded for a time in passing himself off as a "religious man". When his imposture was detected he fled to France, where he took to himself the character of a leech, with such direful results to those who submitted to his treatment that "he left neither sick nor sair unslain", so long as he remained in the country. This soon necessitated a further flight, which this time brought the adventurer to Scotland. There, according to the obviously prejudiced poet, his incompetence was equally harmful:—

"In pottingry he wrocht grit pyne,
He mordreist mony in medecyne. . .
In leichecraft he was homicyd."

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Moreover, he was so exorbitant in his charges that one night's attendance cost a horse—a sumptuous present in those days, and in addition, “the hurt man's hyde”—an enigmatic phrase, of which the grim meaning may be that the corpses of the unfortunate patients whom he killed were claimed by Damian, possibly for anatomical purposes.

To the many accusations which are brought against the foreign “medicinar”, and of which those are but a few samples, it may be replied that if Damian had really been the unscrupulous quack of Dunbar's description, he would not have been tolerated by James IV, of whom Lindsay of Pitscottie tells us that “he was weill learned in the airt of medicine and was ane singular guid chirurgiane”.

On his arrival in Edinburgh, in the early days of January, 1501-2, “Maister Johne, leich”, received fourteen shillings “to fee him ane hors” that he might go on to Stirling, where James IV was staying at the time, and sixteen shillings “to red his hors meit”. His presence at the Scottish Court is at once marked by his appearance in the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer. As early as the 16th of February there are entries which show that he was provided with a gown of damask lined with budge, a fur which is variously described as the dressed skin of lambs or of kids, and which was formerly used as an ornamental border for scholastic habits. Besides that, he received “ane verdeour bed”, that is to say,

a bed adorned with tapestry representing woodland scenery; and, as clothes for it, sheets of "Bertane lynnyn" and a pair of blankets. A little later, two pairs of hose of "London scarlat", and velvet "brekis" were, at the King's expense, added to his wardrobe.

An entry of special interest occurs under date of February the 28th. It sets forth that on that day Master Leonard Logey received forty-two shillings "to make the Franch leichis expens". As Logey was the King's Master of Works it may be assumed that he had at once been instructed to build the furnace and supply the plant necessary for the alchemical experiments in which James IV was interested, and to help him in carrying on which he had engaged Damian's services. That is borne out by the further information that, on March 3rd, "four Hary nobels" and four French crowns were sent to Stirling "to the leich for to multiply". What that implies is explained by John Lesley, who says of Damian that "he causit the King believe that he, by multiplying and others his inventions, would make fine gold of other metal". The special use for which "the leich" required the two pounds of saltpetre supplied him a few days later, at a cost of ten shillings, may be gathered from *The Booke of Quinte Essence*, a treatise with which mediæval alchemists were familiar, and which contains a recipe for separating gold from silver by means of a solution of vitriol and saltpetre.

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The Accounts show that considerable expense was incurred in obtaining from abroad some of the ingredients required by Damian. For instance, on the 18th of April, 1502, the large sum of thirty-one pounds four shillings was paid to Robert Barton "for certane droggis brought home by him to the French leich". Why, in October, 1503, he sent his cousin and servant to Italy to get him twelve angels may perhaps be understood from a passage in *The Booke of Quinte Essence*, where the instructions as to "how poor evangelic men may get the gracious influence of gold", mention "a good floreyne of Florence" as one of the requisites, thus seeming to indicate the superior purity of the coinage of Italy.

Damian's experiments had for their object not only the transmutation of metals, but also the production of the quintessence, an elixir which was to work wonders, "from making old men young and dying men well to killing lice". And it has been ingeniously suggested with regard to it that, as the product obtained by King James and Damian was, in all likelihood, the strongest spirits of wine, it is easy to suppose that a very little would serve to produce that elevation which might seem to bring back the spring of youth, and possibly put the King and the Abbot into a state of great "higness of glorification". It may be gathered from the Accounts that the materials required for the production of the

elixir, and the ingredients that entered into it, included quicksilver, wine, aqua vitæ or brandy, vinegar, alum, salt, and eggs.

As evidence both of Damian's versatility and of the favour which he enjoyed at Court, there are the numerous records which refer to his playing with the King "at the cartis", "at the hasard of dis", and "at the Irisch game", which is supposed to have been backgammon. He must have possessed considerable skill in the use of the primitive fire-arms of the period, for he frequently shot and won matches with his royal employer, in the hall of both Holyrood and Stirling. The stakes appear to have usually been twenty-eight shillings a side; and the entry of the amount is almost invariably followed by the information that the King "tynt" (lost) to his opponent.

Only two months before his appointment to the Abbacy of Tongland, Damian, or Franch Maister Johne, as he was still called, undertook the duties of Master of the Revels during the festivities of Twelfth Night, at Linlithgow. He arranged a morris dance for the occasion. The "dancing coats" which he provided for the six men that figured in it were of red and blue taffety. The gown of the one female performer was of the same material, and all blue. For her head-gear, which must have been of remarkable dimensions, she was allowed twenty-seven ells and three-quarters "taffety, blew, rede, and

variant", which cost what seems to be the extravagant sum of nineteen pounds, eight shillings, and sixpence.

There is nothing in the Accounts from which it can be determined whether Damian was in receipt of a fixed salary. They show that considerable sums of money were frequently paid him; but the irregular intervals between them and their varying amounts make it practically impossible to look upon them as instalments of a fixed sum. A number of them were probably free gifts, whilst others may have been loans. That he did borrow from the King is evidenced by one entry, which is not calculated to banish the suspicion that he was not over-scrupulous in money matters. It records that the sum of thirty-three pounds, six shillings and eight pence have been lent, by the King's commands, to the Abbot of Tongland, and "can nocht be gottin fra him". That King James, however, placed implicit trust in the Abbot's honesty, and entrusted him with more serious and responsible duties than that of directing the Twelfth Night revels, is a justifiable as well as an obvious deduction from the fact that he figures in the Accounts as paymaster to the gunners and workmen engaged at Stirling Castle. It was he, too, who was entrusted with the payment of three pounds, four shillings to "the man suld mak the Kingis lair in Cambuskinneith", a place of sepulture which James was not destined to occupy.

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On his appointment as Abbot of Tongland, Damian did not greatly concern himself with the duties of his position; and Dunbar satirizes the prelate who never took the trouble to say mass or matins, and who put on neither stole nor maniple, which would have interfered with him in his laboratory, where he worked so constantly that his skin was as grimy as a blacksmith's. That the Abbot was not expected to give much attention to his monks, however, is obvious from the licence that was given him, in 1508, "to pass out of the realm and remain in what place he pleases, at the study, or any other lawful occupation, without any prejudice, hurt, or skaith to his rights to the Abbacy".

In 1508 Damian's strange career was marked by an incident which is not without interest, seeing that it connects him with what is probably the first attempt at aviation ever made in Scotland. John Lesley relates how the Abbot undertook to fly with wings, and to be in France before the Ambassadors who were setting out for that country. "To that effect he caused make a pair of wings of feathers, which being fastened upon him, he flew off the castle wall of Stirling, but shortly he fell and broke his thigh bone." He was not at a loss to account for his failure, but ascribed it to the fact "that there were some hen feathers in the wings, which yearn and covet the midden and not the skies"! In Dunbar's burlesque account of the incident, Turkiland is made

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the goal of the projected flight; and the poet describes with much satisfaction how the luckless aviator slipped out of his coat of feathers:—

And in a myre, up to the een,
Amang the glaur did glyde.

Damian's credit as an alchemist does not appear to have suffered from his failure as a flying-man; and through the remaining years of James IV's reign he is as conspicuous as before in the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer. The last entry supplies the information that on the 29th of March, 1513, less than six months before the King's death, twenty pounds were given "to the Abbot of Tungland to pass to the mine in Craufurdmure". After Flodden, the name of Damian disappears from the records in which it had figured for so many years. And it is at least permissible to wonder whether he may not have been amongst those who accompanied the King and never returned from the fatal field.

The Kingis Gret Schipe

In the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland it is stated that, in October, 1511, the sum of fourteen shillings was paid "to iij Scottis trumpatis playand at the outputting of the Kingis gret schipe", and that the "taubronar", or drummer, of the Incorporation of Bakers received three shillings for his services on the same occasion. Those entries, in all probability, refer to the launching of the *Great Michael*. This assumption receives support from the fact, not hitherto noticed, that on the 16th of the month, the sum of fourteen shillings was "offerit in the Kingis chapele, because it was Sanct Mychaelis day de Monte Tumba", that is, the day on which the martial Archangel received special honour at his world-famed Norman shrine, as the leader of the embattled hosts of Heaven, and which was, therefore, eminently appropriate for the "drawing" of the mighty man-of-war which James IV had dedicated to him. As to the time it had taken to build the mediæval marvel, we have only Lindsay of Pitscottie's vague indication that "it was year and day", before it was complete. There is, however, good reason for assuming that the work of construction was in active progress as early as 1506. It was carried on under the supervision of the French shipwright Jacques Terrel,

in a dock of "the New Haven lately constructed by the King on the seashore between the Chapel of St. Nicholas, in the north part of the town of Leith, and the lands of Wardie".

In his graphic description of "the greatest ship, and of most strength, that ever sailed in England or France", Pitscottie states that she "was of so great stature, and took so much timber that, except Falkland, she wasted all the woods in Fife, which was oakwood, by (besides) all timber that was gotten out of Norway". The entries in the Accounts are not only more specific, but they also extend the range. They indicate the extensive felling of trees in the woods of Cawdor, Logan, and Cambusnethan, as well as in the forest of Darnaway, in Elginshire. We know, from other sources, that Robert Barton made frequent voyages to the Norman ports for the purpose of procuring timber; and, in a letter to Louis XII, James conveys special thanks to his ally for allowing the more abundant resources of his kingdom to be drawn upon. From the Accounts we get information as to the importation of boards, pitch, tar, and brass ship blocks from Denmark; and of cables, rigging, and canvas from France and Flanders; they tell us, too, that the great ship's two anchors were bought in Spain, and cost ninety-three pounds, fifteen shillings; and they detail the expenses of a journey to Middlesburgh, undertaken for the purpose of procuring compasses and night-glasses.

It is Pitscottie again who tells us that the *Great Michael* was "twelve score foot of length, and thirty-six foot within the sides". He adds that she was "ten foot thick in the wall", so that the big ship must have been fifty-six feet in width at the water-line. Anticipating that he may be suspected of exaggeration, the old chronicler adduces very quaint evidence to convince the sceptical as to the accuracy of his measurements. "If any man believe that this description of the ship be not of verity as we have written, let him pass to the gate of Tillibardin, and there, afore the same, he will see the length and breadth of her, planted with hawthorn by the wright that helped to make her."

With regard to the remarkable thickness of the oaken sides, evidence more likely to be convincing to the modern mind may be deduced from an entry which records that nineteen "dakir" of hides, that is to say, one hundred and ninety, were "put in the gret schip when scho salit, to keip hir fra fireing". As the editor of the Accounts has pointed out, "this implies that the muzzles of the guns did not project beyond the outer lines of the port-holes, and that, therefore, there was a risk of the woodwork being singed when they were discharged. To obviate this, the sides of the port-holes were lined with leather. No doubt the cannon were not very long, but even allowing for this, the walls must have been of considerable thickness." If, in addition to that,

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there be taken into account the very primitive nature of the ordnance then in use, there will appear to be nothing absolutely incredible in the story that, when his ship passed to the sea, "the King gart shoot a cannon at her, to essay her if she was wight," and that "it deared her not, and did her little skaith".

After the *Great Michael* had left the stocks, her complete fitting out still required a considerable amount of work, of which evidence may be discovered in the Accounts. It may be learnt from them that some four months later, "certane treis to the gret schipe" had to be sent for from Culross; and as a runner was dispatched for them, it seems probable that there had suddenly arisen special need for them. And about the same time there is recorded the arrival of "ane Englishman at brocht the mast of England to the King at his command". In the course of the same month there occurs the first mention of any accident in connection with the ship. Lindesay, a tailor, receiving two French crowns, that is, twenty-eight shillings, "because the caball stok hurt his leg at the gret schipe", and fourteen shillings being paid as compensation "to ane werkman of the schipe at hurt his leg thairat".

Such work as required to be done in dock lasted till the 18th of February. This may be gathered from the entry which records that, on that day payment of twenty-eight shillings was made "to the men at rowit out the gret schipe". That

further progress to mid-channel appears to have been considered of sufficient importance to be marked by a special celebration. It is indicated by the hire of "botismen with thair botis to bring candill and necessities to the Maister Cuik for the Kingis supper in the gret schipe". Now that she lay off Newhaven, James's frequent visits to her required him to take boat; and it is worthy of notice that he does not seem to have thought of providing himself with anything in the shape of a royal barge for his own use. He was content to avail himself of the services of the watermen who plied on the Forth, or of foreigners—Frenchmen, Flemings, and Spaniards—whose boats happened to be available. The usual fare amounted to the very considerable sum of fourteen shillings for the single and twenty-eight shillings for the double journey.

On the 25th of March the *Great Michael* proceeded farther up the Forth, to the docks which then existed at the Pollerth, or Pool of Airth, some eight miles below Stirling. As a preliminary, a pilot, Johnson of Ferre, had been sent on "to seik the depis and passages". To tow the huge ship seven boats were required, whilst two others were employed for some purpose which it is not easy to understand from the mention that their duty was "to pas to the schipe twa tidis to speid hir away". Whilst at the Pollerth she was visited not only by the King, who frequently came up from Queensferry, Bo'ness, or the Water of

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Carron, but also by the Queen, in whose honour, when she supped on board on the 3rd of August, 1512, there was given a special entertainment, at which "Gilleam, tabernare, and his marrowis" were engaged to play.

We may assume that, on such an occasion as the visit of the Sovereign and his Consort, the *Great Michael* did not fail to fly her "mayor standert". It was an elaborate display of bunting, embroidery, and fringe. The materials alone cost seventy-two pounds, seven shillings and sixpence. Confused as is the list of them, we may gather from it that they went to make up the royal arms, for they include "for the lion ane steik (piece) reid", and "for the unicorn ane steikit quhit". There are also twenty-two ells of cloth for St. Andrew's Cross, and an ell of green, presumably for the thistle. We may form some notion of the great size of the flag from the fact that it required no less than thirty-three ells of lining.

Before the end of March, 1513, the *Great Michael* had returned to Newhaven, for on the 26th twelve workmen received three shillings and fourpence each for five days' work, which consisted first, in "takand the stanys fra hir forschip" so that she might get into dock, and next, in "red-dand hir dok", a process which required four loads of heather, probably for "blazing", several barrels of tar which was applied with "moppatis", and four barrels of tallow.

As regards the armament of the King's ship,

Pitscottie, on the authority of "Sir Andrew Wood, who was quartermaster of her, and Robert Bartyne, who was master shipper", says that "she bare many canons, six on every side, with two great bassils, two behind in her dock, and one before, with three hundred shot of small artillery". The bassil here mentioned was a very large piece of ordnance, called "basilic" in French, which fired shot weighing one hundred and sixty pounds. Pitscottie adds that the *Great Michael* "had six score of gunners" and "a thousand men of war, by (besides) her captains, shippers, and quartermasters". His further statement that "she had three hundred mariners to sail her" agrees with the extant list of her crew. It contains two hundred and ninety-two names, not including those of the cooks, but comprising those of the three chaplains, of whom one was the Prior of St. Andrews, and also that of the inevitable "taubronar". The skipper got seven pounds a month, whilst the seamen's wages averaged thirty-five shillings.

In July, 1513, whilst on land preparation was being made for the expedition that was destined to end in the disaster of Flodden, the *Great Michael* was taking in provisions as "sche lay behind the Inche". Before the end of the month she sailed for France at the head of a squadron, which included the *Margaret* and the *James*, two ships but little inferior to herself. The command of the fleet was given to James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, who, instead of carrying out the instructions

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which he had received, and of which the object was to bring help to Louis XII, took it on himself to attack Carrickfergus, which he pillaged and burnt. After this unjustifiable outrage, he returned to Ayr, "as if he had been a mighty conqueror", according to Buchanan. In great anger at such flagrant disobedience, James gave orders that Arran should appear before him and answer for his conduct, and at the same time appointed the Earl of Angus as leader of the expedition, with the experienced seaman Andrew Wood under him as commander of the fleet. Before they could reach the West Coast, Arran, who had received timely notice of the King's displeasure, set sail for Brittany, which, by reason of adverse winds and storms, he did not reach till after a long and difficult voyage. As to the fate of "the Kingis gret schipe" after this inauspicious maiden voyage, all that we know with certainty is that, after Flodden, on the second day of April, 1514, she was sold to Louis XII for the sum of forty thousand francs, to be paid in yearly instalments of ten thousand francs. That was but a paltry sum for the ship "which was counted to the King to be thirty thousand pounds of expenses". There is no record of her having been of any use to her new possessor. Buchanan, who as a child may very possibly have heard of the *Great Michael*, and who in later years had opportunities of learning the truth about her, states that she had her tackle taken out and was laid up to rot in Brest harbour.

Scottish Artillery at Flodden

On Wednesday, August 17, 1513, after many weeks of strenuous and elaborate preparation, the imposing army that James IV had called together for the invasion of England began its march towards the south. Under the military system that obtained in mediæval Scotland, the levies summoned for active service were bound to supply their own equipments and provisions. The King's direct contribution to the national armament consequently consisted of the artillery alone, of which the sole expense fell upon him.

For the fateful expedition, from which neither the advice of his Council nor warnings deemed supernatural could dissuade him, James had spared neither labour nor money; and stories still popularly current testify to the wonder that was aroused by the number and the strength of the ordnance that he brought into the field. Whilst modern criticism has shown good reason for suspecting Lindsay of Pitscottie of exaggeration when he estimates at a hundred thousand the fighting-men that assembled on the Burghmuir in obedience to the royal proclamation, the irrecusable testimony of the Lord High Treasurer's detailed account

places it beyond doubt that less than one-third of the thirty large guns and thirty field-pieces mentioned by the same historian constituted the still very considerable park of artillery that accompanied the army of invasion. In actual fact it comprised seventeen pieces. Five of them are set down as "canonis". Two are called "gros culveringis", and four others "culveringis pykmoyance". The remaining six are styled "culveringis moyane".

This authentic enumeration proves the inaccuracy of another of Pitcottie's statements, and dispels what, on his authority, has become almost a national tradition. He makes special mention of "seven cannons which were called 'The Seven Sisters', casten by Robert Borthwick, the master-gunner". Resemblance to each other may reasonably be assumed as an explanation of the name given to those seven pieces. But the list does not include any set of that number, and unless we are prepared to follow Tytler's example and to reduce the 'Sisters' to six, so as to justify us in identifying them with the six "culveringis moyane", we must give up the picturesque tradition altogether.

The artillery does not appear to have joined the main army on the Burghmuir; neither did all the seventeen pieces leave the Castle on the same day. On the seventeenth of August the five cannons were "put on gait", but their first stage, when they started on the road, was only

a short one. It took them no farther than the Nether Bow, in St. Mary's Wynd. They were drawn by men, amongst whom the sum of fourteen shillings was distributed as "drinksilver". At St. Mary's Wynd they remained all night, watched by twelve men, who received one shilling each in payment of their vigil.

Next day the real march began. It was opened by a gun that must have been somewhat smaller than the other four, seeing that the team of thirty-two oxen by which it was drawn, and which was supplied by the Captain of the Castle, was smaller by four oxen than any of the others. And whereas these had nine drivers, or one driver to every four oxen, it had only eight. Each gun was provided with two stout ropes "to keep hir at upwith and dounewith", that is to say, to supply additional haulage to help it uphill and brake power to check its course downhill. It was accompanied by a body of twenty workmen, of whom ten carried shovels, five pickaxes, and five spades. For each of the first four guns the cost of transport from Edinburgh to Flodden averaged thirty-six pounds, with only the difference of a few shillings between them.

From one of the entries for the 19th of August, we learn that on that day "thar was put furth of the Castell twa gros culveringis and four culvering pykmoyance and drawin with men to the Nether Port of Sanct Mary Wynd", that the men got thirty shillings in drinksilver, and that the

sum of five shillings was paid to ten others "that wolk (watched) thir gunnys and kept thair geir that nycht". To estimate the size and weight of the two larger pieces we have the statement that one of them required a team of thirty-six oxen, which were supplied by the King, and managed by nine drivers; whilst, with their eight drivers, thirty-two oxen, which the laird of Dalhousie's man received fourteen shillings in drink-silver for bringing to Edinburgh, sufficed for the other. Each of them was accompanied by a squad of twenty pioneers, and the further details of the equipment, as well as the rate of pay, were the same as in the case of the guns that had been sent on two days earlier.

The transport of the four "culvering pykmoyance", of which we know that they had previously served as naval guns, was a matter of less difficulty. The team harnessed to each of them, as well as to each of the six remaining pieces, consisted of only eight oxen and one horse, for which, in the usual proportion, two drivers sufficed. The horses were bought for the occasion at prices ranging from three pounds, eight shillings, to four pounds, two shillings. The number of pioneers was reduced to six for each piece.

It is possible that two entries in the Accounts, the first of a rope weighing sixteen and a half stone, "to be fore towis to all the gunnys and soumes", and the other of four score "fore oxen",

are to be taken together, and imply that, in some places, sections, if not the whole seventeen pieces, of the cumbrous train were linked together, and received the additional help of the haulage supplied by the eighty oxen.

The "gun stanis" were mostly carried in creels by twenty-eight horses, but there is evidence that at least one cart was also used for the purpose. The powder was conveyed in carts, which numbered eleven, and of which some at least do not appear to have taken more than four barrels as a load. A twelfth had originally been intended for the same service, but had been taken possession of by the "comptrollar" and loaded with bread. Barker, the head smith, had six "cariage hors" for iron, coals, and his "werklumys" or tools; and two carts with spades, shovels, picks, and mattocks were furnished by the "burneledaris" of Edinburgh, of whom it has been suggested that they were "probably persons who dug the ditches and drains or sank the wells in connection with the primitive water supply of the town". As a further and suggestive accessory, there is "ane cran drawin with viij oxin and ane hors". It may very possibly have been brought into requisition at Dalkeith, where we learn of an accident to "ane oxe that ane cannon ran our and brake his neck", and where such damage was done that a local smith, who got five shillings for his work, had to be called in to mend "twa greit boltis, four slyngis, and yokegeir". It cost thirty-two

shillings to replace the "slayne ox gevin to the werkmen to ete".

Robert Borthwick, "gunnar, maister meltare of the Kingis gunnis", with twenty-six men to "wyrk at his command", and "to bere his chargeouris", was in charge of the artillery whilst on the march. But, unfortunately for the success of the expedition, he does not appear to have been allowed to act on his own responsibility when in action. There is no record of the rate at which the fifty miles between Edinburgh and the Border were covered. Some of the pieces at least, presumably the heaviest that started from St. Mary's Wynd on the 18th of the month, must have been at Norham when the siege of the stronghold began on the twenty-third. That would imply daily stages of about ten miles each. The impulsive and impatient monarch travelled much faster, and the halt which he seems to have made on the banks of the Till may perhaps be accounted for by the necessity of waiting for his ordnance before beginning offensive operations.

On the fateful ninth of September, the obstinacy of James deliberately threw away the advantage which his artillery might have secured for him. The incident is related by Pitscottie: "The master gunner came in presence of the King, and fell on his knees, desiring at the King's grace that he might shoot his artillery at the English host where they were coming over the bridge of Till, for he promised and took in hand he should cut

the bridge at their over-coming, that the King should have no displeasure at the one half, while the other should be devoured, for he stiled (trained) his artillery for the bridge, and they came thereon. The King answered to Robert Borthwick, his gunner, like a man that had been reft of his wit, saying to him: 'I shall hang thee, quarter thee, and draw thee if thou shoot one shot this day. I am determined that I will have them all before me on a plain field, and see then what they can do all before me.' "

A little later in the afternoon, however, whether with or without the King's consent, the artillery did come into action. The English chronicler, Halle, describes the brief duel: "Then oute brast the ordinance on bothe sydes, with fyre, flamme, and hydeous noyse, and the master-gonner of the Englishe parte slew the master-gonner of Scotlande, and bet all hys men from their ordinannce, so that the Scottishe ordinannce dyd no harme to the Englishemen, but the Englishemen's artyllerie shotte into the myddes of the Kynges battayll, and slewe many persones".

Neither in the course of the battle nor during the night that followed it did the English make any attempt to secure the Scottish guns; and Pit-scottie asserts that Lord Hume, who, like them, remained on the field, might have rescued them and brought them with him if he had pleased. Next day, however, the victorious army took possession of the prize, and "had it away to Berwick".

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In the French report of the "Battle of Brankston", drawn up by Surrey, there is a list of the seventeen pieces lost by the Scotch King. From this document we learn that the four "culverings pykmoyance" of the Lord Treasurer's Accounts had formerly belonged to the ship called *Roze Gallée*. The French name by which they are designated—"sacre"—was given to pieces weighing about two thousand eight hundred and fifty pounds, and throwing a five-pound shot. The six "culvering moyance" are styled "serpentes", and it is added that they were longer and larger than any in the possession of the King of England. Surrey does not grudge his praise of the guns that had cost so much and had done so little. He describes them as the brightest, the neatest, the best shaped, and, for their size and length, the handsomest he has ever seen, and he notes as a special feature of excellence the smallness of their touch-hole.

The Atonement of a Traitor

On that memorable day in 1482, when, at the Bridge of Lauder, James III's insurgent nobles wreaked vengeance on "his secret servants or cubiculars", the only one of the obnoxious courtiers that escaped hanging was a young man called John Ramsay. According to Pitscottie's account, he "for refuge lap on the horse behind the King", whose intercession on his behalf so far prevailed with the murderers that they let the youth have his life. This single survivor of the grim tragedy was the son of John Ramsay of Corstoun, himself descended from the house of Carnock, in Fife.

There is no evidence to show on what footing Ramsay stood at Court prior to the summary disposal of Cochrane and his fellow-favourites; and the mere fact that the executioners did not insist on his paying the same penalty would seem to imply that royal patronage had not been extended to him in such measure as to arouse special jealousy and animosity on their part. But it was to become obvious before long that the danger he had run had won for him the favour of his rescuer. In 1483 the King bestowed on

him the lands, barony, and lordship of Bothwell, together with 40 marks of land of the barony of Monipennie. From the terms of the grant it appears that he already held office in the royal household. In addition to that he was connected with the Exchequer. From 1484 onwards, his name frequently figures either amongst those of the Auditors of the Accounts, or as a Commissioner for letting the Crown lands. On the occasion of his marriage with Isobel, widow of Thomas Cant of Dumbarton, he received a grant of the mill of Strathmiglo, in Fife, and a nineteen years' lease of the two Kinkells, in Strathearn. In 1486 he was appointed Keeper of Dunbar Castle, and twelve months later, when James found himself obliged to face a coalition of the rebellious nobles, Lord Bothwell was one of the ambassadors whom he sent to England to solicit the help of Henry VII.

Ramsay does not appear to have returned home at the conclusion of the negotiations in which he had taken part. He was in England in April, 1488, and, at Easter, received £13, 6s. 8d. from Henry VII by way of reward. As to the nature of his service, however, there is, unfortunately, no indication. As there is documentary proof of his presence at the English Court on the 1st of November, it may reasonably be assumed that he was not at Sauchieburn when James encountered his rebellious subjects on that fatal field.

After the tragic death of James III and the accession of his wayward son, doom of forfeiture was pronounced against Ramsay. His lordship of Bothwell was united to that of Crichton and bestowed as an earldom on Patrick Lord Hailes. For eight years after his forfeiture he lived in England, where he continued to be called Lord Bothwell. His presence is attested by documents which prove that, during the whole of the time he was in receipt of a yearly "fee", which amounted at first to fifty marks, but was subsequently raised to a hundred. From what is known of the parsimonious disposition of Henry VII, it may very safely be inferred that he did not bestow this annuity on the exiled Scotsman out of pure sympathy with him. As to the services by which it was earned, however, there is no direct information, and the sole document on which a conjecture may be based is of such a nature as to justify a very grave suspicion that in his resentment against those by whom he had been reduced to poverty and driven into exile, Ramsay did not hesitate to play the part of a traitor. It is a remarkable instrument in the form of a bond, by which John lord Bothvile, and Sir Thomas Todde, knight of Scotland, guarantee repayment to Henry, King of England, "on this side" of Michaelmas next, of £266, 13s. 4d., lent by him to James, "earl of Boughan", and Sir Thomas, under indenture the previous day, where-by they bind themselves to deliver into the King's

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hands "the King of Scottis now reyning", and his brother, the Duke of Roos, or "at the leste" the said King of Scotland. It has been suggested that "this was probably nothing more than a device to obtain money from Henry VII, the name of Buchan, whose loyalty was already suspected, being used to give plausibility to the undertaking". That view, however, becomes hardly plausible when it is found that, for security, Sir Thomas had "laid his son and heir in pledge with the King of England", and that although, it is true, no abduction was effected, Henry VII continued his pension to Bothwell for five years longer. He was hardly the man to be deceived by so clumsy a trick as this assumption would credit Bothwell and Todd with devising, or to overlook any attempt at playing it off on him.

As to the exact date of Ramsay's return to Scotland, nothing more definite is known than that it took place at the time when James was completing his preparation for the invasion of England on behalf of Perkin Warbeck, whom there is no doubt he believed to be the Duke of York. And it was for the purpose of keeping the English King informed as to all that was being done to forward the expedition that his Scottish pensioner ventured to come north. He had no official authorization to do so, but in one of the two letters of his which have been preserved, and which stand as evidence of his treason, he states that he was allowed to remain

“under respite and assurance within the realm of Scotland, and most in the Court about the King”. Some credit is due to him for having in so far acted openly, that he did not disguise his English sympathies, but, in his own words, oftentimes solicited the King’s Highness and all the well-advised Lords of his realm, to leave the favour and support they were giving “the feigned boy”, and to stand in amity and good love and peace with King Henry. He appears also to have deluded himself into the belief that, whilst acting patriotically in endeavouring to dissuade James from an enterprise that was “against the minds of nearly the whole number of his barons and people”, by working to bring about his discomfiture if he obstinately persisted in his aggressive policy, he was assisting Providence to punish him “for the cruel consent of the murder of his father”.

In his other letter Ramsay, referring to a scheme of which Master Wyat had entrusted the devising to him, and which seems to have had for its object the kidnapping of Warbeck, states that he has been busy about it, and that my lord of Buchan, who has taken upon himself the fulfilling of it, if it be possible, “thinks best now in this long night within his tent to enterprise the matter”. It does not appear that the abduction was ever attempted; neither is there any evidence that Ramsay took any part in the futile Raid of Ellem. On the other hand, the payment

to him, by the King's command, of nine rose nobles—equal to £7, 17s. 6d.—at Norham, on the 4th of August of the following year, shows that he accompanied the host on the expedition that was undertaken after the departure of Warbeck. By that time, however, an important change had taken place in his fortunes. On the 18th of April he had been granted a remission and rehabilitation under the Great Seal. New lands were granted to him, and finally, in 1510, "for his good service, and as a mark of special favour", he was granted the lands of Balmain, Fasky, and others, and these were erected into a free barony, to be called the barony of Balmain.

During all those later years the name of John Ramsay occurs repeatedly in the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer; and there is evidence that he occupied various positions of trust and responsibility. In 1497 there is the official acknowledgment of the receipt from him, as Sheriff-Depute of Forfar, of certain sums that had been paid in to him by John Lord Glamis. In 1498, when the King made a progress in the northern parts of his kingdom, John Ramsay accompanied him as Keeper of the Privy Purse. As late as 1512 he is met with as Auditor of Accounts, and in that same year he is mentioned as one of the five Commissioners who, with a retinue of a hundred persons, and under the protection of a safe-conduct granted them by Henry VIII, proceeded to England to discuss the points at issue

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between the King of Scots and his brother-in-law. By April, 1513, he was again in Scotland and holding an important official position, for in a letter written from Stirling on the 1st of that month, by Nicholas West, Dean of Windsor, that English agent refers several times to having interviews with him on matters connected with his special mission, and to being taken to Court by him.

It is stated without further particulars that Ramsay died in 1513, and that is a fact which obviously suggests itself from the sudden disappearance of his name from all subsequent official documents. But as that name does not figure either in the lists which various historians have given of the leading men that fell at Flodden, the possibility of his having so far atoned for the perfidy of his earlier years as to die fighting for, and with, the King whom he had betrayed, does not seem to have occurred to the few who have thought him worthy of even incidental mention. Such, however, was actually the case. It is established by an entry in the Exchequer Rolls (vol. xiv, p. 482), which records that certain lands were let to William Ramsay, son of the late John Ramsay of Trarinyeane, knight, who died in the war—"qui obiit in bello". The document is nothing more imposing than a commonplace lease, but there is more real rehabilitation in it than in the official remission of 1497, though conveyed in set phrase and ratified by the Great Seal.

The Burial of James IV

It has been pointed out as "a singular and tragic conclusion to James IV's life-story that the man who, ever since his boyhood, had stood in the full light before the eyes of the world, a brilliant and noteworthy figure, should lie in a nameless and unhonoured grave". This refers to the mystery which enshrouds the recovery and disposal of the body of the ill-fated monarch who was slain at Flodden. To reopen the question in the hope of obtaining results more satisfactory than have hitherto rewarded research, would be futile. It is not without interest, however, to indicate the difficulties that beset it, and this may most effectually be done by recalling the available evidence bearing upon it, and by showing how utterly irreconcilable with each other are the statements that have been made by those who have pronounced most unhesitatingly on the subject, and who have been repeatedly appealed to as trustworthy authorities.

North of the Border there has always been a tendency to believe that, even after his death, the popular hero did not fall into the hands of the enemies who owed their victory in no small

measure to his exaggerated chivalry. What may be called the case for Scotland is that the body of the fallen King was not recovered after the battle, and that there can consequently be no question of any other fate for his remains than that which was common to those of the thousands who perished with their Sovereign and lay unrecognized on the fatal field. The witness whose importance entitles him to be cited first is Lindsay of Pitscottie. He may not have been old enough to have any personal recollections of James IV's expedition; but he wrote his history at a time when there were still many for whom the national calamity remained a fresh and vivid memory. Lindsay unhesitatingly asserts that the body identified by the English as that of the King of Scots was assuredly not his. "They found many like him", he says, "clad in his coat of armour, but no man could say surely that it was he, because the same day of the field, he caused ten to be clad in his coat of armour, among the rest, there were two of his guards, the one called Alexander Macculloch, and the other, the Squire of Cleisch, which were men of makedom both like the King; therefore, when they were dead gotten in the field, and the King's coat of armour upon them, the Englishmen believing that one of them was the King, they took one of them, whom they thought most apparently to be like the King, and cast him in a chariot, and had him away to England with them. But yet, we know surely

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they got not the King, because they had never the token of the iron belt to shew to any Scottishman."

John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, writing in the latter half of the same century, repeats the same story, with sufficient variation, however, to indicate a different authority for his statement. "On the morn", he records, "the Inglis men caused seik the body of King James, quhilk thay allegit thay gat, and carrieit it to Berwyk and fra that to Richemond. But it is holdin for truth that the same wes the body of ane other Scottis man, callit the laird of Bonehard, quha wes slane in the saide feild."

It may perhaps be questioned whether a witness mentioned by Drummond can be considered sufficiently trustworthy to be cited in support of the Scottish contention. According to the historian, it was reported that some ten years after the disastrous battle, a prisoner lying under sentence of death had undertaken, if granted his life and liberty, to show where the King, with his iron belt to identify him, had been buried. "But", adds Drummond, "this man got no audience by them that was about him, and the Duke of Albany desired not that such things should be known."

In opposition to these statements there is the account written by Halle and published in 1548, the year after his death. His story is that the King's body "was not founde tyll the nexte daye,

because all the meane people, as well Scottes as Englysh, were strypped out of their apparell as they laye at the felde"; and that "at the laste he was founde by the Lord Dacre, who knew hym well by hys pryvye tokens". This statement, it may be pointed out, is in accordance with the claim put forward by Dacre himself in a letter to the English Council. Referring to the Scots, he says that they loved him worst of any Englishman living by reason of his having found the body of the King of Scots, slain in the field.

Halle supplies the further information that, after the body of the King of Scots had been brought to Berwick, "the Earle shewed it to Sir William Scot, hys chauncellar, and Sir John Forman, his serjeante-porter, whyche knewe hym at the fyrste syghte, and made greate lamentacyon"; that then the body was "bowelled, embawmed, and cered, and secretelye—amongst other stuffe—conveyed to Newcastle"; and that finally "the Earle, after that the northe parte was set in a quietnes, returned to the Quene with the deade bodye of the Scottyshe King and broughte it to Richmonde".

The anonymous author of "Flodden Field", a poem, or more correctly a rhymed chronicle, ascribed to the sixteenth century, follows Halle so closely in his account of the finding of James's body as to suggest that he went directly to the historian for his facts. And the remark applies

in a general way to the balladists and rhymesters of the same century. But though they afford abundant evidence as to the existence of a widespread belief amongst the English that the body of James had been brought down from Flodden, they carry no special weight with them.

As to the disposal of the remains, whosoever they may have been, the letter written by Pope Leo X to Henry VIII first claims attention. Of that document, Weber, the editor of "Flodden Field", says: "Notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of Leo X, requesting Henry VIII to allow the body of James to be buried with royal honours in the Cathedral of St. Paul's, by the Bishop of London, the irritated tyrant remained inflexible." Weber has been taken on faith, and his wholly distorted statement of facts has obtained wide credence. The letter which he quotes, obviously without understanding it, is the Pope's reply to Henry's petition that the ban of excommunication under which James lay might be removed, and his remains interred in St. Paul's. Leo's words are absolutely explicit: "*Cupis Regis Corpus ad Urbem Londini deferri, et in Ecclesia Cathedrali Sancti Pauli dictae civitatis pro Regia Dignitate sepeliri posse.*" And the petition is duly granted.

The evidence of so authoritative a document might be accepted as proving that James did actually find a final resting-place in St. Paul's, if it were not for Stow's assertion that at Sheen

he was shown the King's body, wrapped in lead, lying in a waste room, amongst old timber, stone, and other rubbish. "Since the which time", he adds, "workmen there, for their foolish pleasure, hewed off his head, and Lancelot Young, master glazier to Queen Elizabeth, feelinge a sweet savour to come from thence, and seeing this same dried from all moisture, and yet the form remaining, with the hair of the head and the beard red, brought it to London, to his house in Wood Street, where for a time he kept it for its sweetness, but in the end caused the sexton of that church (St. Michael's, Wood Street) to bury it amongst other bones taken out of their charnell."

But that is not yet the end. Another antiquary steps in, in the person of John Weever, the author of *Antient Funeral Monuments*. Commenting on Stow's account, he says: "That the head of the valorous King lieth here inhumed we must believe the words of the relator . . . That his body . . . was interred amongst the Carthusians, in the priory of Shine at Richmond, I have out of an old manuscript, the testimony of a man who saw his sepulchre, the same year of his death, in the said religious house; these are his words, out of the liedger book of Whalley Abbey:—

'Anno domini, M.VC.XIII, hoc anno Iacobus Scotie rex, in borea triumphaliter ab Anglis (rege Henrico valido exercitu contra Gallos ultra mare

debellante) interemptus est. Cuius corpus quom hec scripserim (quoniam membrum ab ecclesia evulsum de hoc mundo abcesserit) huc usque in domo Cartusiensium apud Rychmund, mortalibus miserandum spectaculum inhumatum jacet.

Qui vidit testimonium perhibuit, et verum est testimonium eius.¹

If those who accepted Weever's evidence, as Tytler has done, had been at the pains of examining the quotation a little closely, they might have gathered from its drift, apart from any very scholarly knowledge of Latin, that it was not the buried, but the unburied, body that was referred to as a "piteous spectacle unto mortals". Weever made the egregious blunder of taking "inhumatum" to mean "inhumed"—its very opposite.

That no absolutely convincing conclusion can be drawn from the authorities to which we have appealed may readily be admitted. But it does not seem unwarrantable to deduce from them that a body, at first believed to be that of James, was found on the battle-field and sent up to London; that Henry VIII intended to bury it in St. Paul's with all the honour due to royalty, and, with a view to doing so, had applied to

¹ Anno Domini 1513. In this year James, King of Scotland, was defeated and slain, in the north, by the English (whilst King Henry, with a powerful army, was waging war overseas against the French). By reason of his having departed this world as a member cut off from the church, his body, whilst I am writing this, is even yet lying unburied, a piteous spectacle unto mortals, in the house of the Carthusians, at Richmond.

He who saw bore testimony, and his testimony is true.

the Pope to remove the ban of excommunication under which the King of Scots lay at the time of his death; that, in the face of the open incredulity and direct denial of the Scots, the evidence of identity had not been thought sufficient; and that, in consequence, the projected obsequies had been abandoned.

Even if we reject Stow's story of the wanton decapitation of the corpse as "improbable", as a recent biographer of James IV has done, we can hardly entertain a doubt that the body which had been sent from Scotland was allowed to remain unburied for an indefinite period. For such profanation of the remains of the dead, at the hands, too, of a religious community, it is difficult to find a satisfactory or even a plausible reason. Can it have been sheer English hatred of the Scots?

Early Coal-Mining in Scotland

From the nature of the earliest known references to the existence of coal in Scotland, it is obvious that the documents in which they occur are of far later date than the first use of the mineral as fuel. At the same time, however, the imperfection of the machinery available in those distant days justifies the belief that it was worked only in the easiest levels and in very limited quantities, whilst the lack of adequate means of transport supplies equally good reason for assuming that the districts in which it was utilized as a substitute for peats and wood, were few in number and limited in extent.

The first coal-works of which any record has been preserved were situated in the Lothians, between the burn of Whytrig, on the east, and the bounds of the lands of Pinkie and Inveresk, on the west. They were made over to the monks of Newbattle by Seyer de Quinci, whose grant was confirmed by William the Lion. The charter in which the gift is set forth, consequently stands as evidence of the existence of a coal-mine in the first years of the 13th century, and assigns

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to the Abbot of Newbattle the interesting position of the earliest of known Scottish coal-owners. Some sixty years later, in 1265, indication of a coal industry is afforded by an entry in the Exchequer Rolls. It is to the effect that five chal-ders of sea coal were delivered at Berwick, for heating the castle, and that these cost 15s., inclusive of carriage. Twenty years later, by a charter dated January, 1284-5, James the Stewart of Scotland, son of Alexander, granted to William de Prestun, the lands of Tranent, with various privileges "in moors and marshes, in peat-tries and coal mines".

A clearer and more precise indication of the actual working of coal, at this period, occurs in another charter, but a few years less ancient. In 1291, William de Oberwill, lord of Pettincrieff, granted it to the Abbot and monks of Dunfermline. It authorized them to dig for coal on any part of his estate, excepting the arable land. No restriction was imposed as to the number of works they might successively open; but it was made a condition of the concession, that the coal they acquired was to be for their use alone, and that they should not "presume to sell it to others". Nor is this the only evidence that, in those closing years of the 13th century, the coal industry had already developed to a considerable extent. In 1294, the Brethren of the Gild, in Berwick, drew up certain regulations for the sale of coal entering the harbour.

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Under penalty of a cask of wine, no one was to purchase such coal otherwise than on board the ship that brought it. A time was also fixed for unloading the cargo. No part of it was to be brought ashore before sunrise; but from then until sunset, "the portorage was to be carried on without cessation".

From the entries contained in the Exchequer Rolls, the price of coal at the beginning of the 14th century may be calculated. The results, however, are not wholly satisfactory, for they show variations which it is not easy to account for. In 1326, for instance, the Treasurer paid 21s. 4d. for 16 chalders of coals used by Patrick, the smith. This brings the cost down to 1s. 4d. the chalder. Two years later, he entered 22s. for 7 chalders, 9 bolls, thus raising the cost to a fraction above 2s. 10d. per chalder. On the other hand, the sum of 26s. 8d. which he disbursed for 20 chalders of coal, supplied for the use of Parliament, in 1331, brings down the price again to the original 1s. 4d., without making any allowance for carriage, which is, however, included in the entry. On the whole, the data seem to justify the assumption that the average price of coal at this period was not above 1s. 6d. the chalder of 16 bolls.

In the reign of James I, that is between 1394 and 1437, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who afterwards became Pope under the name of Pius II, visited Scotland. Amongst his experiences and

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impressions of the country, as set forth by him in his *De Europa*, he related that he had seen poor people who, almost in a state of nakedness, begged at the church door, and departed with joy in their faces on receiving stones as alms. And, by way of explanation, for the benefit of those who, being unacquainted with coal, might reasonably suspect him of romancing, he added that "this stone, by reason either of some sulphurous or some fatter matter which it contained, was burnt instead of wood, of which the country was destitute". The legislation of the same period throws no special light on the coal industry. It consists of a single ordinance, to the effect that all goods, including coals, should be sold by water weight, and that the aldermen and bailies should appoint "a lele man" sworn to supervise the due measuring. From the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, it may be gathered that, in the year 1498, the working of coal was still in an elementary stage. James IV had established strongholds at the head of Loch Kilbrane and at Tarbert. Being anxious to supply them with fuel other than wood, of which the district was practically destitute, he gave instructions for "a cole man to pas in Kintyr, to vesy gif colys might be wonnyn there". The prospector, probably the first of whom there is any record, was "Davisone, colyer, in Dunbertane", and he received the sum of 18s. "to mak werkklumys (tools) and to pas to Kintyr".

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In the early years of the 16th century, the coal industry had already assumed a position of some importance, and was being carried on more systematically than formerly, with the help of such engineering knowledge as was available. This appears from the fact that, on the 5th of February, 1531, James, Abbot of Newbattle, entered into a contract with the monks of Dunfermline, and in consideration of 360 marks, undertook to make such arrangements as would allow the water from their conterminous collieries, at Inveresk and Pinkie, to pass through his own coal-works to the sea. It is during the course of this century that the Scottish chroniclers begin to record the existence and the use of coal. Referring to Æneas Sylvius's earlier notice of the mineral, John Major explains that, when the Italian traveller spoke of the Scots as using "black stones for fuel, in an iron cradle", he meant "coal or sulphureous earth". His contemporary, Hector Boece, whilst also mentioning coal, does so in such a manner as to leave it doubtful whether his acquaintance with it was familiar and extensive. In his account of Argyle and its "many rich mines, full of metal", he refers to its being said, that "in this cuntre is ane stane of sic nature, that it kendlis cauld stra, or hardis (rags) in fire, quhen it is involvit thairwith". The suggestion of doubt discernible in this passage is, however, absent in the same writer's notice of the Fife-

shire coalfields: "In Fife", he says, "ar won blak stanis, quhilk hes so intollerable heit, quhen they are kendellit, that thay resolve and meltis irne, and ar thairfore richt proffitable for operation of smithis. This kind of blak stanis are won in no part of Albion, bot allanerlie betwix Tay and Tyne." When Bishop Leslie wrote about the same county, half a century later, the productiveness of its mines appears to have been widely known. "The province of Fife", he says, "supplies an abundance of stone coals, as fuel for fire, not only for its own use, but likewise for that of all beyond Tay, in which districts (excepting Sutherland alone, and that only within our own days) these coals are not to be found."

Running parallel with the accounts of the native chroniclers, there are those of the travellers from foreign countries whose explorations extended to Scotland. One of these, Nicander Nucius, who probably visited it in 1545, states, in his description of it, that "the stone used for fire and black, is found in most places". Jean de Beaugué, who accompanied André de Montalembert, sieur d'Essé, the leader of the French forces sent to the assistance of the Scots by Henri II in 1548, refers to Leith as possessing "convenient quarries of coal". And Estienne Perlin, a French ecclesiastic who wrote a *Description of the Kingdoms of England and of Scotland*, a work which was published in 1558, but for which he gathered the materials during the last two years of Edward VI,

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reports of the inhabitants of the northern country that they "do not warm themselves with wood, but with coals".

That coal had by this time become a source of considerable revenue is indicated by the fact that, in James V's time, the coal-heughs of Wallyfurd and Preston, which belonged to the Crown, were worth 1100 merks yearly. Shortly after this, however, the supply appears to have surpassed the demand, for the price was reduced to such an extent that coal had become the common ballast of empty ships. Thus, we find the Magistrates of Wismar, in Germany, appealing for the restoration of a ship that had been abandoned by the absconding skipper, and requesting that, if the original cargo had already been disposed of, the vessel might be allowed to return with a load of coal. Before long, however, the Scottish Government began to view with concern the reckless and unrestricted exportation of so important an article. In 1566, Parliament passed an Act to the effect that no one should take forth coal in any vessel whatsoever, under the pain of "tinsall and confiscation" of the ship, the coals, and all the goods that the owner of the coal might have on board. As much as was needful for fire during the time of the voyage might be shipped. In subsequent years this Act was appealed to and enforced when dearth of other fuel made itself felt.

Systematic prospecting for coal does not appear to have been carried on during the 16th century.

The discovery of any seams other than those lying near the surface was largely a matter of chance, and the accidental result of operations of which the original object was the acquisition of precious metals. Thus, in 1565, an Act of the Privy Council gave the Stewarts of Tarlair licence to use and occupy any coal-heughs that they might happen to find "in the outseeking of mynes". The conditions annexed to the grant were that no works should be opened within ten miles of any of the Queen's dwelling-places, and that, as in the case of other mines, she should receive "the tenth penny free". Twenty years later, in an Act of Parliament primarily intended to encourage the working of mines for gold, leave was given to Eustachius Rogh, medicinar, to use any coal he might chance upon in the course of his operations.

By the beginning of the 17th century coal-mining had become one of the recognized industries of the country, and, as such, had begun to attract the attention of engineers and inventors. What is probably the earliest patent in connection with it was granted in 1606, to Thomas Tulloch, in Inveresk. In his application to the Privy Council, Tulloch set forth that he had employed the greater part of his youth in "uncouth nations, in searching and learning the knowledge for making and practising of engines and works for the commodious and easy transporting of coals from the 'colpotis' to the sea and the salt pans".

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Having now attained a "sure knowledge thereof", he was desirous of giving his own countrymen the benefit of an invention that would diminish their expenses by a quarter. But, in consideration of the labour and money that it would cost him to perfect and set up his "ingyne", he humbly desired that he might have an Act securing his property therein. His reasonable petition having been considered by the Lords, they granted him the sole power to use his invention during his lifetime, provided it were "ane work and ingyne nocht knawin in this kingdome at na tyme of before".

The engineering triumph of the period, however, was achieved by Sir George Bruce, whose coal-pit at Culross was, not undeservedly, considered to be one of the wonders of Scotland. It was visited by Taylor, the Water Poet, in the course of his "pennyless pilgrimage", a "moneyless perambulation" which he undertook in 1618. He was so much impressed by the magnitude of the undertaking that he declared it surpassed anything he had ever seen in his travels, read of in books, or heard of in conversation. That his admiration was not exaggerated may be gathered from the description which he gives of this mining marvel. The mine, he says, had two ways into it, the one by sea and the other by land; but a man might go into it by land, and return the same way, if he pleased; or he might enter it by sea, and by sea might come forth of it again.

Taylor himself, "for variety's sake", went in by sea and out by land. Anticipating an incredulous query from the reader as to how a mine could have an entrance in the sea and not be flooded by it, he explains the manner in which the pit had been constructed. At low water, when a great part of the beach was laid bare by the receding tide, Sir George had built "a round, circular frame of stone, very thick, strong, and joined together with glutinous and bituminous matter", and had raised it to such a height that the sea "at the highest flood, or the greatest rage of storm or tempest, could neither dissolve the stones so well compacted in the building, or yet overflow into it". Within this circular enclosure men were set to work, and, after digging down for forty feet into and through a rock, they "at last found what they expected, which was sea coal". Following the vein of the mine, they gradually excavated their way, "so that in the space of eight and twenty, or nine and twenty years", they had "dugged more than an English mile under the sea".

For his description of the interior of the mine, Taylor has recourse to both prose and verse. After stating that it was "most artificially" cut like an arch or vault, through all its great length, that it had many nooks and byways, and that it was so made that a man might walk upright, in most places, he gives his further experiences and impressions of it in rhyme:—

"I was in (would I could describe it well),
 A darke, light, pleasant, profitable hell;
 And as by water I was wafted in,
 I thought that I in Charon's boat had bin.
 And being at the entrance landed thus,
 Three men did then (instead of Cerberus)
 Convey me in, in each one hand a light,
 To guide us in that vault of endlesse night.
 There young and old, with glim'ring candles burning,
 Digge, delve, and labour, turning and returning,
 Some in a hole, with baskets and with baggs,
 Resembling furies, or infernall haggis;
 There one like Tantall feeding, and there one
 Like Sisyphus he rouses the restlesse stone;
 Yet all I saw was pleasure mixed with profit,
 Which proved it to be no tormenting Tophet:
 For in this honest, worthy, harmlesse hell,
 There ne'er did any damnèd devill dwell;
 And th' owner of it gaines by 't more true glory
 Than Rome doth by fantasticke Purgatory.
 A long mile thus I past, doune, doune, steepe, steepe,
 In deepness far more deep than Neptune's deepe,
 Whilst o'er my head (in fourfold stories hie)
 Was earth and sea, and ayre and sun, and skye."

The interest and value of Taylor's account of the Culross mine is enhanced by the description which he gives of the ingenious contrivance devised by Sir George Bruce for the purpose of draining it of the water which penetrated into it in some parts: "The sea at certaine places doth leake, or soake into the mine, which, by the industry of Sir George Bruce, is all conveyed to one well neere the land, where he hath a device like a horse-mill, that with three horses and a

great chaine of iron, going downeward many fadomes, with thirty-six buckets fastened to the chaine; of which eightene goe downe still to be filled; and eightene ascend up to be emptied, which doe emptie themselves (without any man's labour) into a trough that conveyes the water into the sea againe; by which means he saves his mine, which otherwise would be destroyed with the sea; besides he doth make every weeke ninety or a hundred tunnes of salt, which doth serve most part of Scotland; some he sends into England, and very much into Germany."

According to a local tradition, when King James returned to Scotland, in 1617, he visited Culross, and desired to be shown through the famous mine. Sir George took him into it at the shore end. It was high water at the time, so that, when His Majesty reached the wharf at the other extremity, he found himself surrounded by the sea on every side. The strangeness of the situation at once suggested to him suspicions of murder or abduction; and, believing himself to be the victim of a plot, he raised a cry of "Treason!" Nor did he get the better of his groundless fears till Sir George, pointing to a pinnacle that lay ready at hand, invited him to step into it and allow himself to be rowed ashore.

On the 30th of March, 1625, the day before the news of the King's death reached Scotland, the Culross coal-heugh was flooded and destroyed during the great storm which was long remem-

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bered as that of the "Borrowing Days", and of which Calderwood records that "it was taken by all men to be the forerunner of some great alteration". The works were never reconstructed, and it is stated by the historian of Culross that the stones of the ruined wharf were disposed of and carried away to build the pier of Leith.

In the various accounts of Scotland published by travellers who visited it in the course of the sixty or seventy years subsequent to Taylor's peregrination, the collieries of the country are generally mentioned. In most cases, however, the information conveyed is limited to the indication of certain localities where coal was being worked. In this respect the official report by Thomas Tucker, upon the settlement of the Revenues of Excise and Customs, is particularly valuable. He mentions Kennet, a village in Clackmannanshire, as having "a very good greate coal", and refers in the same way to Alloa and Kincardine, to Culross, and to Valleyfield adjoining it. He also enumerates thirteen other coast towns with a population consisting mainly of "colliers and such like people", and describes them curtly as being, with the single exception of that which is honoured by serving as "a seate for the Muses", "pitifull small". The list includes Aberdour, Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, Dysart, Wemyss, Elie, St. Monance, Pittenweem, Anstruther, Crail, St. Andrews, and Southferry, now known as Newport. The French traveller Jorevin de Rocheford

states that "in the environs of Glasgow are several pits, from which they dig very good coal"; and Sir William Brereton reports that it is plentiful about Kirkintilloch. He adds the interesting information that, at the Forth collieries, it is sold at 3*s.* or 3*s.* 6*d.* the chaldron. In the absence of any specification as to weight or distance there is but scant enlightenment to be derived from his further statement, "carriage 2*s.* 8*d.*"

In the early years of the 17th century the question of the exportation of coal assumed special importance. The prohibitive Act passed in 1563, and ratified in 1579, was still in force, but means had been found to evade it. The coal-laden ships that sailed from Scotland were all ostensibly bound for England, with which, since the Union of the Crowns, trade intercourse had been encouraged. But, when once they were out at sea, beyond the control of the Scottish authorities, their course was altered, and the cargoes found their way to continental ports. This illegal practice attracted the attention of the King, and induced him to interfere, professedly at least, on behalf of the poor, whose "utter undoing" he forecasted as the result of the "fraude and dissait" that deprived them of "so necessarie a commoditie". In truth, there was but little ground for such fears. Many years were yet to elapse before the lower classes reached the point at which they would be affected by either the abundance or the scarcity of mineral fuel. As much later as the year 1689 Thomas Morer, when

referring to the pit-coal of Scotland, which he described as "so bituminous and pitchy" that it burnt "like a candle", and was "both pleasant and useful", stated that the consumption of it was confined to the "gentry and boroughs", and that the common people still made shift with "peat and turf, cut and dried in the summer". It may therefore be assumed that James, who was always on the look-out for means to improve the commercial position of his kingdom, had not the interests of his poorer subjects mainly in view when, in January, 1609, he instructed his Privy Council to enforce the existing Act, and "prohibite and discharge all transporting of sea coill quhatsomevir to ony pairtis beyond sea, in ony schip or boit, forder then may serve for thair furnissing and provisioun in that present voyage". In addition to this, and with a view to preventing traders from continuing the system of evasion which they had devised, the Council was directed to require all exporters of coal to give a bond, which could only be redeemed on the ship's return, by the production of a certificate vouching for the discharge of the cargo in some English port.

The owners of the coal-heughs on the Water of Forth felt aggrieved by the restrictions which the royal will and pleasure had imposed on them. Seven of them presented to the Privy Council a petition, in which they craved "a mitigation and relaxatioun of the said restreant". They alleged—and the Councillors, in their report to the King,

admitted the truth of the statement—that the water coal-heughs had been made and were being worked at considerable expense; that some of them had already cost the owners above 50,000 marks; and that, whilst the poorest of them entailed a weekly outlay of 300 marks “for the intertenying of thair watter ingyngis”, others, such as those of Airth, Alloa, Carridin, and Sauchie, required twice that amount for their upkeep. They maintained that it was impossible for them to meet such heavy demands otherwise than by the profits accruing to them from exportation. To depend on the home market alone was, they asserted, altogether impracticable, seeing that the whole consumption the country was able to make would not defray the half of their ordinary wages, and that a single one of the seven heughs could do more than supply all the towns and parts of the kingdom that were accustomed to the use of sea-coal.

The petitioners further represented that, if the restrictions as to exportation were persisted in, there would certainly be a cessation of labour, which, in its turn, would inevitably lead to the destruction of the heughs, as these could not be neglected for even three nights together without being flooded. Nor would the result of such a catastrophe merely be the undoing and wrecking of the owners, of whom some had devoted their whole estate to the undertaking. In addition to that, the country would not only be deprived of

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coal for its own use, but would also sacrifice "the great deal of treasure" which was yearly brought in by the exportation of it. Finally, the coal masters declared that they already had "such a huge store of coals upon their hills" as the country could not possibly consume; and this was confirmed by two commissioners who had been appointed to look into the matter, and who reported that "some of them had above 10,000 marks worth of coals" on hand.

In the circumstances the Privy Council hesitated to take action before receiving further definite instructions, and consequently submitted the case to the King himself. James appears to have proceeded leisurely in the matter, for it was not till 1614 that he forwarded further directions. They were to the effect that the masters and owners of the coal-heughs and some of the justices of the peace, together with representatives of such burghs as were most directly interested, namely, Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and St. Andrews, should appear before the Privy Council to discuss the question at issue, and to give His Majesty information on three distinct points in connection with it. As regards at least one, if not, indeed, two of them, it is difficult to believe that his ignorance was not assumed. They were:—

Firstly, Whether there were any Acts of Parliament, or other statutes, forbidding the exportation of coal to foreign countries;

Secondly, Whether the country had ever

complained of such exportation, or given expression to any fear of scarcity of fuel because of it;

Thirdly, Whether the exportation of great quantities of coal, taken in places nearest to the sea and furthest from the heart of the country, would be prejudicial to the country or not; and whether the country had sufficient to provide for its own needs and to supply other countries plentifully as well.

As a first step, which does not, however, appear to have been a very direct one, towards carrying out the King's injunctions, the Privy Council appointed a sub-commission to view all the collieries upon the Water of Forth, and to determine "which of them might be entertained and upholden by the land sale, and which of them could not be entertained and upholden without a foreign dispatch and sale of their coal, in respect of the great charges and expenses which the entertaining and upholding of them must necessarily require".

In the month of August of the following year the members of the sub-commission reported that they had visited and inspected the collieries of Bonhard, Cariddin, Airth, Alloa, Sauchy, Kincardine, Culross, Torrie, and Crummy, and had satisfied themselves that none of them was in a position to subsist without exportation. This did not supply a direct answer to any one of the King's three questions, but it was presumably accepted as sufficiently convincing proof of the futility of

attempting to carry out the investigation on the lines which they indicated. Such, at least, appears to have been the view that was taken; for, with this, the whole incident came to a close, and if, from that time forward, exportation was not actually sanctioned, there is evidence to show that it went on with as little real restraint as before. The only restrictive law still enforced provided that no coal should be sent abroad until the needs of the country had been adequately supplied. In 1672, however, even that limitation was removed. At the same time a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent was imposed on coal exported on Scotch or English bottoms, and of twice that amount on such as was taken out by foreign vessels.

It was chiefly with Holland that the Scottish coal trade was carried on; and there was keen competition amongst several towns of the United Provinces to obtain the privilege of a monopoly. The magistrates of Veere, which was for many years the seat of the Scottish Staple, offered to grant various privileges in return for an undertaking that, for sixty years, no coal should be shipped to any of the other Dutch ports. The Scottish owners were quite willing that it should be included amongst the staple wares, but stipulated that the merchants of Veere should send for it, and that they should pay a fixed price for the first five years of the agreement. But a committee of the Royal Burghs interfered with these arrangements by declaring that coal was not, and

never had been, a staple commodity. From the profitable trade thus thrown open to all, Rotterdam appears to have long derived most benefit. The Act of 1572 gave further impetus to that trade. In earlier days the cargoes of ships plying between Scotland and the Netherlands had consisted almost exclusively of staple goods. These now formed but a small part of the shipments. Coal had become more important than all the others together.

If, on the one hand, the coal industry of Scotland tended to increase the commercial importance of the country, on the other it was directly the means of reducing those that were actively engaged in it, as workers, to a state of slavery and bondage. In the year 1606 the Scottish Parliament passed an Act, by which it was ordained that no one should engage colliers or coal-bearers without a formal testimonial from the master whom these had last served, or, failing such a document, without a sufficient attestation of some reasonable cause for their removal. And this attestation was to be made in presence of a bailie, or of a magistrate for the district from which the workers came. In the event of an engagement being concluded in contravention of this statute, the late employer was entitled to claim back his servants within a year and a day. Refusal to comply with his demand rendered the new master liable in damages to the amount of a hundred pounds for each person, and for each time delivery of the defaulter

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was denied; whilst those who had illegally disposed of their services were to be reputed as thieves and punished in their bodies. To counteract the shortage of labour that such an enactment was calculated to produce, power and commission was given to all owners of coal-heughs to apprehend all vagabonds and sturdy beggars, and to put them to labour.

Iniquitous as was this law, it was not only ratified, but also extended and aggravated by a new Act in 1641. This measure had a threefold object in view. In the first place, because the "watermen", who worked the pumps at the head of the coal-heughs, and the "gaitesmen", who were employed at the ways and passages within them, were considered to be as necessary to the coal-masters as were the hewers and bearers, they were put on the same footing of servitude. In addition to this, experience having shown that "the giving of great fees had been a means and a way to seduce and bring coal-hewers from their masters", it was made unlawful to give any greater fee than 20 marks, "under any colour or pretext". Furthermore, to prevent drunkenness and debauchery, in which coal-workers were alleged to indulge at Easter, Christmas, Whitsunday, and certain other times in the year, "to the great offence of God and prejudice of their master", it was ordained that they should work six days in the week throughout the whole twelve months. This was enforced by a fine of 20s. for every idle

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day, "by and attour the prejudice sustained by their master and other punishment of their bodies".

It had become customary "to flit and enter", that is to say, to terminate an engagement, when the employer allowed it, and to enter upon another, on the 25th of December. But this had been found to occasion observance of Christmas day; consequently, in 1647, it was enacted that the term day for coal-hewers should be transferred to the first of the month. In 1661, however, the oppressive law was relaxed to the extent of tolerating a holiday at Christmas time. Eleven years later the legislature brought in an Act "for establishing correction-houses for idle beggars and vagabonds". Besides containing a clause that ratified the authorization already granted to coal-masters with regard to the apprehension and employment of vagrants, it gave them "the same power of correcting them as the masters of the correction-houses". But, by a prior provision of the same enactment, those officials were empowered, in cases of disobedience, "to use all manner of severitie and correction, by wheeping and otherwayes, excepting torture".

Even yet the measure of the oppression and degradation of the unfortunate creatures who laboured in whole families, men, women, and children, in the collieries was not full. When, in 1701, the Government introduced the famous "Act for preventing wrongous Imprisonment and

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against undue Delays in Tryals"—the Habeas Corpus of Scotland as it has been called—the King was made to set forth in the preamble that he considered it to be the interests of all his good subjects that the liberty of their persons should be duly secured, and to declare that the imprisonment of persons without expressing the reasons thereof, and delaying to put them on trial, was contrary to law; but, in the body of the statute itself, there was inserted a clause providing that its benefit should in no way be extended to colliers.

The laws that made outcasts of a whole section of the working class of Scotland remained in force for three-quarters of a century longer. At length the British Parliament awoke to consciousness of the fact that "by the Statute Law of Scotland, as explained by the Judges of the Courts of Law there, many colliers and coal-bearers were in a state of Slavery and Bondage, bound to the collieries where they worked for life, transferable with the collieries, when their original masters had no further use for them", and an Act for their relief was passed in the fifteenth year of the reign of George III. After July 1st, 1775, no person who began to work as a collier in Scotland was to be bound in any other way than other servants were. Persons under 21 years of age, employed as colliers, were to become free after seven years' further service. The same period of additional

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service was required of all bound colliers above 35 and under 45; but it was extended to a term of ten years in the case of those above 21 and under 35. Both classes might be called upon by their masters to find and instruct apprentices; and if they failed to do so properly their bondage was to last three years longer than the time specified. Bound colliers above 45 years of age were to be free after three years. Incidentally, the statute explained what the Acts which it amended did not make clear, that it was after working for the space of one year that colliers became bound to the colliery for life. Colliers claiming their liberty by virtue of the new Act were to obtain a decree of the Sheriff Court. Persons guilty of combining unlawfully "to leave off working, in order to distress or injure the proprietor, or in order to compel him to increase their wages", were to be punished by being made to serve two years beyond the time when they would have been entitled to their freedom. When colliers obtained their release all their family was to share their emancipation; and all who secured their liberty thereby became entitled to the benefit of the Act of Scotland "for preventing wrongous imprisonment".

The new law was effective in emancipating future generations of coal workers from the thralldom which, for more than a century and a half, had been the inevitable condition of their calling; but, a radical defect practically robbed it of its

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efficacy in respect of those actually engaged in the labour of the mines. Instead of working automatically, it required the intervention of the Sheriff Court to set it in motion. But that involved formalities which many of the class concerned were too ignorant to understand, too helpless to fulfil, and too poor to pay the cost of, even if the masters' designing practice, of lending them sums far beyond what they were able to refund, had not deprived them of the free disposal of their scanty earnings. In consequence of this, after the passing of the statute, as before it, the only liberation that the greater number of the colliery hands could secure was that which death brought them. In spite of this lamentable state of things, twenty-four years were still to elapse before Parliament, recognizing that "many colliers and coal-bearers still continued in a state of bondage from not having complied with the provisions, or from having become subject to the penalties" of the Act of 1775, was again moved to interfere on their behalf. This time the amendment of the law was more drastic. It was enacted that all colliers in Scotland, who still remained bound to their employers, were to be free from servitude; and that Acts relating to the fixing of wages of labourers were to extend to them also. No action was to be competent for money advanced them by the coal-owners unless this had been done for the support of their families in case of sickness; but the latter were empowered

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to detain one-twelfth of the weekly wages until the sum had been repaid without interest.

The Act that gave their freedom to the slaves of the Scottish mines was passed under George III in the year 1799.

The Old Scotch Fisheries

The writers to whom we owe the earliest descriptions of Scotland, are all in agreement as to the abundance of fish to be found both in the inland waters and in those by which the coasts were washed. "This region", wrote John of Fordun, in the second half of the 14th century, "is manifold in its wealth of fish in sea, river, and lake." And fifty years later, the statement was briefly, but emphatically confirmed by Andrew Wyntoun: "Off fysche there is habowndance". From John Major's *History of Greater Britain*, published in 1521, we get both further corroboration and fuller details, together with an explanation of the phenomenon. It is based on the crude scientific theories of the day concerning the greater depth of the northern seas, as proved by the ocean's flowing "from the north southwards", and as accounted for by "the air that has been turned into water".

After enumerating the chief rivers of Scotland—the Forth, the Tay, the Spey, the Don, and the Dee—Major adds that they all abound in salmon, trout, and pike. He also supplies some interesting information as to the price of salmon

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and herring: "In most parts of Scotland", he says, "you may buy a large fresh salmon for two duodenae, in other parts, however, for a sou; and for a liard you may carry away a hundred fresh herring." Major also states that "near the sea is great plenty of oysters, as well as crabs and lobsters". And he describes the shell-fish as being "of marvellous size".

Hector Boece fully bears out all that his contemporary has written as to the great abundance of fish in Scottish waters. According to him, the harvest of the sea was so great that it would have sufficed to sustain the whole population, if the land had refused them its fruits. And as evidence that his statement is not exaggerated, he adduces the fact that fishing fleets from France, Flanders, Zeeland, Holland, and many parts of Germany, annually visited the Northern Seas, about the time of Lent, that is, in the spring, and returned with such quantities of fish as not only sustained themselves, but also enabled them to provide for the wants of "all other countries", even as far as the Mediterranean.

To mention the many localities especially referred to by Boece as being "richt plentuous and full of fische", practically amounts to an enumeration of the chief salt and fresh water lochs, and of the more important rivers in Scotland. In Galloway, Loch Ryan and Loch Luce are "both full of oysters, herring, conger eels, mussels, and cockles, with many other fish". In Lochfyne

there is a "greater plenty of herring than in any seas of Albion". In Lochaber there are lochs and rivers "full of salmon and other fish, swimming so plenteously that the same are taken without any skill"; whilst in the Don and the Dee there is "mair fouth of salmond" than in any of the other rivers of Britain. Cockles, oysters, mussels, seals and porpoises, dolphins and whales, with great plenty of white fish, entitle the Forth to a foremost place amongst the most productive of Scottish waters.

Two circumstances in particular impress the old chronicler as no less providential than they are marvellous. One of them is, that of all kind of fish there is "sa gret plente throw all partis of our seis, that, howbeit infinit noumer of thaim were tane away on the ta day, na thing thair of sal be mist on the morow". The other is, that "ay the mair derth and penurie of vittallis is in Scotland, the fische swoumis with the mair abundance and plente".

Though lack of details can hardly be laid to his charge, Boece wishes it to be understood that his account of the country's wealth is not exhaustive, and he is ready with a good reason for not attempting to make it so. "To schaw every kind of fische", he says, "it wer bot ane faschious and vane lauboure; for the samin ar knawin to al cuntreis." And that this is no mere boast may be gathered from Pedro de Ayala, the ambassador of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain at the Court of

James IV. In the account which he gives of Scotland, he states that it was commonly known as "piscinata Scotia".

Scattered through the old writers' notices of the Scottish fisheries, there are a number of marvellous stories which would do credit to Mandeville himself, and which are not without interest, as samples of some of the popular delusions of the day. To account for the disappearance from the mouth of the Tay of the herring that had formerly abounded there, Boece records the generally accepted "truth", that when any avaricious and unhappy men fight for the fish that God sends, of His infinite goodness for the sustentation of the people, and pollute the sea with their blood, for many years after, no fish swim in that place. Nor is this the only instance of credulity with regard to a phenomenon that hardly ranks as a prodigy with the more sceptical generation of the present day. Bishop Leslie accounts in the same manner for the disappearance of herring from Lochbroom.

Far more wonderful than what may be looked upon as the superstitious explanation of an actual fact, is the account that Boece gives of a "great fish" to be found about the Orkneys. It is described as larger than any house. The "marvellous and incredible" thing about it, however, was not so much its size as its power of sleep. "This fish", records the chronicler, "when she begins to sleep, fastens her teeth fast on a crag

above the water. As soon as the mariners find her asleep they come with a strong cable in a boat; and after they have bored a great hole through her tail, they fasten her by the same. As soon as this fish is awakened she tries to leap with great force into the sea, and when she finds herself fast, she writhes herself out of her own skin and dies. Of the fat that she has, oil is made in great quantity; and of her skin, because it endures long, strong cables are made."

Any prototype that this marvellous monster may be said to have had, was probably the whale. It is less easy to identify the "uncouth and wonderful fish" that were said to haunt the Forth. They are described as having cowls hanging over their heads like monks; and it is added that their appearance always betokened mortality of men and beasts.

In his account of the horse-mussel, with which the Dee and the Don abounded, Boece embodies the popular belief as to the origin of the pearl. Early in the morning, he says, when the air is clear and temperate, these mussels open their mouths a little above the water, and most greedily swallow the dew of heaven. In proportion to the measure and quantity of the dew that they swallow, they conceive and breed the pearl. These mussels are so "doyn gleg", that is, so excessively quick, of touch and hearing that, though the sound be never so slight that is made on the bank beside them, or the stone never so

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small that is cast into the water, they "douk haistelie", and at once go to the bottom, knowing well in what estimation and price the fruit of their womb is held by all people.

Though considerable allowance must be made for Boece's credulity when he thus ventures into the realm of natural history, his accuracy is less questionable when, with the actual experience that his residence in Aberdeen may be assumed to have given him, he describes the way in which these precious horse - mussels were gathered. "First, four or five persons pass into the river together and stand in manner of a round circle in the water, to their shoulders. Each one of them has a staff in his hand that he may not slide; and then they look and search through the clear and limpid water until they see the mussels; and because they may not take them up with their hands, they 'cleek' them up with their toes, and sling them to the nearest bank."

In the earliest ages, the inhabitants of Scotland do not appear to have availed themselves of the abundance of fish that both sea and river offered them. During the Celtic period, when adoration was paid to the waters, fish was considered a forbidden food. Even after the introduction of Christianity, there were, for a time, ascetics who practised and enjoined abstinence from fish, which they considered dangerous to purity of soul. Before long, however, this prejudice ceased to be entertained, and fish became the chief article of

diet on the many fast-days imposed by the Church on the faithful. But, apart from the demand created by the ecclesiastical ordinances, there was the necessity that resulted from the scantiness of fodder during the winter months, when it was found practically impossible to keep cattle in a condition that suited them to be slaughtered for food.

The household book of James V supplies interesting information as to the extent to which fish was used in the early decades of the 16th century. In the list of the sea-fish, the herring—fresh, salt, and red—figures conspicuously. As white fish there are both fresh and dried “mulones”, a term that has been translated as “cod”, though it is impossible to overlook its suggestive resemblance to “mullet”. In addition to these, there are codlings, pollacks, whiting, ling, and “speldings”, which last may possibly be sprats. Frequent mention is also made of sand-eels, blennies or “greenbanes,” gurnards, lump-fish or “cock-paddles”, anglers or “sea-devils”, sea-cat, smelt, conger-eels, and lampreys. There appears to have been a liberal supply of flat fish, including turbot, halibut, and flounders. The sole is only occasionally referred to, as is also the “rigadia”, which may possibly be the skate or ray-fish.

Numerous entries indicate the extensive use of salmon—salted and kippered as well as fresh—and also of trout, eels, perch, and pike. The

occurrence of the last of these amongst the fresh-water fish purchased for the royal household, in 1525, is noteworthy, as disposing of "the generally received opinion that this fish was introduced in the reign of Henry VIII, in 1537", and as supporting its claim to be considered a native fish.

If the term "polupi" has been correctly interpreted as meaning "cuttle-fish", its repeated appearance would indicate a partiality for what must now seem a strange, if not repulsive article of food. It seems to us, however, far more probable that the name is but another form of Boece's "polypod", and, like it, is applied to the lobster. To judge from the frequency of the entries recording the purchase of oysters, these appear to have been considered as great a delicacy four hundred years ago as they are at the present day. According to the same evidence, there must have been a considerable consumption of mussels, cockles, whelks, razor-fish, scallops, periwinkles, and limpets, and also of crabs and shrimps. And, finally, that dishes wholly unknown, at the present day, on the tables of either rich or poor, frequently figured on that of royalty itself, may be inferred from the purchase of porpoises and seals for the larder.

Various authorities, from treatises on the art of war to returns of commissariat expenses, testify to the extraordinary quantity of fish that was used for victualling troops and provisioning castles. We know that amongst the supplies delivered

to the garrisons that Edward I quartered in the south of Scotland during the years 1299 and 1300, there were large stores of herring, which were bought by the last of 10,000, of stockfish, and of ling. In order to meet his own requirements, during this expedition, the same monarch was accompanied by some of the fishers attached to his household; and in his "Wardrobe Account" there is an entry for "four nets which were purchased for fishing in the rivers and lakes of Scotland for the King's use".

The amount of fish required in the large establishments of the nobility may be estimated from the fact that, in one year, the Breadalbane family laid in 420 salmon, 15,000 herring, and 30 dozen of "hard fish". In addition to this, the numerous religious houses created a constant demand for the same commodity; and their chartularies abound in records of the provision that was made to meet it. We learn from them that David I gave the monks of the Isle of May exclusive fishery rights around their own shores; that he conferred on the community of Holyrood the tithe of his own share of the larger fish caught along the southern shore of the Forth, from the Avon to Cockburnspath; and that he made over to the monastery of Dunfermline every seventh one of the seals caught at Kinghorn, after his own tithe had been set aside. To his successor, Malcolm IV, the same house owed the remarkable grant of "the heads of porpoises caught in the

Forth, except the tongues"; and that of Kelso of "the half of the fat of the royal fishes which might come into the Forth on either shore".

In some cases, the privileges conferred by the King did not involve the absolute surrender of his own rights. For instance, Alexander I expressly reserved them in the charter that entitled the monks of Scone to fish in the Tay, near which their house was situated. There were also restrictions as to space, for the measurement of which the stretch of water that could be fished by one net and one cobble was taken as the unit, and was itself called a "net". That explains what the chartularies mean when they record that David I gave two "nets" in the Tweed to the monks of Holyrood; that Malcolm IV granted two "nets" in the Tay and one "net" in the Forth to those of Scone; and one in the Findhorn to those of Kinloss; and that King William allowed those of Arbroath a "net" in the North Esk and another "in the Tay which was called the Stocke".

It may be presumed that where "nets" were granted, the fishing was by means of the seine. Another contrivance consisted of the "yair", which is described as "an enclosure stretching into a tideway, for the purpose of detaining the fish when the tide ebbs". The material of which it was constructed is indicated in the permit which the Earl of Lennox gave to the monks of Paisley, in 1273, authorizing them to take wood from his

forests and stone from his grounds for the repair of their fishing yairs on the Leven. The grant of yairs, like that of nets, occurs frequently in mediæval charters. Their extent was regulated by a statute of Alexander II which, by reason of its quaintness, has become famous. It was to the effect that the mid-stream should be left sufficiently wide for a well-fed swine of three years to be able to turn round in it without touching the yair with either snout or tail.

Fishing by means of stell-nets, along the shelving seashore and near the mouths of rivers, appears to have been practised at a very early date. What he calls "ane uncouth maner of fisching" is described by Boece, and is stated by him to have been, in his day, peculiar to Moray. The people, he says, made a long basket, narrow-necked and wide-mouthed, with many stakes inside. Into this the fish threw themselves and could not get forth again; and as soon as the sea ebbed they were taken dry in the creels. If, as has been thought, this refers to "the contrivance of cruives and yairs", Boece could scarcely have been so unfamiliar with it as to call it uncouth, and to assign it to one special district. As regards rod-fishing, what, so far as we know, is the earliest mention of it, occurs in 1632, when the father of Duncan Campbell in Creitgarrow became caution for his son, that he should not "put out a wand on the water of Tay".

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The primitive way in which shell-fish were caught, is described by John Major. "In Lent, and in Summer," he says, "at the winter and the summer solstice, people go in early morning from my own Gleghornie and the neighbouring parts to the shore, drag out the polypods and crabs with hooks, and return at noon with well-filled sacks. At these seasons the tide is at its lowest, and the polypods and crabs take shelter under the rocks by the sea. A hook is fastened to the end of a stick, and when the fish becomes aware of the wood or iron, it catches the same with one of its joints, thus connecting itself with the stick, which the fisherman then at once draws up."

In spite of Boece's statement as to the number of continental fishing fleets that annually visited the North Sea, there is evidence to prove that foreigners, far from being welcome or even tolerated in Scottish waters, ran the risk of being treated like pirates. It may not be true that James V, having dispatched one of his ships of war to capture some Dutch fishermen who had ventured to fish within 28 miles of the mouth of the Forth, put the offenders to death, and sent a barrellful of their heads to Holland. But, the story was told by the Town-Clerk of Edinburgh to Secretary Coke, in 1630; and it illustrates the popular feeling of the time as regards fishery rights.

The Old Scots Wine Trade

In such documents as we have concerning the mediæval trade of Scotland, wine figures at an early date and appears to have constituted one of the principal articles of importation. In the Acts of the Scots Parliament there is an "Assize of Wine according to the Constitution of King David"; and from the prices indicated by it there is reason to believe that the consumption was not inconsiderable as far back as the twelfth century. In accordance with the scale fixed by this enactment, the proportionate rates between the "lagenæ", which was presumably the gallon, and the "dolium", were to be as one penny to ten shillings, so that when the latter cost twenty shillings the former was to be sold at twopence. That wine was not a scarce commodity may be inferred from the fact that a puncheon was to be paid to the Guild of Berwick as a fine for the violation of certain rules laid down by it. And further, testimony as to the existence of a retail trade is borne by the quaint law which provided that if the wine imported into the country were to be sold in taverns, the cask was to be the King's.

And, in the instructions drawn up for the holding of the "Chalmerlan's Ayr", we find evidence that the necessity for something in the nature of a licensing court had been felt and provided for. That official was to "challenge" wine taverners as to four distinct points—selling wine without its having been tasted; selling it in measures of their own that had not been duly tested; selling it without having had the price fixed by the tasters; and mixing "corrupt wine" with wholesome wine.

In the reign of James I, the demand for wine had reached such proportions that, in order to secure an adequate supply, an Act was passed, in 1431, by which it was required that half the price of the salmon exported should be paid in Gascon wine. That there was at this time a trade in Rhine wine also, is implied in the enactment of 1436, that "na man of Scotlande by at Flemynge of the Dam, in Scotlande, any kynde of wyne under the payne of eschet thereof". The reason for this prohibition was that shipment at any port but Campvere was an infringement of the privilege which it enjoyed as the Staple, but which was not always respected by Sluys and "the Dam", from which German wines could be conveniently smuggled out and shipped to Scotland.

The special legislation called for by the wines of Bordeaux and the Charente district indicates both the wider popularity which they enjoyed

and the greater importance which they consequently acquired as an article of commerce. But, if they were more within the reach of the general public, there were other growths that found favour with those whose means allowed them to indulge in choicer brands. Evidence of this is to be found, not in the Acts of Parliament or of the Privy Council, but in the Exchequer Rolls and Household Books that have come down to us. From these we learn that after Mary of Gueldres had become Queen of Scotland she continued to favour the Burgundian wines to which she had been accustomed; and that Beaune was her favourite vintage. There are also entries referring to the purchase of Malmsey, which the traders of Genoa, Venice, and Pisa brought from Candia and Cyprus, and with which they supplied the chief ports of Western Europe; of Muscadel, the name given to several kinds of sweet and strong Italian wines; of Bastard, a Corsican wine that was taken with honey; and of Spanish wines, especially those of Alicante.

In 1482, the Legislature turned its attention to the fraudulent methods by which unscrupulous merchants sought to increase their gains. It was ordained that none of the lieges should bring "corrupt or mixed wine into the realm". If such should happen to be sent, no man was either to sell it or tap it after it had been condemned by the bailies and tasters. It was to

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be returned to the shipper. No less a penalty than that of death was attached to the infringement of this early law against adulteration. And the same punishment was to be inflicted on anyone who should be discovered mixing his wine after importation.

That the retail trade continued to increase during the next quarter of a century seems to be indicated by the Act of 1503, by which persons not dwelling in burghs were forbidden to sell wines. Thirty-two years later, under James V, a special measure was adopted, from which it is to be gathered that the importation of wine into Scotland did not yet meet the requirements of the population and still needed encouragement. Prior to that it had been forbidden to send staple goods out of the country between St. Simon and Jude's Day and Candlemas, that is, between the 28th of October and the 2nd of February. This restriction, a kind of close time which the scant resources of the country had made necessary, was removed to the extent that authorization was given "to send any kind of merchandise forth of the realm in the time foresaid in any ships that brought in salt or wine".

In 1540, under the same King, a noteworthy Act was passed by Parliament. In terms of one of its clauses, provosts and bailies, besides being appointed to fix the retail prices of wine, were constituted official merchants of it in whole-

sale quantities, and no one, whether freeman or unfreeman, was to buy from any but them unless it were directly from the importer. By another clause it was further ordained that no man was to buy wine until the King, through his officers, had bought up as much of it as it pleased him to take. And this privilege of pre-emption was to be shared by "all noblemen of the realm, such as prelates, barons, and other gentlemen". During the next sixty years this pre-emptive provision called forth numerous enactments on the part of the Privy Council. Some of them, such as those of 1564 and 1565, were merely a repetition of it, but were couched in terms that implied considerable dissatisfaction on the part of the lesser people, as well as general laxity on the part of the municipal authorities in the enforcement of an unpopular law. But, in spite of all enactments, the royal household was so "empty and desolate of wines", in 1566, that the Lords singled out two Edinburgh merchants, Richard Anderson and Robert Johnstone, and commanded them to deliver respectively, four tuns and seven and a half tuns to the Queen's butler. For these they were to receive "good and thankful payment", at the rate of "fiftie pundis, money of this realm", for each tun.

In 1569, there occurred an incident which showed how jealously the burghs guarded the monopoly conferred upon them by the Act of

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1503. As a free burgh of Regality, the Abbey of Holyroodhouse claimed and exercised the privilege of "selling of wine for serving of the lieges of the realm". The right of the Abbey to put itself on a footing of equality with Edinburgh does not appear to have been admitted by the latter, for there was at the time, "process depending before the Lords of our Sovereign's Session thereanent". But the law's delay did not suit the magistrates of the city; and three of the bailies resolved to take the matter into their own hands. Accompanied by a number of the community of their burgh, they proceeded to the Canongate, which, together with Leith and the Barony of Broughton, constituted the Regality of Holyrood, and there, in spite of remonstrances and protests, broke and cast down the "senyeis" of wine. This unjustifiable aggression on the part of his overbearing neighbours, was brought under the notice of the Regent and the Privy Council by Adam, Bishop of Orkney, who was then Commendator of the Abbey. The course adopted by the Council suggests a desire on its part to placate the masterful municipality of the capital rather than to do justice to the lesser Regality and to its claim to be independent of "any jurisdiction inferior under the Prince". It is recorded that my Lord Regent's Grace and Lords of Secret Council ordained and commanded both the said parties "to desist and cease from all attempting of anything against

others by violence or way of deed (assault) in time coming", and "to pursue all their actions, causes, and controversies by order of law and justice".

In 1576, the privilege of pre-emption was restricted to the King and the Regent; and, in the following year, even their right was limited to the purchase of one tun out of every ten imported. But even this concession did not bring about satisfactory results, for, though the importers might be willing to supply their royal customer, they objected to his dilatoriness in settling their accounts. Some of them went so far as to refuse to replenish his cellars, even though that was declared to be "ane matter sa necessar as that it could not be differrit or myslippinit", unless it were for ready money, or, if credit were to be given, at a higher rate, and "with assurance for payment thereof". This led to the passing of a new law which authorized the royal "simleir", or butler, not only to visit, taste, and uptake wines to the furnishing of His Majesty's house, upon reasonable prices, but also to break open "doors of lockfast houses and 'lumes' in whatsoever burghs and to search all ships in whatsoever havens and harbours, and use our Sovereign Lord's keys to that effect". Besides being resented by the importers and wine dealers, this arbitrary and oppressive ordinance gave offence to the town councils of the chief seaport towns, and the

Privy Council had to threaten pains and penalties before they yielded an unwilling compliance. In 1586, another equally high-handed measure was passed. It was ordered that a macer or other officer of arms should arrest all wines imported, belonging to whatsoever person, the same to remain unsold in whole or in part till so much thereof was "waillit, taistit, markeit, and intro-mettit with" by the King's "simleir", as should be thought necessary for the use of the royal household, "upoun ressonabell pryceis to be payit thairfore". As to the manner in which James fulfilled his promises of settlement, the Acts of the Privy Council also supply information. Under date of 1592, they contain an entry to the effect that Adam Anderson, burgess of Perth, should stand caution for the Provost and Bailies of the city, that they should pay to the Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh, the sum of three hundred and forty pounds, as their part of the contribution imposed upon the Burghs collectively for the thirty tuns of wine advanced by the said Magistrates of Edinburgh for furnishing the King's house in January, 1589.

If it was found difficult to supply the wants of the Sovereign, the lieges themselves were naturally even worse off than he. From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, there were published at comparatively frequent intervals a number of enactments which all had for their main object the "suppressing of dearth

of wines". With this in view, on February 1, 1551, Parliament fixed the prices of Bordeaux and Rochelle wines. They were not to exceed fifteen pounds to twenty pounds per tun, or eightpence to tenpence per pint, for the former; and twelve to sixteen pounds per tun, or sixpence to eightpence per pint, for the latter. The Act likewise forbade the mixing of old and new wine, as well as the addition of water. Nor might the newly-imported wine be hoarded or concealed. The law required it to be put up in taverns and vaults and sold at the prices fixed by the authorities. Perth was permitted to raise these by twopence per quart.

In spite of all this legislation, and in spite, too, of the "daily" importation at both the east and the west seas, it was found that, owing to the action of forestallers, prices continued to increase and that the dearth remained. To remedy this abuse the Privy Council, in 1552, caused proclamation to be made in all burghs that no wines arriving in the havens or ports of the east and northland seas should be bought at any dearer price than seventeen pounds the tun of Bordeaux wine and thirteen pounds the tun of Rochelle wine; or should be sold at any higher rate than eightpence the pint of Bordeaux and sixpence the pint of Rochelle wine. In the west sea ports the highest price at which Bordeaux wine might be bought was two pounds less per tun, but no reduction was made in respect of Rochelle wine.

Confiscation not only of all the wine which had been the subject of an illegal bargain, but of all their movable goods also, was the penalty to be inflicted on both buyers and sellers who disregarded the Act.

An explanation of the differential tariff, by which most of the enactments give the west country consumers so marked an advantage over those on the east coast, is suggested by the editor of the eleventh volume of the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer. "Perhaps", he says, "one reason why the price of wine was thus regulated, was that English pirates were in the habit of frequenting the West Coast and selling wine there at an absurdly small figure. Randolph, the English Ambassador, writes to Cecil in October, 1564, that an English pirate called White was selling wine 'better cheape' than his correspondent could drink London beer in his own house. It was probably with the view of preventing such practices that the proclamation was now made, so as to give the public no inducement to buy from the pirate rather than from the ordinary trader." But, apart from any such cause, the shorter voyage from either the Gironde or the Charente ports to the west coast of Scotland, as compared with that to the harbours on the Forth, seems sufficient to account for the difference in prices and to justify it.

An ordinance published by the Privy Council in 1562 indicates an important modification in the

Lords' views concerning the wine trade. The first cause of it was their "understanding" that the fine coined money of the realm in both gold and silver was being carried out of the country by traders generally, but more especially by those who brought home wine from Bordeaux, the Charente district, and other parts beyond the seas; and that in consequence of this exportation good money was growing scant, and the price of all kinds of victuals daily increasing by reason of this scarcity. They argued that, if the trade were restricted wines would fall in price, and the money obtained for them be bestowed upon wares within the realm, with the desirable result that the good money would remain amongst the lieges, and the cost of all kinds of commodities decrease daily. To further these objects they again fixed a tariff of charges. The fact of their bringing them down to very nearly what they had been in 1552 shows that there must have been a very considerable rise during the decade to justify complaints and to call for official interference. A drastic remedy for the dearth of money was provided by a further clause of the same Act. It obliged foreign importers of wine to spend what they had obtained for it on other merchandise within the realm, and it forbade their carrying away "any kind of money, gold or silver, coined or uncoined", under pain of confiscation. In order to secure the obviously difficult execution of this new law, searchers were appointed and instructed

to "search diligently" at every port and haven within the kingdom.

By 1566 there had been an advance to thirty-six and thirty-two pounds per tun, and to sixteen-pence and fourteenpence per pint, of Bordeaux and Charente wines respectively. In subsequent years, however, the rise was far more considerable as well as less gradual. Thus, in 1578 Bordeaux wine cost fifty pounds per tun and two shillings per pint; but the retail price had leapt to three shillings and fourpence in 1585, to double that amount ten years later, and to eight shillings per pint in 1598. In the last year of the century, however, there was a slight diminution, for at that date Sir John Carmichael obtained a commission from His Majesty against such inhabitants of the Burgh of Dumfries as sold wine at higher prices than five shillings a pint. But when almost immediately after this a tax of twenty-one pounds per tun was imposed "for the help and supply of His Highness's honourable necessities", an increase of twelve pence per pint was sanctioned. In consequence of this the price of wine at the beginning of the seventeenth century was almost exactly twelve times as much as it had been fifty years earlier.

Food Control in Olden Times

The poverty of Scotland prior to its union with England is a fact which historians, even of the most perfervidly patriotic kind, have never attempted to deny. But, whilst recognizing it, they have not to any great extent paid special attention to that which is best calculated to convey an accurate notion of the full extent of the evil, to the various measures adopted by the Government in its efforts to remedy the dearth from which the country was seldom free. In a summary review of these we may conveniently take as our starting-point the middle of the sixteenth century, from which time onwards we have the Acts of the Privy Council to supply us with the necessary materials.

On April 19, 1550, by reason of the great scarcity of provisions of all kinds and of the exorbitant prices that consequently prevailed, the Privy Council appointed a Commission which was empowered to "make prices of all manner of victuals and stuff, as well men's meat as horse meat", and to decide "what order should be had to cause the country bring in the same for the furnishing of our Sovereign Lady's lieges". At the same meeting

the Council, understanding that one of the causes of the dearth complained of was the "superfluous cheer" which was indulged in, as well amongst small as great men, and which was not only injurious to the commonwealth at large, but also harmful to individuals by rendering them "not so able in their person to exercise all good and honest acts as need were", drew up an ordinance, subsequently ratified by Parliament, and having for its object to limit the number of courses that the several classes of the community might allow themselves at their "mess". Its provisions were that no archbishop, bishop, or earl should have more than eight "dishes"; no lord, abbot, prior, or dean more than six; no baron or freeholder more than four; and no burgess, or other "substantious man, spiritual or temporal", more than three. Nor was there to be more than one kind of meat at each course. The fines to be inflicted for each infringement of these regulations varied in accordance with the rank of the offender, and were respectively fixed for the four classes enumerated at two hundred pounds, two hundred merks, one hundred pounds, and one hundred merks. And, in addition to this, there was to be a moral punishment. Transgressors of any estate, degree, or condition were to be "reputed and held as men given to their voluptuosity, and not for the weal of their person and common weal of this realm". Exemption was, however, granted in favour of certain high days and holidays, namely Christmas,

Easter, and patron days, and of special occasions, such as weddings, and banquets given officially to strangers from other realms. Beyond this last concession, hospitality was not to afford any pretext for undue indulgence. It was enacted "that no Scotsmen make banquets to any other Scotsman but in manner foresaid". And if any man of greater estate than that of burgess were entertained in a house of a burgh, it was not lawful to supply him with a greater number of courses than corresponded with the estate of his host. He might, however, make up the deficiency by drawing on his own provisions.

For the further purpose of remedying "the great and exorbitant dearth of the wild meat" of the realm, the Privy Council inserted into this same Act a special clause regulating the price of game. The list has a double interest as indicating what was considered as marketable "wild meat" in the sixteenth century, as well as the value attached to each kind. But in estimating this tariff it is important to remember that we have to do with Scots money, that is to say, with shillings equal to pence sterling, and with pence of which twelve went to the penny of the same currency. The dearest of wild birds were cranes and swans, which were to be sold "every one of them for five shillings". Next came the wild goose "of the great kind", costing two shillings. The price of "claik, quynk, and rutt", or, to give them names that will be more intelligible, of the

barnacle goose, the golden-eyed duck, and the rood goose, was fixed at eighteenpence. Then there was a drop down to eightpence for partridge, providing they were full-grown, but so long as they remained "powttis" they were sold by the dozen at twelpence. The blackcock, greyhen, and "quhawip", or curlew, were sixpenny birds. The plover and small moorfowl were set down at fivepence, and the woodcock at fourpence; whilst larks and other small birds were not thought to be worth more than fourpence a dozen. Snipe and quail were twopence "every ane of them"; and of ground game, the rabbit was rated at twelpence; and the "leprioun", which was presumably the hare, at twopence. The Act of Parliament which ratified this scale of prices added to it a tariff for poultry, namely, sixteenpence for a tame goose, twelpence for a capon, eightpence for a hen, and fourpence for a chicken.

On February 9, 1551, the Privy Council, having presumably received a report from the commission appointed in the previous April, made further efforts to check "the great and exorbitant dearth that had arisen, and that was daily rising and increasing in this realm, of all kinds of victuals and vivers". The first measure adopted aimed at preventing the exportation over the Border, and particularly to the town of Berwick, of fish, flesh, cattle, or sheep, cheese, butter, or any other provisions. In addition to this, it was enacted that none of the lieges should suffer cattle, sheep,

horses, or any other domestic animals, to come and pasture "within the ground of Scotland and bounds thereof". The importance attached to these prohibitions may be understood from the fact that they were to be enforced "under the pain of death and confiscation of all goods".

A few days later, the Council was urged to further action by the alarming condition of the poor. Understanding that the pernicious practice of "regrating" was at the root of the evil, their Lordships instructed the Provost of Edinburgh, where the scarcity of provisions was greatest, to deal summarily with those unscrupulous and grasping individuals who bought up the commodities "necessary to the sustentation of mankind", for the purpose of retailing them at largely increased prices. In October and December, 1552, the cry of dearth was again heard in the Council. Two further Acts were consequently passed, respectively forbidding the exportation of flesh and of corn. In May, 1553, it was admitted that "all manner of corn victuals had come down and were sold at reasonable prices". The improvement had not, however, extended to meat. The high prices which had ruled "in times bygone", by reason of the multitude of strangers who taxed the resources of the land, were still maintained after the departure of the aliens. To remedy an evil which had its obvious cause in the exorbitant demands of the dealers, legislation again intervened. It did so in a manner that was not lacking in vigour, for it

threatened the offenders with death and confiscation if they sold the best "grass beef" dearer than thirty shillings the whole carcass, undressed. The highest rate allowed for mutton in similar condition was six shillings. Inferior qualities of both kinds of meat were to be sold proportionately cheaper.

One of the curiosities of these dearth enactments is the ordinance of 1562. In its preamble it enunciates the general proposition that "in the spring of the year called Lentryne, all kinds of flesh debilitate, decay, and grow out of season, so that in that tyme they are no wise commodious to be eaten". Then, as to the actual condition of the country, the whole live stock is said to be "trackit, smorit, and deid", owing to the tempestuous storms of the past winter; the price of meat is stated to be so exorbitant that the like has not been seen within living memory; and great hurt is anticipated as the result. It is consequently ordained that none of the lieges, of whatever state or condition, save such as "are visited with extreme sickness", shall eat any kind of flesh meat from the publication of the enactment, on the 12th of February, to the 29th of the following March. Disobedience is to be punished with a fine of "ten pounds for the first fault, twenty pounds for the next fault, and confiscation of all movable goods for the third fault". This last penalty is also to be inflicted on all "fleshers, hostlers, cooks, taverners, or other persons who shall sell any manner of flesh to any of the lieges of this

realm", within the period included in the prohibition.

The preamble of another Act passed on the same day sets forth that, owing to the "tempest and storms of weather" of the preceding winter, "the most part of the sheep of Scotland are perished and dead, which causes the dearth thereof so to increase that the poor can not goodly abide the same"; and that "if the lambs be likewise wasted and consumed, the dearth shall not only increase, but also the sheep of the country shall so decay that few or none shall be left therein for sustaining of the lieges of this realm". By way of remedy it is decreed "that no manner of lambs be slain or eaten, by any of the lieges of this realm, for the space of three years next to come, under the pain of escheating of all the movable goods of the persons controvening this present ordinance".

The former of these two Acts established in Scotland the "political Lent" which had been devised by Cecil, and which had been in force on the other side of the Border for more than a dozen years. In England some of the consequences of the Reformation had been as unexpected as they were far-reaching. When Henry VIII abolished the papal headship of the Church and, as a sequel, suppressed the monasteries which had made themselves obnoxious to him as the strongholds of those that were most discontented with his assumption of the supreme ecclesiastical power, it is

improbable that he even remotely suspected the baneful influence which his action was destined to exercise on the fishing industry of the country. The truth, however, was not long in making itself felt. A very few years after the dissolution of the religious houses it became evident that, although Lent had not been abolished, there was a very great laxity in the observance of it. The consequent falling off in the consumption of fish became so serious that, in the beginning of the next reign, Sir William Cecil thought it incumbent on him to make official enquiry into the matter. The London fishmongers, to whom he applied for information, set forth in their replies to the questions which he addressed to them that the amount of fish then consumed fell short, "by a great quantity", of what it had formerly been, and that the number of vessels engaged in the fisheries had diminished in a very striking manner. Taking as the basis of their calculation a report made about the twentieth year of the reign of Henry VIII, they showed him that there had been since then a decrease of well over three hundred "ships and crayers". Many towns and villages once prosperous had fallen into decay, their population had gradually dwindled, and the very houses had become ruinous.

To remedy this unsatisfactory state of affairs it was resolved to impose on the nation what has been termed a political Lent. The measure was introduced in 1548, and became law after the passing of the "Act for Abstinence from Flesh". The

preamble of the bill made it clear that the object aimed at was economic rather than religious, and laid it down as a principle that "one daye or one kynde of Meate of itselfe is not more holie, more pure, or more cleane than another". It was admitted, it is true, "that due and godly abstynence is a meane to vertue and to subdue men's Bodies to their Soule and Spirite"; but from a more utilitarian point of view it was pointed out that, in existing circumstances, "Fysshers and Men using the trade of lyvinge by fysshinge in the Sea" would "the rather be sett on work" by such abstinence, and that further, "by eatinge of Fische much Flesh" would be "saved and encreased". And, for those wholly practical considerations, it was ordained that no persons of whatsoever estate, degree, or condition should, at any time after the 1st of May, 1549, willingly and wittingly eat any manner of flesh, no matter how "ordered, dressed, or used", upon any Friday or Saturday, or the Ymbringe (Ember) days, or on any day in the time commonly called Lent, nor "at any such other day as was or should be at any time commonly accepted and reputed as a fish day" within the realm of England. The penalty to be imposed on those who contravened the Act was, for the first offence, a fine of ten shillings together with ten days' imprisonment and total abstinence from flesh meat. For a second offence, both the amount of the fine and the duration of the incarceration were to be doubled; "and soe lyke payne and

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emprisonement as often as he or she afterwarde shall offende”.

That the working of Cecil's political Lent was far from satisfactory may be inferred from the bill which he introduced in 1562, “for the encrease of provision of fish by the more usual eating thereof”, and by which it was proposed to enact that “from the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel” (29th September), 1564, “every Wednesday in every week through the whole year, which heretofore hath not by the laws or customs of the realm been used and observed as a Fish day, and which shall not happen to fall in Christmas week or Easter week, shall be hereafter observed and kept as the Saturdays in every week be or ought to be”. In support of the measure Cecil adduced some interesting statistics. He estimated at 25,000 at least the inmates of the five hundred monasteries that paid tithes to the King in 1536, and he showed that at that date there were at least seventy-six more fish days than were now observed. In spite of his figures and his arguments he met with violent opposition, particularly on the part of the “puritans”, although, by way of conciliating them, he had been careful to explain that the Act was “meant politically” and not “for any superstition regarding choice of meats”. The debate lasted three days, at the end of which the voting showed a majority of 82 in favour of the bill in a House of 276. And that support had been obtained by means of a compromise which secured for the

Wednesday the special privilege of "one usual competent dish of flesh", provided "three full competent usual dishes of sea fish of sundry kinds, either fresh or salt, were served and eaten, without fraud or covin". A penalty of £3 or three months' close imprisonment was to be incurred by a breach of the law, of which the efficacy was largely discounted at the very outset by the easy terms on which a dispensation from it was to be obtained. Licences "to persons of the degree of a Lord of Parliament, or their wives", cost 26 shillings and 8 pence yearly. By a person of the degree of Knight, or Knight's wife, the dispensation could be obtained for 13 shillings and 4 pence; whilst all below that rank could purchase the same privilege for the moderate sum of 6 shillings and 8 pence. Exemption without payment was granted to the aged and to the sick, to soldiers, and to persons detained in prison for an offence other than the contravention of the Act itself. It was provided by a special clause that no licence should extend to the eating of any beef at any time of the year, nor to the eating of any veal, from the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel to the first of May.

The Act of February, 1561-2, which introduced into Scotland a political Lent similar to that which Cecil had imposed on England, was modified at various dates. Thus, in 1584, to put a stop to the "licentious eating of flesh every day", King James passed an Act prohibiting the use of it on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays.

This was ratified in 1587, with the further restrictions that "no licences were to be granted for eating flesh at those times except on a certificate from a doctor or the minister of the parish, and payment of 20 pounds; and that no licences were to pass the signet to butchers to slay and sell flesh at those times, or to cooks to prepare it, except on payment of 100 pounds". And in 1594, "in respect of the great derth and scarcitie off all kynd of flesches", the period of Lentryne was lengthened to two months, and made independent of Easter, being fixed to extend "from the first day of March inclusive to the first day of May exclusive". It was also enacted "that no lambs nor young calves within one year old be slain or eaten before Whitsunday, yearly".

After the Union of the Crowns, what may be called the English presentment of the case for a political Lent begins to appear in the Scottish Acts. In this respect the statute of 1610 is typical. It sets forth that God in His wisdom having appointed fish, as well as flesh, for the nourishment and sustentation of man, there have been very good ordinances in this, as in all other well governed commonwealths, whereby certain days, as Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, have been set apart as days of abstinence from flesh diet. Nevertheless, such is the abuse and wilful contempt of a great many of the subjects of this country, especially of the meaner sort, that, preferring their own contentment and the delicate

feeding of their bellies to the obedience of the law, and to the regard which they ought to carry to the commonwealth, they do ordinarily feed upon flesh. Now, seeing God has wonderfully enriched this country with all kinds of delicate and good fish, as well in fresh as in salt waters, making the same to be answerable in plenty and abundance, and in divers sorts and kinds, according to the several seasons of the year, for the use of man; and there being a great number of the subjects of this kingdom who follow the trade of fishing, and not only bestow their pains, labours, and travails, but also their means and substance upon that trade, it becometh, therefore, all modest and good subjects with thankful hearts to embrace God's good benefit, and to use the same for the weal and advantage of the country. For these considerations, former enactments as to abstinence from flesh meat are ratified anew; and the fines for contempt of them are raised to 100 pounds for an earl, 100 merks for a lord, and 40 pounds for a baron; whilst a gentleman or burgess is left to be dealt with "as shall be thought meet by the judge, in proportion to his income".

It is a significant commentary on all this legislation that, in 1612, an amnesty was granted to all who had violated "the Acts of Parliament made anent eating flesh in Lent and forbidden days". Such action amounted to an official recognition of what had begun to be realized in both Scotland and England, namely, that those

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who, in both countries, had once faithfully observed the law of abstinence when it was ordained by the Church for the good of their souls, strongly resented it when the State imposed it for the good of others. Some, heedless of official denials and explanations, persisted in looking upon it as a survival of "papistical superstition", and objected to it on conscientious grounds. Others, particularly those that dwelt at a distance from the sea, felt it as a grievance by reason of the greater expense which it entailed on them. All who were able secured licences, and that in itself established a class distinction which, in defiance of pains and penalties, led to every kind of evasion on the part of those of "the meaner sort", on whom King James was so severe. In such circumstances the legal fish days in Scotland and in England could not, and did not, prove otherwise than a failure.

Besides controlling the food of the country at large, the Government might be called upon to fix the dietary of smaller communities. An interesting instance of the exercise of its powers in this direction occurred in the reign of James VI. In the year 1602 the Magistrates of the City of Glasgow and the Masters of the College were at variance. The debate and altercation between them had been going on for a considerable time, and instead of showing any signs of abatement, threatened to develop into "greater acrimony and trouble, to the disquieting of the peace

of the said City and the great hindrance of the promotion of virtue and good letters within the said College". The King's Majesty having been "credibly informed" of this unedifying state of affairs, which may be taken to mean that one of the parties concerned, presumably the Municipality, had appealed to his authority, appointed a Commission, consisting of twelve members, and sitting under the chairmanship of John, Earl of Montrose, Chancellor of Scotland, to enquire into the alleged grievances or abuses, and to provide "tymous remeid".

By an Act of the Privy Council, issued on the 27th of June, the Commissioners were directed "to convene at the said City of Glasgow upon the twenty-fifth of August; there to visit the said College; to examine and consider the foundations thereof; to call for a perfect rental of the revenues mortified therto; to obtain from the Masters the last year's accounts of all their rents; and to inform themselves truly of their sufficiency for the said functions, as well in life as letters". As the sequel was to show, this last clause was that to which the greatest importance was attached; and there seems to be no rashness in assuming that the quarrel between the Town Council and the University arose from a belief or suspicion that the Masters, as they were called in those simpler days, looked more after their creature comforts than was consistent with their duty or their position.

The Royal Commission lost no time in dispatch-

ing the business with which it had been entrusted. As early as the 27th of August it had drawn up a report. That document consisted of one direct enactment, followed by a number of recommendations and suggestions. And as that one Act set forth "the allowance prescryvit be the Commissioners to the Iconomus for halding of the common table within the College of Glasgow", there is not much room for doubt as to the nature of the abuses laid to the charge of the Principal and the four Regents who, at that time, made up the staff of the College. According to the prescribed allowance the five Masters, of whom the first "mess" or table consisted, were to have "to thair disjoyne", that is to say, for breakfast, one white loaf of one pound weight, in a "sowpe", with the remains of a piece of beef or mutton left over from the day before, with their pint of ale amongst them. And, though the old Scotch pint is equal to three modern English pints, when divided amongst five persons, it did not allow much more than a glass to each of them. The dinner was to consist, in the first place, of a sufficiency of white bread, with five "choppins" of good ale—better than "the common sell ale in the town". In addition to this there was to be a dish of broth, and another of kail or skink, which latter, according to Jamieson, is "a strong soup made of cow's hams". In spite of the wording, it can hardly be wrong to look upon these as "options" rather than as successive

dishes. The official bill of fare included further, "a piece of sodden"—that is, boiled—"mutton, another of beef, salt or fresh, according to the season, a roast of veal or mutton, with a fowl or rabbit, or a pair of pigeons, or chickens, or other such like second roast, as the season allowed of". Seeing that the Professors sat down to a similar meal in the evening, or, as the Act words it, had "sic lyke to thair supper", they could not, though "rationed", reasonably complain of being underfed. In addition to this menu, of which it is a noteworthy feature that it recognized no difference between week-days and Sundays, or holy days, the Royal Commission had drawn up another suited to fish days. This meatless allowance limited the breakfast to a dish of eggs, "with bread and drink sufficient". The courses provided for dinner and for supper were a dish of kail, a dish of eggs, and three dishes of "weill grathit fish or other equivalent".

The second mess or lower table was set for the "fundat personis"—that is, for the foundationers or bursars. They were eight in number, of whom four were "at his Highness's presentation and four at the town's". Two of those poor students were required to work their education by performing, one, the duties of porter, and the other, those of pantryman. The standing of the bursars is indicated by the further fact that the principal's servant, who received a fee of twenty merks and does not appear to have

been a student, was put on the same footing as they, and had "a bursaris allowance". The dietary drawn up for those nine youths that composed the second mess was naturally less abundant and varied than that which was provided for the Masters. On ordinary days it entitled them to have for their breakfast, "three and three, one oat loaf in a sop". But a "loaf" is an indeterminate quantity, and under favour of its vagueness an unscrupulous "iconomus" might conceivably cut down, to his own profit, the students' allowance. As a safeguard against such possible abuse, it was prescribed by the Commissioners that the loaves to be provided for the bursars' table should be of such weight that eight score of them could be made out of a boll of meal. As that measure was equal to one hundred and forty pounds, each of those University loaves must consequently have weighed exactly fourteen ounces. At each of the other two daily meals the fare officially prescribed consisted of two oat loaves among four, one dish of kail or broth, one piece of beef, and one quart of ale. For "fish days", the breakfast fare was somewhat vaguely limited to "breid and drink". For dinner and supper, however, in addition to the same bread and drink as on meat days, three dishes, one of kail, one of eggs, and another of fish, were provided for by the "allowance".

A comparison of the fare at the two tables does not reveal any unjustifiable disparity in the

rationing. There was rather more variety at the Masters' mess; but their distinctive luxury consisted of the white or wheaten bread instead of the "oat loaf" with which the humbler foundationers had to be content. And they doubtless were, for the oat cake that was considered to be good enough for them was assuredly the fare to which they had been accustomed before their College days. White bread was one of the luxuries in which the wealthier classes alone indulged, and, for the most part, only occasionally. The most remarkable feature in the menus drawn up by the Earl of Montrose's Commission is not, however, to be found in what they provide as in what they omit. According to the popular notion, a poor Scottish student's natural diet is porridge; and it is, consequently, not without some surprise that we note the total absence of the homely, but wholesome, fare from the official "allowance". Milk, too, which might have been expected to figure at the "disjoyne", is conspicuous by its omission, unless, indeed, we assume it to have been one of the ingredients in the morning "sowpe"—an interpretation that hardly seems warranted by the context.

It is, further, worthy of notice that, whilst there is a sufficient, if not liberal, provision of ale in the "allowance", not so much as a single bottle of claret was set, even on the Masters' table. This is the more remarkable that wine, of which a considerable quantity was imported from France,

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had become a favourite, indeed almost a popular drink. Not very long before this date, official cognisance had actually been taken of the "grit wastrie" of it, in "tavernis, be a nowmer of common artisans and rascall multitud". This alleged abuse had called, or at any rate had served as a pretext, for a measure which may very possibly have had something to do with what looks, at first sight, like a niggardly stinting of the Professors. Good King James, who, as he himself declared, had "ever ben cairfull of the welth and weill of his subjectes, be restraining of sic thingis as ar unprofitable, and to mak thingis necessar to be in abundance", paternally took it on himself "to scare drunkardis fra the abuse of wyne", and, at the same time, to benefit his exchequer. An Act was consequently passed, ordaining that there should be uplifted, for every tun imported, 21 pounds. This sum was to be paid by the owners and importers by instalments: seven pounds within a month after the loosing of the wines; seven pounds within three months after the expiry of the said month; and the remaining seven within three months thereafter. The direct consequence of this was an immediate rise in the retailers' prices. At the time when the University Commissioners met in Glasgow, a pint of wine cost six shillings. It is by no means unlikely that this influenced their decision, and led them to exclude from the Masters' allowance what had now become an expensive luxury.

High-Days and Holidays

I. Skyre Thursday

In the *Festial*, a collection of homilies printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1493, it is stated that, "in Englysch tonge", the Thursday before Easter is called "Scher Thursday". In explanation of the term it is added that "in old fathers' days, men wold that day make shear them honest, and dodde (trim) their heads and clip their beards, and so make them honest against Easter day". In the North, a modification of the spelling turned the word into "Skyre" or "Skir", a form that continued in use until well on in the second half of the sixteenth century. At the present time even its modern equivalent, "Maundy Thursday", is unfamiliar in Scotland outside those Churches—the Catholic and the Anglican—in whose calendar it figures. That there is any knowledge of it amongst the general public is probably due to the annual paragraph chronicling the distribution on that day of the royal alms to as many poor persons as the Sovereign numbers years.

The ceremonies, of which one part — the

ablution—still figures in the ritual for Holy Week in Rome, and by which it was intended to recall the washing of the Apostles' feet by Christ and the giving unto them of the new commandment (*mandatum*) of love, are known to have been performed at the Scottish Court as early as the end of the eleventh century. In his *Life of Saint Margaret*, Turgot records that it was the custom for three hundred poor people to be introduced into the royal hall on the day of the Lord's Supper; that when they were seated round in order, and when Malcolm and the Queen had entered, the doors were closed to exclude all but a few clerics and servants; and that then, with none others to witness their work of mercy, the King, on the one side, and his saintly wife on the other, ministered to Christ in the persons of His poor, and with deep devotion, offered them meat and drink that had been especially provided for the occasion.

In later times, the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, which are extant from the year 1473, supply information, in their brief and prosaic entries, as to the manner in which the picturesque and symbolic celebration of "Skyristhursidag" was held. They tell us that, in 1474, James III spent fifteen pounds, six shillings and eight pence in providing twenty-three gowns and hoods for as many "pure folk". As he was born in 1451, the number of those on whom he bestowed this gift of clothing tallied

with his age. The meanness with which he has been charged may be responsible for the circumstance that his donation of forty-two shillings and twopence represented only the completed years of his age, and gave, not the poor but him, the benefit of the odd months. On the same occasion the Queen, who was her husband's junior by six years, bestowed similar gifts of clothing and money on seventeen of her indigent subjects. The material for gown and hood together cost thirteen shillings and fourpence; and the sum of forty shillings was charged for making the whole forty sets. Forty pairs of shoes at one shilling a pair; forty cups, costing five shillings altogether; and as many platters, amounting to six shillings and eight pence, complete the record of the royal liberality on that Skyre Thursday.

The entries that figure, year after year, in the Accounts for the reign of James IV, besides testifying to the observance of a custom that was already time-honoured in his day, indicate that the clothing, for the supply of which "James Dawson's wife, in Stirling", appears to have held a contract, had got to be looked upon as a "lurvuray", as, indeed, it was actually called. It would therefore seem that, by this time, the recipients of the royal bounty formed a class; and that the "bedesmen" of later days, though not yet mentioned under that name, really existed. From the Accounts for 1501, it may be gathered that the King's dole was raised from pence to shillings,

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and that "purses to put the said monee in" were provided, and cost a penny each. It was in that year, too, that the colour of the livery was changed from grey to blue.

The King's marriage having taken place in August, 1503, his girl-bride, the English Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry VII, played her part in the celebration and contributed her due share to the royal donations of the following Skyre Thursday. Out of compliment to the Queen's nationality, the money supplied her for distribution to the fifteen poor women, whose number represented her age, was in English pence instead of Scots shillings. That Margaret performed the ceremony of washing her bedeswomen's feet is evidenced by the entry of 23 shillings for four ells of "Holland clath quhilk was bocht for the Quene and hir almessar (almoner) in Cena Domini". And the subsequent disposal of the linen supplies a remarkable instance of thrift at the Scottish Court. We find it recorded that "syne the maister cuke maid towales for the King of it".

The "cups", "bowls", and "platters" with which, as may be read, the King's poor pensioners were supplied, were not meant for mere show or as memorials of the celebration, but were at once brought into use at the entertainment which it included. And the Household Book of James V enables us to form some notion of the liberal scale on which both food and drink were

provided. In 1526, when the King was fourteen years of age, the provisions distributed with his own hands—"per manus Domini nostri Regis"—to his fourteen guests, consisted of fourteen loaves, thirteen gallons and three quarts of beer, one hundred and forty salt herring, and eight grilse. It can hardly be supposed that each person was expected to drink close on a gallon of beer, and to eat ten salt herring, to say nothing of his share of the eight grilse, at one meal. And we may assume that a considerable part of the fare was carried away for consumption at home.

Under Queen Mary, to whom the picturesque ritual of her religion seems to have appealed very strongly, the Maundy assumed the proportions of a very elaborate function, of which the display is more obvious than the charity. Except in 1566, when Darnley took part in the ceremony, and washed the feet of thirteen poor men—representing the thirteen Apostles—the recipients of the Maundy alms were needy spinsters. Of those, twenty-five were bidden in 1567, when Mary kept her last Skyre Thursday in Holyrood. Each of them, after her feet had been washed by the Queen girded with an apron of fine cambric, received five quarters of linen and two ells of white cloth. There is no evidence either that a meal was provided, or that money was distributed, and most of the expense appears to have been incurred in procuring linen aprons for over sixty members of the household. After the

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unfortunate Queen's execution "certen clothe bought at Chartley" was found in her room at Fotheringay. It had been purchased "for her intended Mawndye" in 1586. But her stern jailer, Amyas Paulet, had, as he wrote to Walsingham, prevented the celebration.

In the early years of James VI the reforming zealots, by whom he was surrounded, extended no toleration to such a relic of the old superstition as the ceremony of Skyre Thursday must have seemed in their eyes. But in 1580, at an age that hardly suggests spontaneous action, he established a substitute for the Maundy of his predecessors in its charitable aspect. Out of deference to Presbyterian prejudice Skyre Thursday was ignored, and out of compliment to the King himself, the anniversary of his birthday was selected for the distribution of the royal alms. On June 19, the Lord High Treasurer provided "be the King's Hienes special command, to be distributit upoun certane aiget and decayit personis, to the nowmer of fourtene, according to the yeiris of his Majesteis age", as follows:—

"Item, lxxxvij elnis and ane half of blew claith to be thame gownis: price of the elne xij s, iij; inde lxxj l, xiii s, liij d.

"Item, for making of the saidis gownis, iij li, xvij s.

"Item, three elnis of lynning bukrem to the nekkis and craigis thairof; price of the elne vj s; inde xvij s."

Two years later there were added to the bounty, "sextein purssis, and in ilk purs xvj s."

From the entry in the Accounts it would seem that the distribution was made by "Maister Peter Young, Maister Elomosinare". The absence of the young King deprived the ceremony of what would have been a last shred of picturesqueness.

II. Christmas

The Bishop of Durham, writing to Burghley, in 1596, referred to Scotland in a tone of surprise not unmixed with pious indignation, as a country "where they kepe so colde Christmas, not observing so much as the solemnizacion of Christmas daie". Unless the Right Reverend correspondent was a very young member of the Episcopal College, he must have been able to recall the days when the indifference which he noted, and condemned, was not characteristic of the northern country, and when the observance of Yule was as zealous and as festive on the further as on his own side of the Border. Before the Reformation, that is to say, hardly more than a generation earlier, Christmastide was pre-eminently a season when opportunity was taken to compensate for the lack of social amusements during the course of the year. As a survival, or more correctly, a Christian adaptation of the pagan Saturnalia, the revels in which the people were allowed to indulge

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at that time, were characterized by a freedom and a boisterousness that bordered on licence. They were conducted by a mock dignitary known as the Abbot of Unreason. It was not unusual for "the wild heads of the parish", who assumed the management of the election, to select some person of note and standing in the community for the doubtful honour. If he refused to accept an office inconsistent with the dignity of his position and the gravity of his character, he was expected to purchase immunity by a suitable contribution to the roisterers. The installation of the Abbot was followed by the appointment of a score or two of attendants, who were arrayed in glaring colours and wore his badge, and whose special duty it was to guard his noble person. Forming themselves into a procession in which hobby-horses, dragons, and all kinds of grotesque monsters took part, and which was accompanied by "baudie pipers and thundring drummers", the motley band marched through the streets, exacting ransom from those whom they met or whose houses they invaded. Even the churches, as readers of Scott's *Abbot* will remember, were not free from their unwelcome visitations. Those ill-advised citizens who refused to give them money were "mocked and flouted shamefully", and sometimes carried upon a "cowlstaffe" to the nearest ditch or horse-pond, where they were summarily ducked.

It is naturally less easy to ascertain in what manner Christmas was kept by the more sober

citizen in his own family circle. That feasting marked the occasion is proved, however, by the special exemption of the holiday period from the sumptuary law concerning meals, which was passed in the middle of the sixteenth century, at a time of great scarcity and threatened famine. Burgesses and other "substantious men" were restricted by it to dinners of three dishes—that is to say, three courses—"with one kind of meat only in every dish". But it was expressly set forth that the Act was not intended to "strike upon Yule". As to the keeping of Christmas at the Scottish Court under the reigns of James IV and James V, trustworthy information may be gathered from the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer. We learn from them that, as early as the beginning of December, special messengers were sent to the great nobles and their wives to command their attendance at "the King's Yule". The occasion always brought a stress of work to those who were employed in providing the rich and costly apparel of the period. For instance, in 1488, the year of James IV's accession, the young King ordered for himself, "again Yule", two black satin doublets and one of purple satin, all three lined with broadcloth; a velvet jacket, lined with satin; two "bonnets", two hats, and a quantity of underlinen. For the next Yuletide the attire provided was more elaborate—probably because the period of mourning for the royal victim of Sauchieburn was over—and

proportionately more expensive. It consisted of a "syde" gown of crimson satin, lined with fur of the marten sable, and costing, for those materials alone, the sum of £69; of a long gown of velvet, lined with 112 "wattermayll skynnis", a fur which has so far defied identification; of a short gown of the same material, but lined with black damask; of two black satin and one crimson satin doublet, all three lined with broadcloth.

To members of the royal family and to others who had special claims upon him, the King frequently gave articles of wearing apparel as Christmas presents. Thus, in 1488, "my Lorde of Mar", his youngest brother, received a gown and a coat of green Lille cloth, another gown of the same material, but of a different colour—brown; a velvet coat, a cap, and a red waistcoat. At a later date, when the deposed Lord of the Isles was living at the Scottish Court as a dependent of James IV, the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer show that he was provided with a very extensive outfit, "to his abilyement again Yule"; and that Eris Robert, "his man", and other members of his small retinue were suitably equipped.

In addition to such gifts as these, there were the gratuities to members of the King's household, to various persons who took part in the actual celebration, and to certain pensioners. The Accounts afford some indication of the proportionate scale on which the royal bounty was extended. The

yeomen of the wine and of the ale cellars got two angels and one angel, that is, 48s. and 24s., respectively, for their "basing silver" or "bason money". On one occasion, at least, three choristers received the very considerable sum of £2, 14s. "for the singing of a ballat to the King in the morning". For their services at Yule, the clerks of the Chapel received sums ranging from £15 to £30, and the heralds £9. For their contribution to the general gaiety of the merry time, luters, pipers, cornet players, "taubroners", fiddlers, "Ersche clareschaws", or Highland harpers, were rewarded with gratuities ranging from 9s. to 18s. each. Nor was the royal liberality denied to the "gysaris", those mummers, of whose descendants, sadly fallen from their estate since the time when they were admitted to the King's hall, we still see something at another period of the year. Their songs and antics usually earned for them 36s., a sum which occurs so often that it almost looks like a fixed fee, though on one special occasion, in 1497, royal appreciation of their performance was expressed in a gratuity of nearly double that amount. A number of persons, whose special claims are not set forth, and who probably had none beyond the King's liberality, were usually given 9s. It is interesting to note that amongst these Blind Harry figured on more than one occasion. The sum of 28s. appears to have been the regular offering to the church where the King heard Mass

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on Christmas Day; and alms, averaging about 5s., were distributed amongst the "poor folk" of the town that was honoured with the royal presence at Yuletide. In this respect Linlithgow appears to have been especially favoured by James IV, and, in the early years of his reign, at least, he spent his Christmas holidays more frequently there than at Holyrood. This partiality may possibly have been due to the interest which he took in "Patrick Johnstone and the playaris of Lythgow", whose repeated appearances at the Palace testify to the popularity which they enjoyed in the preceding reign, and to whom his patronage also was given.

At both Christmas and the New Year, the first observance was attendance at Mass, to which the King went in state, preceded by the heralds, in their coats of arms. In the middle of the day there was a banquet, at which the heralds came, "with the Kynges service from the bourde, at every course", and at the close of which they cried, "the Kinges largesse, shaking their grete cuppe".

The Household Books convey some information as to the extent to which royal hospitality was taxed in entertaining the nobles who, with their several retinues, had come to Court, in obedience to the King's summons. The amount of bread provided for Yule, in 1528, is set down as 10,968 loaves; and 769 gallons of beer were placed at the butler's disposal on the same

occasion. It may be noted, as being possibly interesting to modern cooks, that some of the beer was used "pro gelaturis", which seems to mean for "jellies" of some kind. By way of accompaniment to this there were 6 stone of butter and 66 lb. of cheese, 500 eggs, and 800 apples and pears. The supply of fish included, amongst a great many other items, 840 herring, 324 "white fish", three fresh salmon, 29 fresh cod, 4300 oysters, 800 "buckies", 82 lobsters, 1 gallon of cockles, and—one porpoise!

The provisions of meat and of poultry included 51 marts, a name given to oxen fatted, killed, and salted about Martinmas, for winter use; 100 sheep, 2 large calves, 1000 ox feet, 1340 sheep's feet, 16 sucking pigs, and some 300 domestic fowls of various kinds. There was an abundance of game, too, consisting of more than 300 brace of partridge, woodcock, moorhens, duck, and plover, and 760 larks, besides various presents—of swans and peacocks, amongst others—which the etiquette of the time allowed courtiers to make to the Sovereign.

It would be misleading to suggest that such an abundance of Christmas fare was intended for consumption on one day alone. What may be called the official holidays extended from December 24 to January 6, which, as marking their close, was known as Uphaliday. During the "twa wolkis (weeks) of the tyme of Yowle" even workmen were idle, as we know from the

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deduction made in the wages of the shipwrights who, in 1494, were engaged in the "bygggen (building) of the Kyngis rowbarge that was byggyte in Dunbertane". For the more leisured classes, however, the festive season ran through the whole of the month of January, and was not considered to be well over until after the feast of Candlemas, of which the date is the 2nd of February.

The first step towards checking the licence hitherto sanctioned in connection with the celebration of Christmas was taken in 1555. In that year an Act of Parliament was passed forbidding the election of the Abbot of Unreason. Any person accepting the mock dignity was to be banished "furth of the realme", whilst those conferring it on him ran the risk of being deprived of their liberty for the space of five years. Mary Stuart was in France at the time. It may well be supposed that, when she returned to Scotland and set up that Court of which Knox rebuked the levity and the love of frivolous amusements, if the old revels were not revived in their wildest form, the Christmas season was not allowed to pass without festive observance. The correspondence of the time, notably that of Randolph, makes reference to the celebration. Moreover, in 1567, an Act was passed which, by fixing the Court of Session vacation from December 20 till January 7, may be said to have given legal sanction to the Christmas holidays. The

puritanical objection to them took definite shape in 1585, when it was enacted that the Court should have vacation at the time of sowing and shearing rather than at the date appointed "in time of superstition", for feasting and godless amusements, and that it should sit without break from November 1 to March 1. It would appear that, even in spite of this, there were still some who persisted in keeping Christmas as a festive season. In 1592, the "Act for abolishing the Acts contrair the trew religion" contained a clause which abrogated that part of the Act made by the Queen-Regent in 1551, giving special licence for the holding of Yule.

James VI was an Episcopalian and a Ritualist. After establishing a hierarchy on the Anglican model, he made a determined and persistent effort to revive the old feasts and to impose not so much their social as their religious observance on his Scottish subjects. His first move in that direction was made in 1609, and took the shape of an order "that the session should ryse the 25th day of December and not to sitt down till the eight of Januar". "This", says Calderwood, "was the first Christmasse vacance of the Session kept since the Reformation. The ministers threatened that the men who devised that noveltie for their owne advancement might receive at God's hand their reward to their overthrow for troubling the people of God with beggarlie ceremonieis long since abolished with

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Poprie. Christmasse was not so weill kept by feasting and abstinence from work in Edinburgh these threttie yeeres before, an evill exemple to the rest of the countrie”.

During the remainder of James VI's reign, the celebration of the feast days, of which Christmas was one, continued to be a constant subject of dissension between the Bishops of the new hierarchy and the Presbyterian ministers. The latter continued their uncompromising opposition in spite of the decrees of the Assembly of Perth and of the Assembly of Aberdeen, which they declared to be invalid; in spite of the royal proclamation by which, in 1618, all the lieges were required, under pains and penalties, to abstain “from all maner of husbandrie and handie labour”; and in spite of the Act of 1621, of which one of the provisions made it obligatory upon every minister to commemorate the day of the birth of Christ, and to rebuke superstitious observance and licentious profanation of that day. As a protest against this enactment, which was the ratification of the Articles of Perth, “a hundreth and sixe booth-doores or therby stooode open” during the next Christmas celebration, which, by a secret agreement amongst the Edinburgh ministers—the few who had made themselves obnoxious to the people by their subservience to James—was limited to one church. It was the notorious time-server, Patrick Galloway, who preached the single sermon; and

Calderwood remarks, with ironical humour, that he had "a rare audiorie".

The continued opposition to his royal will and pleasure drove James to adopt further and still more unpopular measures. Threatening to remove the Court of Session and all the other Courts of Justice from Edinburgh if disregard of his orders were persisted in, he issued a proclamation, in 1624, commanding the Lords of Privy Council and the inhabitants of the city of Edinburgh not only to communicate, but to communicate kneeling, on December 25, "which was never done in Edinburgh nor noe other kirk of Scotland since the Reformation". What followed was, in the spirit of the time, looked upon as the direct interposition of Heaven. The plague broke out, the session was dissolved, lords, lawyers, and writers, and many other inhabitants fled from the capital, the Christmas Communion was delayed, and King James's plans wholly frustrated by the scattering of the people. "Kings may propose", moralizes Calderwood, "but God disposes; or, as we used to say to a proverbe, 'The King bids saile, but the wind cries No!'" But that was not all. Before Christmas returned James had died, or, to use the language of the Presbyterian historian, "the Lord removed him out of the way".

Under Charles I the Christmas controversy was merged in the wider quarrel concerning the Book of Canons and the Liturgy. Now and again, however, it reappeared, as in the petition

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of the General Assembly for the abrogation of the Christmas vacation, and in the remarkable Act of 1647, requiring coal-hewers and salters to remove and enter on December 1, and not, as heretofore, at Christmas, as that gave occasion for the observance of the day; and forbidding the lieges generally to keep "the superstitious time of Yule in any manner of way". Towards the end of the seventeenth century, and at the beginning of the eighteenth, notably in its last session of 1706, Parliament adjourned over December 25. But the movement went no further, and, in spite of a certain conformity with English usage observable in the larger towns, the celebration of Christmas as a popular holiday cannot be said to have been revived in Scotland since the Reformation.

A Wrangle over Easter

Before the Reformation, Easter was kept in Scotland with all the solemnity befitting one of the great religious festivals of the year. As late as 1551, the celebration of the day received official sanction by being exempted from the restrictions imposed as to the number of courses that might be served on ordinary days at the meals of the various classes of the community. In 1592, however, this "licence for haldin of Pashe" was withdrawn in terms of a new law "for abolishing of the actis contrair the trew religion" that had been passed by preceding Parliaments.

James VI was reigning at the time, but though the enactment must have received his assent, it did not represent his views or embody his wishes on the subject. For some years after this, however, other matters claimed his attention; but at last the time came when, having established a Scottish Episcopal hierarchy on the Anglican model, he determined to introduce a corresponding ritual.

A first step in this direction was taken on March 4, 1614, when the ministers were commanded by proclamation, with sound of trumpet,

at the Cross of Edinburgh, to prepare the people for the Lord's Supper, and to minister it to them on Easter Day, April 24. The people likewise were commanded to communicate that day, each at his own parish kirk. General suspicion as to the King's intentions was not yet aroused, however, and the majority of his subjects did as they were enjoined. Having thus been allowed to encroach an inch, James was emboldened to take an ell; and the next year's ordinance made it obligatory to celebrate the Communion at Easter "in all times coming".

This time there was apparently some murmuring at the King's action in "enjoining Kirk orders by his own authority without the advice or consent of the Kirk". With a view to removing this cause of complaint, it was resolved to bring the matter before the General Assembly, which met in Aberdeen in 1616—an Assembly of which the Presbyterian estimate is quaintly indicated by Calderwood's remark that "howbeit it beganne with preaching and fasting, yitt the Holie Ghost was closed in packald of letters sent from the Court, whereby they were directed". In accordance with the instructions conveyed by His Majesty's Commissioners, the subservient Assembly decreed that the Communion should be celebrated four times a year in the burgh towns and twice in the landward parishes; that one of the times should be at Easter; and that if any failed to communicate once in the year, the

secular arm was "to stryke upon them with all severitie".

The year 1618 was marked by further developments. On January 28, the lieges were informed by public proclamation of the King's wish that there should be "a universal cessation and abstinence" throughout the whole kingdom on Christmas Day, Good Friday, Easter Day, Ascension Day, and Whit-Sunday. Several of the bishops, when conforming to this new enactment, required the people to receive the Sacrament on their knees. That they had not introduced this innovation on their own responsibility was made apparent a few months later at the Assembly of Perth, which, in the very first of its notorious Articles, prescribed "kneeling in receiving the sacramental elements of bread and wine", an ordinance which was at once ratified by the Privy Council. And to emphasize it further, James himself sent down a peremptory order to all magistrates and officials to take the Communion on the following Easter Day, in the humble and reverential attitude appointed, under pain of the loss of their respective offices.

To all these innovations the majority of the clergy offered a strenuous opposition. There were four noteworthy exceptions in Edinburgh, however, where Patrick Galloway, William Struthers, Thomas Sydserfe, and Andrew Ramsay, made themselves obnoxious by their ready compliance with the King's wishes. For this they

were called to account at a meeting of the "honest citizens"; but their misbehaviour and frivolous answers only aggravated the quarrel. When, in spite of the widespread discontent, they announced their intention of celebrating the Communion in conformity with the Act of Perth, the elders and deacons refused to serve at the tables. It was then deemed advisable to make some show of concession by making it optional to sit, stand, or kneel. This availed but little. "Hundreds and thousands" of the inhabitants left the city to attend service in the adjoining parishes. Of those that remained, only officials on the one hand, and on the other, "the poorer sort who lived upon the contribution", consented to kneel, and then "more for awe nor for devotion". In many of the country churches, too, the Easter celebration was marked by confusion and disorder. In some of them the people went out and left the minister alone; in others "the ignorant and simple sort" laid upon his soul the responsibility for their enforced compliance. Nor did the divine anger fail to manifest itself; and "it is not to be past over in silence, how that when Johne Lauder, minister at Cockburnspeth, was reaching the breade till one kneeling, a black dogge start up to snatch it out of his hand".

Immediately after Easter a High Commission was appointed to take proceedings against the recusant ministers. The first of many to be punished was Thomas Hogg, of Dysart, who

was suspended and banished to Orkney, to be confined there during the King's pleasure and will. By royal command, the Provost, Bailies, and Treasurer of Edinburgh were superseded in their several offices by men of a more pliant conscience, whilst a number of leading citizens were relegated to Caithness, Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Wigtown, and Montrose.

These stringent measures having failed to ensure a more obedient and dutiful celebration of Easter, there was issued, in 1620, a proclamation fixing a scale of fines to be imposed on all who omitted to attend church and to communicate in the manner required by the ordinances. That, too, proved powerless; and it was then resolved to get the Articles of Perth ratified by Parliament. After the voting, of which the result was a foregone conclusion, and just as the Grand Commissioner was rising from the throne to ratify the Acts by touching them with the sceptre, a fearful thunderstorm burst over Edinburgh. It was accompanied by such thick darkness that August 4 was long remembered as "Black Saturday". A renewal of the storm marked the proclamation of the Act of Parliament, on the 20th of the same month. Where those of the "true sort" saw a manifestation of God's anger, amongst the Prelatists there were not wanting those who profanely declared that "as the law was given with fire from Mount Sinai, so did these fires confirm their laws".

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The quarrel between King and Kirk still went on. As late as July, 1624, James sent down an angry letter to the Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh, rebuking them for their remissness in enforcing obedience to the obnoxious Articles, and threatening to remove the Session and all other Courts of Justice out of the Burgh if they were not more careful in time coming. But he had to do with men whose determination was as stubborn as his own, and who were resolved "to stand out against conformitie, howbeit he should burn the town to ashes". As Calderwood records, there is no great appearance that he would have brought the multitude to submission. What might have happened, however, need not be conjectured. What did happen to James was that "the Lord removed him out of the way fourteen days before the Easter Communion", that is, on Sunday, the 27th of March, 1625.

The Plague in Scotland

Up to the middle of the fourteenth century, Scotland, owing, it may be assumed, to the temperate habits of the people as well as to the salubrity of its climate, was free from the plague, that awful scourge which, in other countries, had long been dreaded as one of the chief causes of the misery of the people. It is especially noted by the biographer of St. Columba, and repeated by Buchanan, that, in the seventh century, when a terrible pestilence, "such as was never recorded by any writer before", afflicted all Europe and spread even through South Britain, the Scots and Picts, who inhabited the northern part of the island, were alone spared the direful visitation. Its first appearance is chronicled by Wyntoun, under date of 1349:—

In Scotland the first Pestilence
Began, of so great violence
That it was said, of living men
The third part it destroyèd then;
After that within Scotland
A year or more it was wedand (raging).
Before that time was never seen
A pestilence in our land so keen;
Both men, and bairnies, and women,
It spared not for to kill them.

Some additional details are supplied by Fordun, who states that, "by God's will this evil led to a strange and unwonted kind of death, insomuch that the flesh of the sick was somehow puffed out and swollen, and they dragged out their earthly life for barely two days. Now this everywhere attacked especially the meaner sort and common people; seldom the magnates. Men shrank from it so much that, through fear of contagion, sons, fleeing as from the face of leprosy, or from an adder, durst not go and see their parents in the throes of death."

There can be no doubt that this terrible epidemic disease was the black death. It came from the East, whence its devastating progress can be traced until its appearance in Dorsetshire, in August, 1348. It soon spread through the whole kingdom. For a time its progress was arrested by the Scottish Border; and "the foul death of the English" is said to have been at the time a favourite oath with the Scots, who felt a malicious pleasure in the calamity that had overtaken their old enemies. It was they themselves who, by making a reckless raid into England, brought the black death into their own country, where the mortality which it spread is probably not over-estimated by Wyntoun. In 1362 there was a new outbreak of the "death sickness". Fordun states that it raged exceedingly throughout the whole kingdom of Scotland, and that it was in all respects like the earlier

visitation, both in the nature of the disease and in the number of those who died. Wyntoun contributes the further information that it began at Candlemas, and continued to the Yule or after; and that King David and the Bishop of St. Andrews, with their respective suites, retired, the one to Kinloss, in Moray, the other to Elgin, and remained in the purer air of the north land all the time that the "Dede" was desolating the south.

Of the third visitation of the pestilence, that of 1380, Wyntoun gives no details in the two lines which he devotes to the mere mention of it; but its origin and duration are indicated by Buchanan. He states that William, the first Earl of Douglas, having raised an army of twenty thousand men, invaded England, and came suddenly, on a fair day, to a town called Penrith, which he entered, plundered, and burnt; that he then, without molestation, marched his army back again, laden with much spoil; but that he brought the pestilence home with him, "which was greater than any that had ever been known before, for it raged all over Scotland for the space of two years". By Wyntoun, that sinister pre-eminence is claimed for the plague of 1401, of which he says that it was

More fearful than memore
Was had of the three before.

And the reason which he gives in justification

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is that, whereas the spread of the disease had hitherto been gradual, on this occasion "it would overtake all lands" at the same time. Thus, as he grimly expresses it,

That pestilence gart many banes
In kirk-yardis be laid at ance.

When the pestilence next appeared it had assumed so wholly different a character that Bower calls it "*pestilentia volatilis*". The name seems to be fully justified by the few details that are to be gathered as to its progress. Having first broken out in Edinburgh in 1430, it continued its deadly work till, at least, the year 1432, when there is record of its having raged in Haddington. Its erratic nature may further be inferred from the fact that the Parliament, which was held in Perth in 1431, enacted that the collectors of the land-tax should present their accounts in that city on the second of February next to come, provided the pestilence were not there; but if it were there, at St. Andrews.

The early years of the sixteenth century were marked by an outbreak of the pestilence in Edinburgh and its neighbourhood. As evidence of that there is a quaint entry in the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, who, in 1503, disbursed ten shillings for "translating" the lining of some of the King's gowns, "for caus William Ferry, furrou, was suspect with pestilence". In July of the following year, when King James IV

was on his way from Stirling to the capital, he gave three shillings "to the pur folkis of Linlithqw that wer put furth of the toun"; and eight pence "to the seik folkis at Edinburgh". Three months later, when the Queen was at Dunfermline, a plague-scare was the cause of her sending for eleven carts to transport her "gear", and that of the Englishmen who were with her, to Lindores. But it appears to have been discovered that there was no real cause for alarm, and that the four pounds, eight shillings of expenses had been wasted, for "syne scho de-partit nocht". In the same year, from the twenty-third of August to St. Luke's Day, that is, to the 18th of October, Curry, the King's Jester, being "suspect of pestilence", was, together with his man, kept "furth beside Stirling". And that, in his case, the suspicion was only too well founded, may be inferred not only from his long isolation of fifty-five days, but also from the fact that, on his discharge, both he and his man were provided with coats, shoes, and blankets, presumably to replace others that had been burnt, with a view to preventing infection.

That this visitation of the plague, though apparently not general, was exceedingly severe locally, is made apparent by a letter which Alexander Craufurd, the preceptor of St. Anthony's, in Leith, wrote to the General of the Order. The plague, he says, has carried off all the brethren except himself and another; their

lands in town are untenanted, their fields untilled, and they themselves deprived of the alms of the faithful; they are unable through poverty to attend the general chapter of the Order. Not only does the writer beg to be absolved by his superior for having, from necessity, failed in the performance of that duty, he also craves to be dispensed from attendance for the next three years. And, in order to save his house from total extinction, he requests permission to initiate novices in place of the brethren deceased.

In 1545, Hertford's invasion of Scotland was aggravated by the introduction of the plague which, as is known from a letter of his to Henry VIII, had broken out in his army and spread through the Borderland. That it reached Edinburgh appears from an ordinance of the Privy Council, which directed that the Court of Session should remove to Linlithgow. The precautions adopted by the Magistrates of Glasgow in 1574 indicate the presence, in that year, of the dread disease along the east coast of Scotland. By an order issued in October, they forbade all intercourse with Leith, Kirkcaldy, Dysart, and Burntisland. As Edinburgh was not yet suspect, except as to Bell's Wynd, it was thought sufficient to require testimonials from persons coming thence. Infringement of the latter regulation was to be punished by a fine of ten pounds, of the former by death. A month later, the pestilence had made such further progress in the capital that the meeting

of the Court of Session and of Parliament was postponed for several months. But the century was to be marked by a visitation far more serious than these local outbreaks. It continued for nearly four years. As was frequently the case, it came from over the sea; and a "creare", or cutter, that arrived at Easter Wemyss in 1584 was believed to have been the first cause of it. In 1585 it was at its worst in Edinburgh. It was reported as raging at Niddrie in 1586; and in the following autumn Leith, which had been amongst the first of the Firth ports to suffer from its ravages, was, after a short respite, again devastated by it, owing to the "opening of some old kists". Not till the month of December of that year was the Privy Council able to announce that the country was at length free from the fearful scourge, and that the College of Justice, which had again been transferred to Linlithgow, was to resume its sittings in the capital.

Calderwood states that in 1585 some twenty thousand persons died of the plague in Edinburgh alone. That is obviously an exaggeration. Robert Birrel's estimate is far more moderate. He reports that of those who were unable to flee when first it was known that Simeon Mercerbanks's house was infected, there succumbed one thousand four hundred and odd, a number more in proportion to the mortality of Perth, which the chronicle of that city sets down at one thousand four hundred and twenty-seven, and of St. Andrews, where Moysie

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records that "upwards of four hundred people died". As to the desolate appearance of the capital whilst the plague was raging in it there is the testimony of James Melville, who passed through it in November, on his way from Berwick, where he had been living in banishment for a time, to a General Assembly that was to be held in Linlithgow. "We came riding in at the Watergate," he says, "up through the Canongate, and rade in at the Netherbow, through the great street of Edinburgh to the West Port, in all whilk way we saw not three persons, sae that I miskenned Edinburgh, and almost forgot that I had ever seen sic a town."

Maister Gilbert Skeyne, Doctour in Medicine, who wrote *Ane Breve Description* of the pest of 1586, and who had been induced to do so by "seeand the puir in Christ inlaik (succumb) without assistance of support in body, all men detestand aspection, speech, or communication with them", has given a sad picture of the inhuman selfishness which such a visitation engendered. "Every ane", he says, "is become sae detestable to other (whilk is to be lamentit), and specially the puir in the sight of the rich, as gif they were not equal with them touching their creation, but rather without saul or spirit, as beasts degenerate from mankind." In his enumeration of "the causis of pest", Dr. Skeyne supplies details from which some notion may be formed of the unsanitary conditions that prevailed in Scottish towns at the time. "The

cause of pest in ane privat Citie", he writes, "is stinkand corruptioun and filth, quhilkis occupeis the commune streittis and gaittis, greit reik of colis without vinde to dispathe the sam, corruptioun of Herbis, sic as Caill and growand Treis, Moist heuie sauer of Lynt, Hemp, and Ledder steipit in Vater. Ane privat house infectis ather of stinkand closettis, or corrupte Carioun thairin, or neir by."

If the most effective of preventives, sanitation, was practically ignored by municipalities no less than by individuals, the Government displayed considerable zeal and vigour in its efforts to prevent the introduction of the plague when it became known that it was prevalent in any country with which Scotland held intercourse. If the northern counties of England were affected, instructions were sent to the Wardens of the Marches to prevent Englishmen from crossing the Border, and to charge Scotsmen "that none make market with Englishmen in those parts, nor have intercourse, nor intermingle with them because of the pestilence". Disobedience of the orders issued for the purpose of stopping all traffic and communication between the two countries was to be punished with death. The fairs held periodically in such towns as Duns and Kelso, to which people of both nationalities were wont to resort, were also prohibited.

With respect to merchants coming from infected or even suspected ports, it was ordained that they should contain themselves and their goods within

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shipboard, or at least proceed to some quiet place where the lieges could have no "company or melling with them". For members of the crew to come within any "burghs, towns, or common passages", until they had been declared free from infection, was made a capital offence. A ship hailing from the Baltic would probably have a cargo consisting wholly or in part of flax, pitch, tar, iron, and ash-barrels. In that case, "because the most danger appeared to be amongst the flax", it was to be unloaded and housed on St. Colm's Inch, opened, handled, and cast forth to the wind every other fair day, for from six to eight weeks. The other goods were to be cleansed by "overflowing of the sea, at one or two tides". The ash-barrels were to be singed with heather set on fire; whilst the ship itself was to be bored so as to let the seawater into it. And all that was to be done at the expense of the owners. The sailors and others who handled the goods were to be cleansed and set apart by themselves for a time on one of the islands in the Forth, at the discretion of the official inspectors. There is evidence that Inchkeith, Inchgarvie, and May Island were used in this way, as quarantine stations. Even after all those preventive precautions had been taken, they had to obtain a special licence from the magistrates before attempting to hold intercourse with the lieges.

If it happened that a "foul" ship entered a Scottish port, the local authorities were required to "search, seek, and apprehend the masters,

skippers, and inbringers of it, and put them in sure firmance and captivity, and hold and detain them therein until order were taken and commandment given to execute justice upon them". In all adjoining burghs proclamation was to be made that "none suffer or permit any of the aforesaid persons or their goods to come on land, or otherwise to reset or grant unto them meat, drink, house, or harbrie, or have any manner of communication with them, under whatever colour or pretence", under pain of death. Should any have got away and found refuge already, they and their resetters were to be apprehended, the houses to be closed up, and "themselves to be execute incontinent to the death".

When, in spite of all preventive measures, the plague broke out in a seaport, the first care was to cut off all communication. If there were a ferry service, as, for instance, between the north and south shores of the Forth, the boats were forbidden to ply, and, if necessary, actually dismantled to enforce the prohibition. In respect of inland intercourse, the panic ordinances passed by local authorities were often contradictory to each other and inconsistent with the enactments of the Government. Whilst the Privy Council endeavoured to restrict travelling by wholly isolating certain localities, or by requiring passes in the case of others, individual municipalities would not allow pipers, fiddlers, minstrels, or any other vagrants, to remain within their boundaries

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without the special leave of the Provost, under pain of a scourging, and would drive all "poor common beggars" forth to their own parishes, by threatening to burn them on the cheek if they were found within the burgh twenty-four hours after due proclamation had been made.

Notwithstanding all orders to the contrary, when the pestilence was known to have penetrated into one of the larger towns, the chief concern of the "substantious gentlemen, burgesses, and other inhabitants" who could command the means, was to remove themselves as far as possible from the centre of infection. In consequence of this, the poor were left "destitute of all comfort and provision for their maintenance", so that many of those that died perished "rather through lack of sustentation than of the said plague". At the great outbreak of 1585, James the Sixth, with characteristic pusillanimity, headed the exodus of the panic-stricken. He first retired to St. Andrews, but remained there only a short time, "understanding that the pestilence had reached the place of his present residence". Before leaving the town, however, he issued one reasonable order, to the effect that "all filth and filthie beasts or carrion be removed furth of the highways, and the same cleansed and holden clean". Having then gone for safety to Falkland, he commanded that, within six hours, and under pain of death, all that were not properly

dependent on some particular person requisite to attend on the King's service, or that were not otherwise entitled to be in the town by special leave or occupation, should depart to their own dwelling-places. Within a month, "the suspicion of the pestilence lately entered at Falkland" caused the royal poltroon to remove to Stirling. The manner of his ignominious flight is recorded by Moysie. The King, he says, was hunting at Ruthven when "word came that there were five or six houses in Perth affected with the plague, where His Majesty's servants were for the time. Whereupon His Majesty departed the same night, with a very small train, to Tullibardine, and next day to Stirling, leaving his whole household servants enclosed in the place of Ruthven, with express command to them not to follow, nor remove forth of the same until they saw what became of them upon the suspicion." In such wise did King James show the sincerity of his belief in his own philosophical remark, that "the pest always smites the sickarest, such as flies it farthest and apprehends deepliest the peril thereof".

Such measures as were adopted by the local authorities were intended to prevent the spread of the disease rather than to relieve those already stricken by it. Under pain of death, the master of a house in which any person fell sick was to report the case immediately to the visitors or searchers. And there are numerous instances

to prove that the authorities were in grim earnest in decreeing the extreme penalty. From amongst them the case of David Duly, an Edinburgh tailor, may be cited by reason of its remarkable sequel. In the official report of his offence, it is charged against him that he kept his wife sick of the contagious sickness of pestilence for two days in his house, and would not reveal the same to the officers of the town until she had died of the disease; and that, in aggravation of his transgression, at the very time that his wife was lying *in extremis*, he had gone to St. Giles's Church on the Sunday, and there heard mass amongst the clean people, thus "doing what was in him to have infected all the town". For the flagrant contravention of the statute, "he was adjudged to be hanged on a gibbet before his own door". In the afternoon of the day on which he was sentenced, Duly was brought out to execution; but, as the official record words it, "at the will of God, he eschapit", the rope having broken and fallen from the gibbet. The Provost, Bailies, and Council were struck at this interposition of providence. It made them remember that the culprit was "a poor man with small bairns"; and they took pity on him to the extent of commuting his sentence to one of perpetual banishment from the city.

When the offenders were women they seem to have been dealt with in the same way as were witches. That may be inferred from a

number of cases, of which that of Marion Clark is typical. For going about, "the pestylens and seiknes beand apone her", she was condemned "to be drounitt in the Quarrell hollis".

When it became known that the plague had broken out in a family, all the members of it whom it had not yet stricken were compelled to remove to a plague camp, situated in some outlying part of the burgh, where they were housed in wretched "ludges", or huts which had been hastily run up for their accommodation, and where they might be, but seldom were, visited by their friends, accompanied by an official, after a certain hour in the morning. In some cases the landlord of the house lately inhabited by them was required to burn it, as well as their goods, without delay, and with "absolute exoneration" to himself for so doing. In others they were allowed to take their furniture and belongings with them; and it was deemed sufficient to get the "land and rooms" from which they had been taken, cleansed "by water and fire". This was to be done between the hours of nine o'clock in the evening and five in the morning. The charge for it was fixed at ten shillings, which "substantious" citizens were expected to pay themselves. In the plague camp the clothes of stricken or suspected persons were disinfected by being boiled in a large cauldron in the open air. The due carrying out of these plague regulations was under the supervision of two bailies

specially appointed for the purpose. Like the cleansers and the bearers of the dead they wore a distinctive uniform, consisting of a gown of grey stuff, with a St. Andrew's Cross both before and behind. For the removal and burial of corpses, a grim and ghastly ceremony that was performed under cover of night, there were to be provided "twa close biers, with four feet, covered over with black and ane white cross, with ane bell to be hung upon the side of the said bier, which sal make warning to the people".

Within a burgh where the plague had broken out a belated attempt at sanitation was made, to the extent of forbidding the owners of dogs and swine to allow the animals to wander at will, and of empowering anyone who encountered these "in high streets or vennels" to kill them. Meetings of all kinds were prohibited. Thus, in Edinburgh, Parliament was prorogued if sitting, diets of the Court of Justiciary were suspended, and the administration of the public business generally transferred to some town that had remained clean. No one might hold school under pain of banishment; and children of less than fifteen years of age were liable to be put into the stocks, and to be scourged with rods, if they made use of their enforced leisure to play "on the gaitt or in the streets or in the kirk".

It being made a capital offence for the destitute of any plague-stricken locality to wander

about begging their living as usual, the "magistrates, barons, gentlemen, and other honest men" of the parish were called upon "of their charity" to make provision for their maintenance; and, if voluntary contributions were insufficient, recourse might be had to special taxation.

There is no reason to believe that Scotland was more grievously stricken during the second half of the sixteenth century than it had been in earlier times; but the information to be gathered from Acts of Parliament and of the Privy Council, from burgh records, private diaries, and contemporary memoirs becomes fuller and more detailed. It supplies data from which the calculation may be made that the plague years, in the aggregate, covered at least a third of the whole period. It shows that what is but a remote contingency at the present day was a constant terror then; and it brings home the fact that pestilence, with its usual sequel, dearth, must be taken into account as one of the causes to which the poverty of the country and the lamentable condition of the lower classes are to be attributed.



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