The
Scottish Historical Review

Vol. XII., No. 45 October 1914

Scotland and the Spanish Armada

THE Spanish Armada has long been regarded as the great attempt made by Roman Catholic Philip to overthrow heretical Elizabeth. Too much emphasis, perhaps, has been laid upon the expedition, which, though of outstanding magnitude, was only one of a series—an armada sailed as late as 1599—but in the main the common view is correct. The fate of the Invincible Armada represents the defeat of Spain before English sea-power. Where, then, in this great duel is the place of Scotland? She had no great navy, although[1] she produced both traders and pirates in fair numbers; it was not against her that the mighty fleet set sail, and, indeed, her share in the event limits itself to dealing with the few weather-beaten ships which managed to reach her shores. In short, but for Tobermory and its treasure, we should not think of Scotland in connection with the Armada.

The object of this paper is to show that Scotland was vitally concerned, and that this country was during the whole period from 1580 to 1588 a most important card in the diplomatic game of Europe. She was more than a dark mirror in which world-politics were reflected;[2] she was the hinge upon which these world-politics turned.

Now the greatest force which was operating in Europe during

[1] *Cal. Scot. Pap.* passim.

[2] *Der Kampf um Schottland und die Gesandtschaftsreise Sir Francis Walsinghams im Jahre 1583*, Dr. Karl Stählin, p. 123: 'Wie in einem freilich trüben Spiegel wurden dort die Weltverhältnisse reflektiert."

the second half of the sixteenth century was that of the Counter-Reformation. The Roman Catholic Church, reorganised by the Council of Trent, reinforced by the Order of Jesus, set itself to recover its lost dominions. It is possible to account for the Armada simply by considering it as one of the many attempts made by the Counter-Reformation to regain the unhappy souls over whom the heretic queen so cruelly tyrannised. 'Philip,' says a very modern writer in describing the genesis of the Armada, 'was in spirit a true Crusader, born four hundred years too late,'[1] and he considers that the king's wars were in essence wars of religion. To the average man of the period, it is fair to say, such an aspect of the case would be the only true one. To the Catholic the expedition was a holy crusade, to the Protestant it was but part of the devilish scheme of that Antichrist, the Pope of Rome, to regain his lost empire. In the mind of the Protestant the forces of Roman Catholicism were knit in an indissoluble bond and pursued one clear end. He imagined that the 'League' of Catholic powers had been made at Bayonne in 1565, and he saw in the bloody night of St. Bartholomew only the first-fruits of the dreadful harvest. Everywhere he felt the unseen presence of the agents of the League, the Jesuits especially.

The endless wars in the Low Countries, the plottings in England, Scotland, and Ireland, the secret diplomacy of Mary Queen of Scots, all these were but the outward manifestations of the hidden force, working noiselessly, inevitably to its conclusion. In Scotland, for example, Rizzio was considered to be an agent of the Pope, and when in 1579 Esmé Stewart, Sieur d'Aubigny, landed in the home of his fathers he was set down at once as an agent of the League.[2] It was noted also with horror,[3] 'in the same day that d'Aubigné had sent Montgomery, accompanied with a number of the guard, to intrude him in the pulpit of Glasgow and expel Mr. David Wennies (*sic*), minister thereof, was the Prince of Orange shot with the foreknowledge of d'Aubigné and conspiracy at Dublin in Ireland, and Mr. William Creighton, principal of the Jesuits at Lyons, sent into Scotland for the great work that was in hand, so well did the enemies accord to subvert religion with common intelligence at one time in all countries.'

The continuity and the unity of the Roman Catholic design, as it appeared not only to Protestant bigots, but to cold-blooded

[1] *Master Mariners*, J. R. Spears, 133. [2] Calderwood, iii. 488.

[3] *Harl. MSS.* 291. 71. f. 146, quoted by Stählin, *op. cit.* p. 1.

'Politiques,' was largely a thing of their own imagining. Some kind of a league there may have been,[1] but it was certainly a theory rather than a fact. The Conference of Bayonne[2] was only a move in the crafty policy of Catherine de Medicis, and even the massacre of St. Bartholomew cannot be traced to any very deep-laid scheme. Briefly, it is plain that the Counter-Reformation, though perhaps the strongest tendency of the age, did not operate independently. It was bound to take into consideration other forces, and when it did issue into action, it was only as the resultant, so to speak, of the simultaneous action of a complex of religious and political ideals.

Let us dismiss, therefore, the plain notion of a crusade, and admit that the result of the religious upheaval had been to rearrange rather than entirely to displace the existing political settlements. Generally speaking, the balance in Western Europe had been England and the House of Burgundy *versus* France and Scotland; but apart altogether from the effects of the Reformation, certain important changes had been taking place during the sixteenth century. A series of marriages had united with the House of Burgundy not only the Empire but Spain, with the result, as is proved by the case of Charles V., that the 'balance' was utterly destroyed. It is true that, by his marriage with English Mary, Philip II. preserved the old relationship, and France steadily pursued her policy of maintaining a party in Scotland; but none the less, the unceasing pressure upon France produced its sure result. If she was not to be enclosed in the Habsburg ring France must join England, and in the reign of Elizabeth that is in effect what happened. The sheer necessity of resisting the overmighty power of Spain forced the two countries to forget their own quarrel, and despite much mutual suspicion, despite the shifty marriage negotiations, despite even the Great Massacre, they worked in unison. Both, for example, lent aid to the United Provinces, though the Queen of England hated rebels and the most Christian King of France detested heretics. Together they fought against the power which represented the Roman Catholic cause. Why? Because the Counter-

[1] The Rev. J. H. Pollen, in his introduction to *Papal Negociations with Queen Mary*, doubts the existence of the League. Olivares, however (*Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* iii. p. 566), certainly writes as if some League had existed during the Pontificate of Pius V. But this may refer to the League made by the Pope, Spain, and Venice against the Turks. Vide *Camb. Mod. Hist.* iii. p. 134.

[2] Vide *Die Zusammenkunft von Bayonne*, Erich Marcks.

Reformation was bound to the wheels of the chariot of Spain. For the medieval theory of the world-state died very hard, and one of the many pale ghosts which survived it was the dream of Spanish imperialism. Philip II., the hero of the Faith, was seeking a political dominion; Elizabeth and Henry III., little as they liked Protestantism, were compelled to oppose him in the name of nationality—itself as yet only an inchoate thing, thanks to these very wars of religion.

In this strange tangle of warring creeds and conflicting political ideals where is the place of Scotland? In spite of the altered balance of power, her geographical position still gave importance to a country which was the 'postern-gate' of England; and when Elizabeth joined hands with her traditional enemy, one of two results became inevitable. Either France would bring with her to the new friendship her old ally Scotland, or else Spain, losing England, would seek and find in Scotland the necessary counterpoise. The first solution of the question might seem to be rendered the more probable because there was in Scotland a feeble but persistent tendency towards union with England, and because, unless Elizabeth had children, the royal house of the northern kingdom was heir to the southern crown. In point of fact, this answer to the problem, foreshadowed by the various schemes of 'Association,' ultimately achieved reality by the Union of Crowns in 1603.

Not, however, without difficulty, for the alternative solution had much to commend it in the eyes of contemporary statesmen. To Philip Scotland could give some very real help, and the possibility at least of other and enormous advantages; it offered him both a convenient base from which to attack England in the rear, and also a potential successor to Queen Elizabeth. Since Elizabeth was a heretic, Mary was Queen not only of Scotland but of England too, and although she seemed likely to die in captivity, her son was free and the obvious heir to the dual crown. Clearly it would be worth the while of mighty Spain to gain the friendship of insignificant Scotland, and to this end Spain spent labour, skill, and money.

Even during her troublous reign Mary had got into touch with Philip, and after her imprisonment the genuine attempts at her release were made in reliance rather upon Spanish[1] than upon

[1] The Guises, it is true, were staunch friends to Mary, but they cannot be definitely included in the term 'French.' At this time they were wavering towards Spain.

French aid. France, indeed, anxious to preserve the friendship with England, showed herself inclined to accept the *fait accompli*, and though obliged to act officially on behalf of Mary, was not really prepared to do very much. Spain, on the other hand, had entered into the various plots with weight, if not with celerity, and the Spanish Ambassador regularly became the centre of the schemes for Mary's deliverance. She, as will be shown, repaid the efforts of Spain to the best of her ability ; but let us leave the tragic figure of the captive Queen and look at the position of her son—a very king of comedy. A gawky boy of fourteen or so, James shuffles on to the historical stage in the year 1580—spindle-shanked, goggle-eyed, of a queer precocity, convinced by hard experience that dishonesty and statecraft are the same thing.

There were, as stated, two alternative policies, and each presented its own difficulties. He might fall in with England and France, but this meant practically the adoption of Protestantism, and many of his nobles were Catholic. If once he took such a line James would alienate all the forces of the Counter-Reformation, would, in the event of Spain's success, utterly condemn himself—and all perhaps in vain. For Elizabeth would never name him officially as her successor, and the crown of England might escape him in the end. The other policy was to declare himself a Roman Catholic, seize the groping fingers of Spain, and join the march of the Counter-Reformation. Spain certainly was holding out a tentative hand, but, even so, the dangers of the course were great. Protestantism might emerge triumphant from the contest, and even if it were beaten James had still to dread the imperial spirit of Spain.

Enough has been said to show the nature of the great duel which was to be fought out in North-west Europe, and to explain the causes which made Scotland, small though she was, of immense value to both protagonists. With the English side of the controversy there is no need to deal. Elizabeth's policy was to resist the Counter-Reformation rather by underhand plots than by open war, and Scotland fell readily into her system. She supported a party there just as she supported one in Portugal, France, or the Low Countries. Her intrigues with the Scottish nobility are well known, but it is worth while to examine carefully the policy pursued in Scotland by Philip II.

In the autumn of 1578, Philip advised Mendoza, his able ambassador in England, to keep a close eye upon the Scots, and also upon the captive queen, since it appeared to him that Scottish

affairs were about to arrive at a crisis.[1] His prediction was correct, for in February, 1580, Vargas[2] reported to him from Paris a conversation he had just had with Archbishop Beaton, Mary's representative at the French court, who had assured him that his mistress had determined to put herself, her son, and her realm under the protection of Philip. Of this purpose, Guise was aware, but otherwise it was a profound secret.[2] The King of Spain was swift to accept the trust;[3] the affair promised well, for Lennox (d'Aubigny) was making great headway in Scotland, and Philip evidently thought that through Mary he could control James.[4] Mary, who was soon in secret correspondence with her son, was of the same opinion, and prepared to use the 'Association'[5] to secure joint action in favour of Roman Catholicism and Spain, though its ostensible purpose was to make easy an alliance between England, Scotland, and France. It soon became apparent, however, that James was somewhat slippery, and his signature of the Covenant of 1580 caused genuine alarm.[6] Henceforth Philip is urging James' conversion,[7] and Mary is anxious to prove that her son is likely to accept the true faith.[8] James, as a matter of fact, had little faith beyond a belief in the necessity of being all things to all men. And not only was the young king a doubtful quantity, but even his Catholic partisans were persons distasteful to Philip. Thus, although Guise had been cognisant of Mary's first offer, and although he was an enemy of Henry III., the Spanish king trusted him very little—indeed, the first thing he did was to suggest Guise's exclusion from future negotiations. Again, neither he nor Mary had much confidence in d'Aubigny,[9] and we find Granvelle quite testy on the subject of his envoy, Ker of Ferniehirst, who arrived in Badajoz armed with a fine broad Scots tongue, and no Spanish.[10]

Philip, as is well known, was by nature unwilling to trust any-

[1] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. ii. p. 615. [2] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 4.

[3] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 22. [4] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 103.

[5] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 241, p. 216, p. 331; cf. too pp. 228, 250, 257.

[6] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 90, p. 102.

[7] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 31, p. 160.

[8] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. pp. 241-242, p. 257.

[9] For Spanish distrust see *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 124, p. 195, p. 204. For Mary's see *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 331, and her own letters in *Labanoff*, vol. v. p. 134, p. 124, p. 61; and *Cal. Scot. Pap.* vol. vi. p. 86.

[10] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 7 n.

one, but in this case the facts justified him. His own idea was to proceed quietly, confiding only in Mendoza and Mary. Neither Beaton nor Tassis,[1] who had succeeded Vargas at Paris, was taken into the secret, and though a few ardent clerics, notably Parsons and Allen,[2] knew of the scheme, it is plain that the bulk of the Jesuits did not. Mendoza soon got into touch with the Scots nobility, who moderately demanded the assistance of 2000 men,[3] but before long the plot fell into the hands of several priests, and they pushed the scheme forward with an earnest zeal which produced a disconcerting publicity.[4] Lennox became the figure-head of the conspiracy, and in March, 1582,[5] he sent letters to the Pope, Mary, Glasgow, Guise, and Tassis, containing details of a plan of incredible and impossible proportions.[6] All the various personages mentioned were to act along with Spain, and the assistance now set down as essential amounts to 20,000 men, as well as great sums of money and guarantees against loss. Such a scheme was the ridiculous product of frothy imaginations; Mary was vastly annoyed,[7] and Philip withdrew.

Not, indeed, officially. Mendoza remained in England to be the centre of all plots until the discovery of the Throgmorton conspiracy[8] led to his dismissal, and from the tangled maze of the plans for murder and invasion, which mark the next few years, a few great principles emerge. Joint action between the different Roman Catholic powers is proved to be an impossibility. France is naturally out of the question, and Guise, though hated by Henry III., and hating in return, is still French. Even between the Papacy and Spain there is little harmony, although a principle of joint contribution (one to three) for the English enterprise has been laid down.[9] The correspondence between Paris, Rome, and Spain, published by Father Knox, reveals plainly that zeal for the

[1] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 197.

[2] Vide *Graves Law: Collected Essays*, pp. 217-243.

[3] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 286.

[4] *Vide* 'The Evolution of the Spanish Armada,' Martin Hume, in *The Year after the Armada.*

[5] Kretzschmar, *Die Invasionsprojekte der katolischen Mächte gegen England.* This information is well collected, pp. 61-63.

[6] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 371, and Kretz. p. 123 ff.

[7] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 331.

[8] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 513. On Jan. 19th, 1584, Mendoza got 15 days' notice to leave England.

[9] *Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen*, edited by Knox, p. 411.

common cause was not sufficient to produce a readiness to pay. As a consequence of this failure to combine, it is not strange to find two well-marked parties amongst the Roman Catholic refugees upon the Continent, one of which attaches itself to the Curia, whilst the other relies upon Spain. Paget, Morgan, and Father Crichton[1] agreed with the Duke of Guise and the Pope in believing that James might be converted, and their schemes of invasion always included the landing in Scotland of a composite army.[2] Allen,[2] on the other hand, and ere long Parsons too,[3] inclined to use the help of Spain only, and to make the invasion by way of England. Indeed, by April, 1584, the plan of entering *via* Scotland is being discussed as a 'new design.'[4]

In effect, by 1584, the 'enterprise' has become definitely Spanish, and, as the death of Alençon[5] in that year forced Guise to concentrate his energies upon France, Philip[6] was able to take the game into his own hands. The 'enterprise of England' began to take a definite shape, and it is clear that, as the claims of Scotland to be the landing-place had been disregarded, so the claims of the Scottish candidates for the throne were treated with less and less respect. James' conduct, it is true, did not inspire confidence, and Mary[7] was at times really inclined to make a bargain with Walsingham. It was partly for these reasons, and partly

[1] Knox, *op. cit.* pp. 320, 386, and 392.

[2] Mendoza had mentioned Allen as a reliable man in Oct. 1581 (*Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza,* vol. iii. p. 197), but he appears to have hoped for joint action for some time (Knox, *op. cit.* p. 201). Parsons certainly did (Knox, *op. cit.* pp. 425, 433; and Kretz., *App.* 8). The details of the plot captured with Fa. Crichton in 1584, referred to a scheme of Parsons' devising in 1582. In 1583 he was still working for a combined invasion (Knox, *op. cit.* lvii.); but in the beginning of 1584 he and Allen are relying upon Spain (Knox, *op. cit.* p. 222), and it seems from a letter of de Tassis of Nov. 1583, that Parsons distrusted James (*Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 509). By May 27, 1584, both Parsons and Allen are resolute to exclude Scotland (*Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 526, and Knox, *op. cit.* p. 231).

[3] *E.g.*, *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. pp. 333, 503, 521.

[4] Tassis in his letter of Nov. 15, 1583, mentions as a fact Philip's intention to invade from Flanders, and treats the idea of commencing by Scotland as a thing of the past. Possibly the evil report of Maineville presented to Philip in June, 1583, (*Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 479) may have aided Philip to come to this conclusion. It was the Nuncio in France who used the expression 'new design' in a letter to Como (Knox, *op. cit.* p. 230), but it appears to refer to the conspiracy as a whole.

[5] June 10, 1584.

[6] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 544.

[7] Knox, *op. cit.* Intro. lxix.

because Spanish imperialism[1] inevitably asserted itself, that Philip, whose councillor, Granvelle, had dismissed altogether the idea of conquest,[2] began very seriously to consider his own claims to the English crown. If he was to do the work, it seemed just that he should have the reward. His attitude to Mary is one of cold calculation. 'I see what the Queen of England, tired of her long imprisonment, wrote to you,'[3] he observes callously to Mendoza, and he praises his ambassador for discouraging her scheme of escape. His satellites followed in the same strain—'*Even if* Mary was made queen, they trusted that Spain would not abandon them.[4]

Philip, then, is fairly embarked upon a design of self-aggrandisement. In February, 1585, Allen is pointing out that the plan was in the hands of a very few,[5] and in the autumn of the same year he and Parsons go off to Rome to urge the Spanish cause.[6] The beginning of 1586 finds them busy assisting Olivares, the ambassador of Spain at Rome, to convince the Pope that James was not to be converted but *disinherited*.[7] For that is really the sum of Philip's ambition, as his correspondence with Olivares plainly shows. In May, 1584, the ambassador was demonstrating to the Pope that the Scottish way was of little value,[8] and in July of the following year, we find him refuting the views of the 'French' party at the Vatican, which was anxious for James' conversion.[9]

[1] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 506. When in Aug. Philip received a memorial in which Guise undertook to expel all foreign troops after Mary's restoration, he underlined the passage and wrote 'ojo' in the margin.

[2] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 383. 'We cannot hope to hold the island for ourselves.'

[3] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 476. Mary believed she could escape almost at will in 1583. *Vide* Knox, *op. cit.* p. 413. The Spanish schemes are quite callous on the possibility of Mary's death. Cf. Knox, *op. cit.* Intro. lxxxvi.

[4] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 526.

[5] Knox. *op. cit.* p. 247. He was quite correct; even he and Parsons were not told too much. Knox, *op. cit.* Intro. lxxiv. and lxxxvii.

[6] Knox, *op. cit.* p. 222 n.

[7] Philip had at first thought to use James as a tool. At first he expected the young king to be sent to Spain (*Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 23). As late as the early summer of 1584 we find him well disposed to James, and promising money (*Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. pp. 525, 527). At this time Tassis and Guise were still in favour of James (*Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 521), and it was to Tassis that these friendly messages to James were sent. He was never in the secret.

[8] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 526.

[9] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 541. The French party was led by Cardinal d'Esté.

Meanwhile the accession of Sixtus V.[1] had strengthened the hands of the vigorous party, and Olivares' position was also improved by the bad reports of the Scottish king.[2] His correspondence unluckily is not all extant, but an important despatch and memorandum of February 24th, 1586,[3] reveal how very far the affair had gone. Philip had evidently decided to obtain the crown for his daughter, the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, but he shrank from having James publicly disinherited partly to avoid publicity, partly because he wished to make sure of the papal contribution before he showed his hand;—for Sixtus V. was no fool. Despite all these limitations, however, Olivares established two important points. The Guises were to be excluded from the enterprise of England, and the question of a successor to Mary was to be left in Philip's hands. Ostensibly the end of the design was still the liberation of the captive queen, but it is plain from Philip's own letters that he regarded with equanimity the prospect of her death.[4] Without further preparation, however, it was impossible to broach the great secret of the Spanish design, and during the next two years Olivares was busily engaged not only in extracting a definite promise from Sixtus as regards the money, but also in preparing him for the announcement of Philip's intentions as to the English crown. One of the devices adopted was to persuade the Pope to make Allen a cardinal, as this would give a good head to the enterprise in the event of Mary's death,[5] and would besides reinforce the Spanish party in the Sacred College. In public, of course, only the first of these two reasons was adduced, and after the news of Mary's execution had reached Rome, such an argument did not lack weight. None the less Sixtus was very slow to act, averring that, according to rule,[6] all promotions should be made at Christmas, and in the end Olivares was compelled to adopt the extraordinary manœuvre of showing to the Pope instruc-

[1] April 24, 1585. Sixtus was full of great schemes, but short of money. He had no intention of being 'exploited' by Spain.

[2] *Cal. Span Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 560 ff. Original text in Knox, *op. cit.* p. 251 ff.

[3] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 547.

[4] From the Spanish sources it is clear that Spain was quite sure of Mary's co-operation, but quite prepared for her death. After her death there were few regrets—indeed the event was considered rather fortunate (cf. *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. pp. 42, 43, 101, and Knox, *op. cit.* pp. lxxxvi, xc, xciv).

[5] The story of Allen's promotion is well described in Knox, *op. cit.* cf. pp. lxxxvi and cii. It is plain that only a cardinal was wanted, and the scheme of making Allen, Archbishop of Canterbury, was negatived by Spain (Knox, lxxxix).

[6] Knox, *op. cit.* p. lxxxix and p. 277.

tions which Philip was supposed to have written on the assumption that Allen was already a cardinal.[1] These instructions had been forged by the ambassador himself, but the device proved successful, for six days after the trick had been played Allen was duly promoted—August 7th, 1587. Henceforth the new cardinal was a person of much weight at Rome, and in 1588, just before the Armada sailed, he joined with Olivares in drawing up a scheme for filling the various benefices and appointments in England in the event of a successful issue.[2]

Meanwhile not a word was breathed of Philip's own claim; the matter was very far from easy, as Olivares found, when in March, 1587, he consulted Allen and Parsons on the matter.[3] His own letter, as well as the written opinions of the two ecclesiastics, are still extant, and make it patent that all three were extremely doubtful as to the value of Philip's title by descent, and nervous about the possible claims of Parma. They were able to pick holes in the arguments adduced by the Bishop of Ross,[4] as appears from a later memorandum,[5] but suggested that, as the case was uncertain, it would be better to postpone the discussion until the succession had been first established by way of conquest. Olivares himself suggested three possible modes of procedure,[6] but inclined personally to the following method: Philip should point out to the Pope, that the arrangement of February, 1586, had committed both to opposing heretical James, and that, accordingly, the Most

[1] Spain's urgency appears in the spring and summer of 1587 (Knox, *op. cit.* p. xcv and p. ciii). Olivares' trick is described, p. civ and p. 295.

[2] Knox, *op. cit.* p. cvi. The original is on p. 303, *et seq.*

[3] Olivares' letter and Allen's opinion appear in Knox, pp. xc and 275, and pp. lxxxix and 272. Parsons' opinion of the same date is in *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 41. Olivares refers to this opinion of Parsons, Knox, p. xci (of date March 18th). Father Knox supposes (p. xcvi) that the memorandum he prints (p. 281) was enclosed by Olivares in his letter. This cannot be so, for Olivares' letter (23rd March) was written under the assumption that Mary was still alive, whereas the 'memorandum' refers to her death. The news of Mary's death arrived in Rome on March 24th (*Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 50). Olivares' letter is interesting as showing a great distrust of Sixtus, 'from whom no secrecy can be expected except by miracle or in affairs of no importance' (Knox, p. 275), and also as revealing a doubt in the writer's mind lest Philip should claim in person (Knox, p. 277).

[4] The Bishop of Ross was a great upholder of the title of Mary and later of James. His vindication of the Scottish claim was published several times and in several languages. Latin editions were published in 1580 and 1584, and a French edition in 1587 (vide *Dict. Nat. Biog.* sub. 'Leslie, John').

[5] Knox, *op. cit.* pp. xcvi and 281. [6] Knox, *op. cit.* pp. xciii and 277.

Catholic King, casting about in his mind for a successor, had thought of his own daughter. At this juncture arrived news of the will and last letter of Mary Stuart, which led to his examining the question very carefully, with the result that he discovered his own title to be better even than that of the luckless queen. Philip could disclaim any intention of disturbing Mary, and could represent his own right to the crown as a thing only recently discovered; but in any case, the ambassador concluded, it would be wise to lay most stress upon the actual fact of conquest, since Sixtus would, under any circumstances, hate to see England united to the Spanish empire.

It is quite clear that Philip's path was far from straight, but the death of Mary,[1] as Allen himself remarked, improved the situation, and it was Allen who was trusted, at the end of March,[2] with the delicate task of opening the question to the Pope. He was instructed to lay stress on the fact that Mary had recognized that her son was a hopeless heretic, and, if the matter of the succession came up for discussion, to state that Philip was quite aware of his own claim, and was determined, as a Catholic prince, sooner or later to attack the heretical King of Scotland. The French party, who believed in the possibility of converting James, naturally pressed his claim hard, but Olivares was inclined to allow them to talk, whilst Allen and Parsons quietly prepared a book on the subject of the King of Spain's just title to the English throne.[3]

Olivares, it will be observed, makes mention of a will[4] according to which Mary Stuart made Philip her heir, and it has been generally believed that the angry Queen did in fact disinherit her son shortly before her death. Froude, who regards Mary's behaviour at her execution as a splendid example of the histrionic art, finds a conspicuous proof of her mendacity in her speech to Andrew Melville as she passed to the block—'Commend me to my son, tell him I have done nothing to prejudice his kingdom of Scotland.'[5] Philip certainly believed that such a will had been made, and Mary's own letters are undoubtedly full of fierce anger and threats against the treacherous James; but that she actually disinherited him is at least not proven. What Mary did say was that if her son remained obstinate in his heresy she would make a will disinheriting him, but in a later letter she stated that it was

[1] Knox, *op. cit.* p. c, and pp. 286, 288. [2] Knox, *op. cit.* p. c, and p. 289.

[3] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza*, vol. iv. p. 122.

[4] On this alleged Will see a note in *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. xi. p. 338.

[5] Froude, *Elizabeth*, vol. v. p. 317.

unlikely that she would be able to make a testament at all. As far as can be discovered, no copy of such a will was ever found, and the Spaniards were evidently hard put to it to establish proof of its existence. Curle had seen minutes of it in Walsingham's house. Mistress Curle brought a message sent by Mary immediately before her death, which certainly made over the three crowns to Philip, provided her son remained obstinate, but which also besought Philip to do his utmost to bring James back to the true faith. The report that Elizabeth frightened James with the story of the will is credible enough, but it does not prove that the will ever existed; for Mary's letter of May 20, 1586, in which she threatened to disinherit her son had passed through Walsingham's hands. Thus the English government could assume the existence of the document, and the rumour that Elizabeth burnt it with her own hands was probably invented to account for the fact that no copy could be found.

And, on the whole, it seems likely that no such will was made; certainly it never came into the hands of Philip. His ambassador, Mendoza, did indeed receive a will, but this dealt with private affairs and did not mention the crown at all. The very zeal of the Spaniards in collecting the evidence of Mary's servants, and their manifest anxiety about her letter to the Pope, are additional grounds for believing that the famous project of the will was never carried into execution. The story, however, was bruited abroad on all hands, and obviously it was not the interest of Philip to contradict it. Officially he himself believed it, and used it as the coping stone to his claims upon the English and Scottish crowns.

James, it is clear, was in a parlous state. Ostensibly he was by virtue of the treaty of July 5th, 1586,[1] the pensioned ally of Queen Elizabeth; the execution of his mother supplied him with an excellent logical advantage over his paymistress, but he had no real intention of quarrelling with her.[2] He accepted her purgation of 'yon unhappy fact,'[3] and, though he was inclined to make the most of his grievances,[4] allowed himself to be soothed with

[1] Thorpe, *Cal. Stat. Pap. Scot. Eliza.* vol. i. p. 529.

[2] Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 611, and Froude, *Elizabeth*, vol. v. p. 327 and n. and p. 333.

[3] Bruce, *Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.* (*Camden Soc.* 1849), pp. 45-6.

[4] Thorpe, *Cal. Stat. Pap. Scot. Eliza.* vol. i. p. 549. James shows himself dissatisfied; but p. 551 of the same calendar contains a receipt for £5000. Cf. Bruce, *op. cit.* pp. 47-50, and Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 612, and Robert Carey's *Memoirs*, p. 49. Cf. too Archibald Douglas' correspondence in *Hist. MSS. Com. Salisbury*, vol. iii.

soft words and hard cash. None the less the English ministers were far from easy about their northern neighbour, and the reports of their agents certainly supplied grave cause for disquietude. It was the practice of those political jackals[1] to send in 'scare' news, and they did not always understand the meaning of the information they sent even when the facts were correct, but on this occasion they were close to the mark. For James VI., even though Philip had decided to dispense with him, was still the central point of many Roman Catholic intrigues. The pages of Calderwood reveal the nervous dread felt by the ministers of the Papists in Scotland, but it is less easy to get a clear picture of the relations between the King and continental Catholicism. These may be regarded as the interaction of two distinct tendencies—Rome was still stretching out her hand to James VI., and certain Scots nobles were still seeking help from their fellow-believers in other lands. To the design of Philip II. both these tendencies were fraught with danger. He, as will be shown, did his best to make the first abortive; the second he succeeded in exploiting for his own advantage.

The French party at the Vatican, as already stated, was anxious for James's conversion, and early in 1587 we find Olivares hard at work persuading Cardinal Mondovi that James VI.[2] was a hopeless heretic, and urging the futility of sending an envoy to him in the person of William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane. Chisholm[3] had first became famous as the bearer of Mary's demand for a dispensation to enable her to marry Darnley, and after his mistress' downfall he had been offered a see in France (Vaison), which, however, he soon resigned. For twenty years he had lived as a Carthusian friar, but now at this crisis in his nation's history the old man had entered once more the political arena, thrown himself at the Pope's feet, and begged to be allowed to return and convert his sovereign. This at least is Froude's story, but other evidence states that he was sent by the authority and at the

[1] Thorpe, *Cal. Stat. Pap. Scot. Eliza.* vol. i. pp. 547 and 548. Ogilvy of Powrie and John Colville are correspondents of the type mentioned. Their letters err in assuming the unity of the Catholic forces. Thus Colville (p. 548, Thorpe) supposes the Bishop of Dunblane was sent by Spain. He was sent in spite of Spain.

[2] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. pp. 4, and 40, 51. Froude, *Elizabeth*, vol. v. p. 337, quotes another letter of Olivares which does not appear in the calendar.

[3] An account of Chisholm appears in Forbes-Leith's *Narratives of the Scottish Catholics*, but fuller information is given in *Papal Negociations with Queen Mary* [edited by the Rev. J. H. Pollen for the Scottish History Society.]

expense of Owen Lewis, Bishop of Cassano,[1] a stout opponent of Allen.[2] Plainly the mission was an effort of the anti-Spanish party, whose hopes had been excited by the news that James had restored their temporalities to Dunblane and Glasgow, and wished to continue the latter, Mary's old ambassador, as his representative at Paris.[3] By October the envoy was gone to Scotland, much to the disgust of Mendoza, who compared these Scottish bishops to mothers who, 'although they see their children do ill, continue to hope for their amendment.'[4] Soon, however, the ambassador has news which pleases him better—the bishop was persecuted on his arrival, and has little chance of an interview with the King.[5] Reports of March 30, 1588, from London represent Chisholm as conferring with Chancellor Maitland since he could not obtain speech with James himself, and as obtaining for his pains nothing but the statement that James was greatly afraid of Spain, and would never change his religion.[6]

None the less even Mendoza is compelled to admit that the audience has taken place,[7] and though he represents the bishop as arriving at Paris utterly disillusioned,[8] it must be remembered that this is only the Spanish side of the story. According to the other version[9] James was induced to promise—on conditions,—that he would admit the armada to his realm, and put himself into Philip's hands. On the whole it is likely that James tried to temporise, for besides the efforts Rome was making to reach him, he had to consider the attempts made by some of his nobles to get into touch with Spain.

The general line of Philip's policy was, as has been shown, to leave Scotland out of the question, and to carry on the enterprise

[1] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 542.

[2] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 212, and Knox, *op. cit.* Index *sub.* Lewis, Owen. Father Knox tries to prove personal esteem, but admits divergence of policy—very necessarily. See Knox, p. cvi.

[3] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 84 and p. 100. Olivares recounts the great effect produced at Rome by these restorations. But before long Mendoza reports that James has really annexed their temporalities [p. 139 and p. 158].

[4] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. pp. 155-6.

[5] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 180 and p. 194.

[6] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 242.

[7] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 255. In Thorpe's *Calendar of Scotland, Elizabeth,* vol. i. p. 547, Ogilvy of Powrie is made to announce the interview. But the letter is plainly put under a wrong date.

[8] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 367.

[9] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 542.

of England with as little noise as possible. It was therefore not through Spanish efforts, but by the agency of Guise that the Scottish nobles renewed relations with continental Catholicism. Philip, though he encouraged the Scottish conspiracy, regarded it as a mere piece of by-play. Naturally he did not enlighten the Scots nobles on this point, nor does he seem to have informed either Parma or Guise. The last-named, in fact, was furious at his gradual exclusion from his own design, and may have taken his revenge by giving James a hint to beware of trusting Spain too far.[1]

Guise never had approved of any scheme for deposing James, and in July, 1586, he came forward with an enterprise which he asked Mendoza to communicate to Philip.[2] Robert Bruce, a busy spy, whose manifold treacheries eventually ruined him,[3] had arrived with letters of credit for the Earls of Huntly and Morton and Lord Claude Hamilton,[4] and with demands of the usual kind,[5]—6000 paid troops for one year, 150,000 crowns to carry on the war, and further supplies of money for two years if necessary. In return the lords promised to make James a Catholic, and to put him at Philip's disposal, as well as to hold a few good ports near the borders. To show that their offer was *bona-fide*, they suggested that the money should not be paid over at once, but deposited within reach and used as necessary. Mendoza received the offer coolly enough, and demanded further information as to the kind of troops required, the nature of the financial arrangement, and so forth,[6] but in the meantime he sent Bruce on to Spain, where he pressed the scheme very hotly.[7] It was represented to Philip, that though there was need of haste, the plan was easy, cheap, and well guaranteed, for the lords were persons of reputation, and would be content to receive the money after the

[1] Guise's dissatisfaction appears plainly in *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 100 and p. 108, and it is clear that Spain feared he would divulge the plan to James. Martin Hume, in a note on p. 100, says that Guise eventually did so, but does not give any authority for his statement.

[2] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. pp. 589-90.

[3] For an account of Bruce, see Grave's Law, *Collected Essays and Reviews*, p. 313. See also *MSS. Scotland, Elizabeth*, vol. lxiv. No. 48 and vol. lxv. No. 88.

[4] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. pp. 580-1.

[5] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 590.

[6] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. pp. 595-6.

[7] Bruce was in Madrid by Aug. 1586 [*Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 597], and it seems likely that the 'Memorandum on Scottish Affairs,' published by Teulet, vol. v. p. 355, represents the case as put by Bruce himself.

fait accompli of converting the King. Philip, however, had heard fine promises before, and in any case the conversion of James was the last thing he wanted. Accordingly he replied to Guise, thanking him and the earls very warmly,[1] but explaining that he would have to consult Mendoza and Parma; as a matter of fact he wrote to Mendoza on the very same day,[2] saying that the lords were probably too sanguine, and bidding him ask Parma whether 4000 men if sent to Scotland would be sufficient to make a real diversion.

Mendoza, on receiving his master's instructions, wrote to Parma, warmly commending the scheme, but suggesting the necessity of making further enquiries as to the position of the King of Scots in regard to the affair.[3] It is significant of Philip's method that Parma was not told what was the ultimate object of all these conspiracies,[4] that Guise was given in the meantime no information,[5] and that, though Bruce, the official pivot of the plot, did not arrive in Paris till the beginning of November,[6] Mendoza had had Philip's views a fortnight before, and had been able to get a long start in the negotiation with Parma. But the prince did not receive the letter till six weeks later, and when he did reply it was to counsel delay, so that before anything was done Bruce had urgent letters from his employers demanding a speedy decision. Mendoza could reply only in the vaguest terms,[7] and towards the end of December, 1586, we find him sending on to Philip Parma's unfavourable epistle, but urging for his own part immediate action; he had now got all possible details, he said, and had no further excuse for delay.[8] The beginning of 1587, however, finds Philip still marking time, though content to make a

[1] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 631.

[2] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 630. Philip plainly regarded the whole thing as a diversion. He speaks of 'the 4000 men they request.' They asked for 6000. It seems likely that Philip's other vast designs left him little attention for this aspect of the 'enterprise.'

[3] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 635. Oct. 15, 1586.

[4] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 665. Parma's reply to Mendoza's letter, Nov. 27, 1586, makes it quite plain that he did not yet know 'the designs which His Majesty has in his royal breast'; he is uncertain whether the real blow is to be struck at England. Cf. p. 683.

[5] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 639.

[6] Bruce arrived on Nov. 2, 1586 [*Cal. Span. Pap Eliza.* vol. iii. p. 648]. Obviously Mendoza had Philip's instructions before he wrote to Parma on Oct. 15.

[7] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. pp. 667-8. Nov. 28, 1586.

[8] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iii. pp. 681-688. Dec. 24, 1586.

nominal acceptance of the lords' offer if there is no other way of keeping them in hand.[1] So Spain played with the anxieties of the Scottish conspirators, until the leaden foot was stirred to motion by the news of Mary's death. The Most Catholic King now wrote promising money as soon as James was liberated, and advising the earls to hasten his conversion,[2] but,—what is more important,—Parma had meanwhile become convinced of the practicability of the scheme, and in his capable hands the affair at once took on an air of reality.[3] The only question was how to get the troops across the water, and he and Bruce hit upon a rather neat device.[4] Bruce was to hasten to Scotland, and there freight thirty ships for the Baltic; they were to load wheat at Danzig in the usual way, but were to return to Scotland *via* Dunkirk, where they could drop their cargoes, and take the soldiers instead. One incidental advantage of the scheme was that it would enable the Prince to feed his army, whose supplies were short, and indeed the whole prospect seemed bright. Bruce was despatched with 10,000 crowns, and instructions to act with all possible speed, while Guise[5] was tardily given a partial knowledge of the facts; and Philip, who meditated the disinheriting of James, sent him a friendly message, which was transmitted to Bruce by Beaton.[6]

So the plan seemed to prosper. Crichton,[7] who arrived at Rome with all the details, was induced to hold his tongue, and led to believe that the object of the whole thing was to benefit James, but throughout the summer no word came from the arch-plotter Bruce. He had been delayed in Brittany,[8] and when he eventually

[1] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 10. Jan. 28, 1587.

[2] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. pp. 57-8. March 31, 1587.

[3] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 28. It is significant that what changed Parma's point of view was the 'minute information' furnished by Bruce; it is when he takes up the matter that essential details such as dates are first seriously considered.

[4] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 68. Parma, it will be observed, invented this scheme himself. Philip's idea was to send money, but the Prince, though he heard his master's views in April [*Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 76], preferred to keep to his own design.

[5] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 78, p. 89, and p. 108.

[6] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 57, p. 79, p. 90, and p. 107.

[7] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 122.

[8] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. Bruce's long silence caused general anxiety. See pp. 98, 100, 120, 134, 156. He wrote on Oct. 2 (p. 144) a very full account of all that happened, but it appears from Mendoza's letter to Philip (Oct. 27) that Bruce had sent in September two letters reporting progress (p. 159). For exaggerated reports of his embassy see *Stat. Pap. Scot. Eliza.* xlii. 71, and 95.

arrived at Lochryan he found Morton gone, and the season so far advanced that the scheme was useless, for the Baltic would be frozen before his ships were ready to sail with their wheat. He reported that he had seen the King on three occasions, and had found him prepared to negotiate with Philip ; convinced, however, that James was a Protestant at heart, he had confined himself to generalities, and refrained from mentioning the design of the wheat ships. This design was, of course, abandoned by Parma, and Bruce remained in Scotland with his 10,000 crowns.

Such was the situation in 1588, when the execution of the great enterprise against England relegated to the back-ground the affairs of Scotland, although the advent of the Armada was of as great moment to the northern Kingdom as to the southern. The year of long-predicted wonders[1] had arrived, and it found Scotland as troubled as ever before. It found the King 'occupied in commenting of the Apocalypse, and in setting out of sermontes thairupon against the Papists and Spainyarts ; and yit by a piece of grait oversight the Papists practeised never mair bisselie in this land, and maid graitter preparation for receiving the Spainyarts nor that year.'[2] So runs James Melville's *Diary*, and goes on to describe the constant alarms of the Armada's landing, the constant fasting and prayers by which the ministers sought to avert the danger.[3] James, in fact, was ostensibly in good relations with Elizabeth, and he seems to have told Robert Cary about some of the offers made to him from abroad ;[4] but England was far from sure of him, and Lord Hunsdon described him as of doubtful disposition and evil companionship.[5]

Bruce was still active, and, along with his party, concocted a plot for capturing James about the middle of February. Huntly, Crawford, Montrose, and others met at Dunfermline, where Huntly had a house, and the Hamiltons gathered their friends at Linlithgow.[6] This scheme came to naught, but Bruce was still hopeful of achieving his end under cover of a cry for reform of the administration,[7] and during the month of February James

[1] Calderwood, vol. iv. pp. 648-9 ; James Melville's *Diary*, p. 264.

[2] James Melville's *Diary*, p. 260.

[3] James Melville's *Diary*, p. 261. Cf. Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 647, p. 650.

[4] Bruce, *Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.* p. 47.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 49 n. (quoting Murdin, p. 591).

[6] For Bruce's activity, see *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. pp. 204, 210. The account of the kidnapping plot is in the same calendar, p. 227.

[7] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 224.

seems to have had a very friendly interview with Father James Gordon, although he showed no signs of changing his religion.[1] Before long too the Roman Catholic party received fresh help from Spain, but this reinforcement, to the disappointment of the lords, came not in the shape of troops, but merely in the person of two Scotsmen.[2] The Earl of Morton, who had left Scotland to seek Philip, was sent back with 5000 crowns, and with him came Col. Semple, a stout soldier of fortune, with a commission from Parma to the King. At first the Prince had intended to give him a definite message, but Mendoza, who wanted to keep clear of bargains with James, persuaded him that such a course would only reawaken English suspicions to no purpose. In the end all Semple got was a vague letter of credence with instructions to use it or not according to the advice of the Scots nobles.

In the middle of April[3] the two set sail quietly from Gravelines, on the errand of making trouble in Scotland.[4] The Colonel on arrival did actually see the King, 'and got the usual answer from him.' Morton,[5] however, contrary to Semple's advice to concentrate in the North, made a premature rising in his own district of Galloway; and James, considering the excitement of the country and the small prospect of Spanish assistance, was compelled to act vigorously. The Earl was captured on the 5th of June, and a few days later Lochmaben was taken and its captain hanged—much to the delight of Elizabeth. Notwithstanding all this, the Catholics remained very hopeful until August,[6] but James, the moment the

[1] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 260.

[2] The movements of these two Scots can be traced in *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. P. 171 shows us Morton equipped with 5000 crowns. Semple's journey to Parma, *via* Paris, appears from pp. 171, 174, 179, and 231. The Colonel, whom Philip describes as 'a zealous man, though, doubtless, a thorough Scot,' had arrived in Paris by Dec. 6th, 1587, and was sent by Mendoza to Parma, who gave him a letter of credit of date 27th Feb. 1588, and sent him back to Paris with a missive to Mendoza (p. 201), in which he proposed to entrust his envoy with a message to James inviting him to avenge the death of his mother. Mendoza (p. 231) regarded James as hopeless, and Philip (p. 254) was glad that he should confine himself to generalities. In the end he was instructed to see what the Scots nobles thought on the point (p. 241).

[3] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. pp. 241, 277, 297. *Graves Law* (*Collected Essays*, p. 325) states that Semple landed in August, but this is incorrect.

[4] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 231, gives details of Morton's intention of stirring up strife. Parma thought that Semple might give exact information on the situation (p. 201).

[5] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 351. Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 678.

[6] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 361.

Armada appeared in sight, put himself unreservedly into the English camp.[1] He wrote to Elizabeth offering his help upon her own terms, and her agent Ashby, alarmed at Parma's intelligence within the country, made the Scottish King some fine promises which were never fulfilled,[2] although money was soon sent. But by this time the crisis was passed; the Armada had come and gone, sorely mishandled by the weather and the English guns, and when James said it had never come 'within a kenning of Scotland,'[3] he was, in the main, telling the truth.

For a while the Spaniards fondly imagined that the great fleet had found some Scottish port,[4] Newcastle, perhaps, or the Moray Firth, and one sanguine report described it as increased to 300 sail, by the capture of a great fishing fleet near the Orkneys. These hopes were short-lived. Early in September Mendoza wrote to say that a St. Andrews ship had seen the Armada far north,[5] between the Orkneys and Shetlands, and advices direct from Scotland mentioned only one little and doubtful point of contact. Colonel Semple had left the Firth of Forth to speak with a Spanish pinnace, and on his return had been arrested.[5]

At first Huntly's authority was sufficient to secure his release, but ere long he was captured again and warded in Robert Gourlay's house,[6] whence he speedily escaped. Forbes-Leith[7] tells us a romantic story of the valiant Colonel's escape, in which the usual pies and rope-ladder play a conspicuous part. According to his account, Semple, a stout man, descended from the seventh storey on a slim rope, and escaped the guard round the house—400 men—by acting the drunkard, and falling into a muddy pool. Thus did he save himself from instant death. The narrative is a fairy tale; the only true thing is the figure 400. It was precisely 400 crowns which were paid to bribe Semple out of prison.

The fact is that the story of Semple is an excellent instance of James' duplicity. Philip was playing a double game, but he had his match in the Scottish King. The Colonel arrived, spoke with

[1] Bruce, *Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.* p. 51; Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 682.

[2] *MSS. Scotland, Elizabeth:* vol. xlii., Nos. 108, 110.

[3] Bruce, *Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.* p. 55.

[4] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. pp. 410, 411, 415, 434.

[5] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 405 and p. 425.

[6] Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 681.

[7] *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, pp. 368-9.

the King, and remained in the country quiet and unharmed[1]—until the Armada had passed. Then James arrested him as a proof of his Protestant zeal, but allowed him to be bought out of prison,[2] possibly because he felt that a strict examination would not throw a favourable light upon the royal honesty. The King published abroad his story that Semple had 'repairit laitlie within this realme allegeand him to have commissioun to the Kingis Majestie albeit he had na sic commissioun or instrumentis,' and he accused the Colonel of treasonably dealing with his subjects.[3] Semple, however, certainly had a commission—it exists to-day among the Balcarres MSS. in the Advocates' Library.[4]

Such was the brilliant result of all the plottings. The Roman Catholics were slow to accept the verdict, and clamoured for fresh assistance,which appeared in the shape of 10,000 crowns delivered by John Chisholm to Bruce in Huntly's house at Dunfermline.[5] Even Mendoza was of opinion that Parma might still send troops to Scotland with great advantage,[6] but the doom of the Catholic hopes was written in a marginal note on one of Philip's letters to

[1] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. Before July Semple had spoken with the King, and got the 'usual answer,' p. 351; on the 31st of July he and Bruce wrote to Parma an account of the situation.

[2] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 429, and Calderwood, vol. v. p. 24, where Bruce accounts to Parma for the sum of 400 crowns.

[3] *Reg. Privy. Coun.* vol. iv. p. 316.

[4] *Balcarres MSS.* vol. vi. No. 5. In a foreign clerk's hand, but signed 'Alexandres.' The letter was a mere letter of credit to 'Guillaume Simpel present porteur,' but asked for 'benigne audience foy, et credence . . . en ce qu'il luy declairera plus amplement,' and referred the King to a verbal commission. As Semple saw the King, James must have known of the letter, one imagines. It is, however, possible that Semple, acting on his instructions, was vague in his statements.

George Conn, *De Duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos*, p. 145, supposes that Semple had a commission from Philip. 'Hic a Philippo Hispaniarum Rege (qui celebrem illam classem qua maiorem oceanus nunquam viderat contra Angliam tum parabat) ad Iacobum secretiora quaedam negotia pertracturus missus.'

An interesting but very lame defence of James' action is found in Father Crichton's *Apologie* (1598).

[5] Calderwood, vol. v. p. 20. It is difficult to date the arrival of this money. Bruce acknowledges it on Jan. 24th, 1589, but Chisholm had arrived in Scotland before Aug. 5th, 1588 (*Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. p. 361). As Bruce wrote several times to Parma without mentioning the money, in the autumn of 1588, it seems likely that Chisholm had gone back to the Continent, and returned later in the year with a fresh supply of cash.

[6] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* vol. iv. pp. 476-7. The correspondence between Bruce and Parma was maintained all autumn. Bruce and the Lords still thought the chance good (pp. 426, 479).

his ambassador. 'I will have the Scottish matter you mention well considered,' he said in the body of his letter.[1] But the note is as follows: 'I do not remember to what this refers. Tell me.'

The Spanish Armada[2] then has left in Scotland few tangible traces of its passing, and on the national history its effects seem equally small. The Catholic lords remained Catholic, and continued to bargain with Spain and with Rome; the King still played a double game, and shared to some extent in his subjects' conspiracies. Throughout the rest of James' reign in Scotland, there was a restless undercurrent of plots fomented by Papal emissaries and by Spanish gold. But the great 'Enterprise' had at least this result—it made the King of Scots all the more resolute in his determination not to rely on Spain.

The product of a strange medley of actions and motives, of courage and distrust, of piety and knavery, of the lowest of lies and the highest of ideals, the Armada failed in its purpose. So far from recovering Great Britain for Catholicism, it had left her more Protestant than ever. Yet even in his downfall Philip commands our admiration, even as his poor storm-stricken soldiers attract our pity. His courage was undismayed, his faith was unshaken, and from the depths of his defeat, he rose with dogged resolution, prepared to try again.

J. D. Mackie.

[1] *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza*, vol. iv. p. 499 n.

[2] A very able resumé of the situation was drawn up by the Master of Gray in 1590. [*Papers Relating to Patrick, Master of Gray*, Bannatyne Club, 1835.]

The Boundary Stone and the Market Cross[1]

I

A SURVEY of the known facts regarding the social feelings of uncivilised man leads to the conclusion that he regards the stranger, if not with open hate, at least with fear and suspicion as one belonging to strange gods, and bringing with him strange supernatural influences.[2] Thus, among the Indians of North America, it is a common notion that strangers, particularly white strangers, are oftentimes accompanied by evil spirits, which create and delight in mischief;[3] and the Bakaïri, and some of the tribes of Australia, believe that evil, sickness, and death come from the sorceries of strangers beyond their borders.[4] This belief that the stranger is dangerous involves the view that his country, too, is full of danger. Frazer[5] suggests that the fire borne at the head of an army in ancient Greece, and among the Ovambo of South West Africa, 'may have been intended to dissipate the evil influences, whether magical or spiritual, with which the air of the enemy's country might be expected to teem'; and we know, to take one of the many instances which bear upon this notion, that

[1] It is not our purpose in the following pages to discuss the connection of the so-called market crosses of Scotland with the perrons of Belgium—a subject which two recent writers have made peculiarly their own: W. G. Black, *Glasgow Market Cross, with a Suggestion as to the Origin of Scottish Market Crosses*, Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1913; Count Goblet d'Alviella, *Les Perrons de la Wallonie et les Market-Crosses de l'Écosse*, Bruxelles, 1914.

[2] T. B. Jevons, *An Introduction to the History of Religion*, 2nd ed. London, 1902, p. 71; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed. Pt. ii.: *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, London, 1911, p. 102; A. Van Gennep, *Les Rites de Passage*, Paris, 1909, pp. 36 ff.

[3] R. J. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, Hertford, Conn., 1886, p. 119.

[4] K. von den Steinen, *Unter d. Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 232-3; B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, London, 1904, pp. 31 ff.

[5] *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed. Pt. i.: *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, London, 1911, ii. p. 264; Pt. ii. *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, p. 111.

the New Zealanders, on going to a strange land, performed certain ceremonies 'to make it *noa*, lest, perchance, it might previously have been *tapu*.'[6]

If, then, the stranger and his land are so fraught with peril, it need not be matter of surprise that the boundary land is regarded with feelings of awe and dread—feelings which are intensified by the nature of the boundaries themselves. These are defined by the forest or the mountain, by river, lake, or watershed, by the swamp, or by a great tree or a conspicuous stone;[7] and as each of these objects has its indwelling spirit, the border is regarded as the abiding place of supernatural powers.

Even at a very early period artificial land-marks were recognised. Thus, Caesar[8] says of the German tribes: 'Civitatibus maxima laus est quam latissime circum se vastatis finibus solitudines habere. Hoc proprium virtutis existimant, expulsos agris finitimos cedere neque quemquam prope audere consistere; simul hoc se fore tutiores arbitrantur, repentinae incursionis timore sublato.' The Mangwangwara kings deliberately surrounded their country 'with an enormous starvation area, by ruthlessly destroying villages and whole races around them';[9] and the Kissandschi country is separated from its neighbours by an uninhabited solitude of several days' journey.[10] Sometimes the boundaries were marked by heaps of stones. Such stones were regarded as sacred in Babylonia, whose kings are said to have 'taxed their powers of cursing in order to terrify men from removing their neighbours' landmarks;'[11] the old German records bear witness to the barbarity of the punishments meted out to those who wilfully destroyed or uprooted boundary stones; and an ordinance of

[6] E. Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, London, 1854, p. 83.

[7] W. N. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, Boston, 1870, p. 114; C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Von dem Rechtszustande unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens*, München, 1832, p. 35; J. G. F. Riedel, *De Sluik- en kroesharige Rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, 's-Gravenhage, 1886, p. 408 *et passim*; J. Grimm, *Deutsche-Grenzalterthümer*, *Kleinere Schriften*, Berlin, 1865, ii. pp. 38 ff.; J. M. Kemble, *The Saxons in England*, new ed., London, 1876, i. pp. 52-3.

[8] *De Bell. Gall.* vi. 23; cp. iv. 3.

[9] W. J. Ansorge, *Under the African Sun*, London, 1899, p. 42.

[10] L. Magyar, *Reisen in Sud-Afrika* . . ., aus d. Ungarischen von J. Hunfalvy, Pest u. Leipzig, 1859, i. p. 73.

[11] C. H. W. Johns, *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts, and Letters*, Edinburgh, 1904, p. 191.

Numa provided that 'qui terminum exarasset et ipsum et boves sacros esse.'[12]

Among the Abors, the boundaries of each man's clearing are marked by upright stones;[13] and in ancient Egypt stelae served a similar purpose.[14] Grimm[15] refers to the old Norse *Vardi*, which means primarily 'a heap of stones,' and secondarily 'a boundary'; and Liebrecht[16] informs us that there are, on the borders of Spanish Galicia, great heaps of stones, to which a native, who leaves the district in search of work, adds a stone on his departure or on his return. These heaps recall to us a custom, prevalent in ancient Greece, of honouring Hermes, the god of ways and boundaries, by piling up, beside his symbol, which was an upright stone, a cairn of stones called Ἑρμαιος λόφος. At this, stones were thrown according to one authority, while another states that the passer-by added a stone to the heap.[17] It has been conjectured that the 'plurima simulacra' of the Gaulish Mercury may have been boundary stones like the emblems of Hermes and of the Roman Terminus; and this view finds support in the menhir of Kerradel, upon which is sculptured an image of Mercury dating from Gallo-Roman times, and in the discovery beneath a similar megalith near Peronne of a bronze statuette of the same god.[17a] These upright stones, in their turn remind us of the 'stones of worship' which were objects of devotion in many parts of pagan Ireland, and which served as boundary-stones and as memorials of the dead.[18] Thus, in one of the law-tracts we are told that when certain tribal chieftains had taken possession of a district 'they erected boundaries and pillar-stones there.'[19] Ammianus Marcellinus[20] speaks of a locality 'ubi

[12] J. Grimm, *Deutsche Grenzalterthümer*, pp. 59-60.

[13] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 26.

[14] Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilisation in Egypt and Chaldæa*, transl. M'Clure, 3rd ed. London, 1897, p. 329.

[15] *Op. cit.* p. 45. [16] *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 279.

[17] L. R. Farnell, *The Cult of the Greek States*, Oxford, 1909, v. p. 7 and note 32, on the authority of Cornutus and the Scholiast on *Odyssey*, xvi. 471.

[17a] J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 285; *Id.* art. 'Celts' in *The Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. by J. Hastings. It is to be observed that Rhys (*Lectures on . . . Celtic Heathendom* (*The Hibbert Lectures*, 1886), London, 1888, pp. 238, 283-287) regards Woden as the counterpart of the Gaulish Mercury.

[18] P. W. Joyce, *A Social History of Ancient Ireland*, London, 1903, i. pp. 174 ff.; ii. pp. 155, 206.

[19] Joyce, *op. cit.* ii. p. 206. [20] xviii. 2. 5.

terminales lapides Alammanorum et Burgundorum confinia distinguebant' ; and, in Hawaii, a stone image or a line of stones, somewhat detached from one another, sometimes serves to separate the different districts or larger divisions.[21] In a passage which is of special significance in the present connection, Joseph Thomson,[22] the well-known African traveller, observes that 'whenever anything strange and unusual is seen by the native, he at once detects a ghost or a demon in it, with power to kill or smite with disease, but which can be appeased with some offering or other. Usually this occurs at the boundary of two districts, or where some dangerous tract of country commences. The common custom then is to throw down on a heap of stones a rag, stick, or some grass ; and so thoroughly do they believe in this practice that no one presumes to pass without such a tribute.' Frazer,[23] while admitting that it is difficult if not impossible to explain all the different instances of the practice on one principle, makes merry at the notion of worshipping a god by throwing stones at him, and opines that the idea, to which the usage gives effect, is, in many cases, at all events, 'the transference of evil from man to a material substance, which he can cast from him like an outworn garment.' In his admirable work, *The Legend of Perseus*,[24] Mr. Sidney Hartland suggests that this, and a variety of similar customs, are to be explained as applications of a mode of reasoning very familiar to uncivilised man. The latter regards as part of himself not only his blood and saliva, his hair-clippings and nail-parings, and the like, but earth from his footprints, the remnants of his food, his name, his portrait, his clothes, his ornaments, his weapons, and his implements ; and, in his view, these things do not cease to be parts of him, even when they are detached from him. Accordingly, the sorcerer, if he gain possession of some article of raiment, can work the destruction of its owner ; and the gipsy by dropping the warm blood of her left foot into the shoes or stockings of her lover, can bind his footsteps day and night to herself. The same reasoning underlies such customs as hanging rags on sacred trees or casting coins or pins into a sacred well or waterfall,

[21] W. Ellis, *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii or Owhyee*, 1826, p. 324. Each of these divisions was at one time the domain of an independent chief (*Id. Polynesian Researches*, 2nd ed. 1832, iv. p. 148).

[22] *To the Central African Lakes and Back*, London, 1881, i. p. 228.

[23] *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed. Pt. vi. : *The Scapegoat*, London, 1913, pp. 23, 30.

[24] London, 1895, ii. pp. 52, 55-116, 128, 214-15.

or driving nails into a sacred tree; and, by adding a stone to a sacred cairn, the wayfarer brings himself into a permanent spiritual union with the demon who inhabits it or the ghost of the dead man who lies under it.[25]

There seems, then, to be no good reason for doubting that the boundary, whether it was defined by the natural features of the country, or marked by artificial wastes, or pillars or piles of stones, was regarded as a domain subject to supernatural powers; and this view is supported by the mention of an offender, who was taken to the borders to be put to death, perhaps as a sacrifice to the divinities of the march.[26]

There were, besides, at all events at certain times, human inhabitants of the border whom it was desirable to placate; and it was by an application to life of the principle of reasoning of which we have spoken above that this desire was realised. The savage, driven by his 'needs and greeds,' wishes to obtain what the stranger—his enemy—possesses. If he resort to violence, he may bring disaster on his own head; and so he proceeds by opening a trade, or, rather perhaps, by offering an exchange of gifts. He, by giving some article, which is, as we have seen, a part of himself, and the stranger, by accepting his gift and giving something in return, create or enter into a spiritual union, which is of such a sort that its breach brings evil, or sickness, or death upon the breaker, and which thus secures the parties to the transaction from the perils of robbery and violence, so long, at least, as the trading lasts. In other words, this union establishes a temporary peace during the continuance of a trade on the border.[27]

[25] Liebrecht, *op. cit.* pp. 267 ff., cites from India, Africa, and many parts of Europe, instances of the practice of throwing sticks, stones, and other articles on the cairn, which marks a grave. We shall content ourselves with noting an expression of gratitude for a service done in use in the Highlands of Scotland, 'I will add a stone to your cairn' (Forbes Leslie, *The Early Races of Scotland and their Monuments*, Edinburgh, 1866, ii. p. 323); and the statement of O'Curry (*On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, London, 1873, i. p. cccxxxix, cp. p. cccxx) that he remembered as a living custom the usage of putting a stone on a dead man's grave. Of course, when the dead man was an evildoer, the object may have been to prevent his malevolent spirit from returning and working mischief.

[26] Kemble, *op. cit.* i. p. 47, note 3.

[27] P. J. Hamilton-Grierson, *The Silent Trade*, 1903, pp. 64 ff., and the same writer's art. 'Gifts (Primitive and Savage),' in *The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. by J. Hastings.

II.

The border is, then, at once both sacred and neutral; and, in these temporary border truces, we trace the beginnings of the border market. This institution is to be found in many lands. In British New Guinea, 'women from different villages or districts meet at appointed places, usually at the boundary between two tribes, and there barter their specialties for commodities from other localities.'[28] On the boundary of the Baluba, fairs are held at which the members of hostile tribes transact their business without danger,[29] and the northern kings used to meet on the borders of their dominions to arrange disputes—meetings which were made the occasion of trading.[30] In Italy, one of the most important fairs was held on the boundary which separated the Etruscan from the Sabine lands;[31] and, in Greece, numerous markets were held on the boundaries, under the protection of *θεοὶ ἀγοραῖοι*.[32] The merchants who followed the Roman legions engaged in a provision trade with German tribes at different points upon the frontier;[33] and we read of fairs on the borders of Arabia, Nubia, and the Frankish empire.[34] A border fair in ancient Ireland presents characteristics which are of special interest, as bearing closely on the subject of these pages. In the earliest times of which we have any record, the provinces into which Ireland was divided met at a point on the hill of Usnech (in the present county of Westmeath), marked by a great stone, called 'the stone of Destiny,' which stands there a conspicuous object still.[35] It was there that an *aenach* or fair took place—an assemblage of which apparently the main object was the celebration of a religious festival, accompanied with games and with buying and selling.[36] Most of such meetings had their origin in funeral

[28] A. C. Haddon, *Head-Hunters, Black White and Brown*, London, 1901, p. 269.

[29] H. von Wissmann, *My Second Journey through Equatorial Africa*... London, 1891, p. 125.

[30] K. Lehmann, *Kauffriede und Friedsschild; Germanische Abhandlungen zum LXX Geburtstag Konrad von Maurer's*, Göttingen, 1893, pp. 50-51.

[31] Th. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, transl. by Dickson, London, 1867, i. p. 203.

[32] O. Schrader, *Linguistisch-historische Forschungen zur Handelsgeschichte u. Waarenkunde*, Jena, 1886, p. 35.

[33] K. Rathgen, *Die Enstehung d. Märkte in Deutschland*, Darmstadt, 1881, pp. 3-4.

[34] P. Huvelin, *Essai historique sur le droit des Marchés et Foires*, Paris, 1897, pp. 59, 60, 205.

[35] Joyce, *op. cit.* i. pp. 37-8.

[36] *Id. ib.* ii. 438,440.

games; and at Usnech there was an extensive cemetery at or near the place of the fair.[37]

III.

Here, then, we have on the same hill a boundary stone, a fair, and a cemetery—a combination of characteristics which at once recalls Hermes-Mercurius, whose symbol was an upright stone, the god of ways and boundaries, the conductor of the dead, and the protector of merchants. In his well-known work, *The Origin of Civilisation*,[38] Lord Avebury suggests that Hermes was conductor of the dead, because, even in very early days, upright stones were used as tombstones, and protector of merchants, because commerce was carried on principally at the frontier; and, in view of these suggestions, Huvelin[39] asks the question, Does not the statue of Hermes, which stood in the markets at cross-roads and on the boundaries, remind us of the statues and crosses of the Middle Ages, which occupied similar positions? Have we not here one and the same symbol under different names?

In his *Travels in Northern Greece*,[40] Leake tells us of his discovery of an image of Hermes at the village of Hadjilár in Thessaly. 'A stone in the wall of the church, upon which a Hermes on a pedestal represented in relief is inscribed with the words ΕΡΜΑΟ ΧΘΟΝΙΟΥ,[41] in very neat characters well preserved.' This stone, with others, had, it seems, been removed from an ancient cemetery at a place in the neighbourhood called Paleá Lárissa; and, according to Leake's statement, its removal was due to a fear that the Turks, who were by no means friendly to Greek monuments, might break it up. It is possible, however, that it found its way to this resting-place, owing to a curious practice of attaching to, or

[37] *Id. ib.*, ii. p. 434.

[38] 6th ed. London, 1902, pp. 318-19; cp. H. S. Maine, *Village Communities* ... New ed. London, 1890, pp. 192-3.

[39] *Op. cit.* p. 342 note.

[40] London, 1835, iii. pp. 363, 365-6, fig. 150. Leake also found at Saloníke, in Macedonia, an inscription 'containing the names of those who contended for the prize in a certain funeral contest, in which there were trials in the pancratium and in wrestling by boys, by young men, and by adults'; and this inscription bore a figure, twice repeated, somewhat similar to that on the stone at Hadjilár (*op. cit.* iii. p. 248).

[41] The epithet χθόνιος is not infrequently applied to Hermes as conductor of the dead; and we have it on Cicero's authority (*De Legibus*, ii. 26, quoted by Liebrecht, *op. cit.* p. 271) that it was customary in ancient Greece to place his image upon tombs: 'neque id (*i.e.* sepulchrum) opere tectoris, nec Hermas nos quos vocant licebat imponi.'

building into, the walls of Christian churches the images of heathen gods. Thus, Grimm[42] quotes Walafrid Strabo's *Life of St. Gallus* to the effect that when, in the year 612, the saint and his companion Columban disembarked among the Alamanns, settled on the shores of Lake Constance, they passed to an oratory built in honour of St. Aurelia, and there 'repererunt autem in templo tres imagines aereas deauratas parieti affixas, quas populus, dimisso altaris sacr cultu, adorabat, et oblatis sacrificiis dicere consuevit; isti sunt dii veteres et antiqui hujus loci tutores.' Grimm makes the suggestion that possibly these heathen images had been let into the wall to conciliate the people who were still attached to them, and he cites other instances of the practice. The representation of the god at Hadjilâr is in form a column standing upon a base with steps. At the top of the column two short arms project, shaped like the arms of a cross; and above these arms there is a rounded top, which completes the cross-like appearance.[43]

IV.

This representation of Hermes is figured not only in Leake's volume, but in Count Goblet d'Alviella's well-known work, *The Migration of Symbols*;[44] and, on seeing it there, the present writer was struck by the resemblance, previously unnoted, which it bears to the simpler forms of the Belgian *perrons*.[45]

[42] *Teutonic Mythology*, transl. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1880, i. p. 108.

[43] If we understand Leake's statement aright, the arms are not later additions to, but are parts of the original figure. If that be so, we cannot explain their presence by holding that they are the work of some Christian sculptor, who desired to adapt the figure to the new Faith. In Ireland, pillar-stones were consecrated to Christianity by engraving upon them the sign of the cross (W. G. Wood-Martin, *Pagan Ireland*, London, 1895, i. p. 141). See also Forbes Leslie, *op. cit.* i. p. 224; ii. p. 373. In his work entitled *The Migration of Symbols* (Westminster, 1894, p. 190) Count Goblet d'Alviella observes that the Hermes of Hadjilâr betrays the influence of the Tree of Life or *crux ansata*. In his courteous reply to the inquiry of the writer of these pages whether the remarkable resemblance between this Hermes and the Belgian *perron* as divested of its later accretions (see below), was or was not a mere coincidence, the learned author expressed the view that it was to be referred to the simpler forms of the cross by which the Church on her entrance into heathendom replaced the old megaliths which had been destroyed or abandoned (see *Les Perrons*, *supra cit.* pp. 43-4). At the same time, he pointed out that there is another possible explanation. The representation of the god may, he says, have been originally a boundary stone,—a Hermes,—which its votaries, in later days, sought to invest with the appearance of a living body, by adding two extended arms and a ball or ring on the top (cp. E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 4th ed. London, 1903, ii. 168).

[44] See note 43.

[45] These are figured in *Les Perrons*, *supra cit.*

Of these the most celebrated still stands above a fountain, on the market-place of Liège. It consists of a white marble column placed on a square base with five steps, guarded by four lions; and the capital is surmounted by the Three Graces, who support a crown encircling a fir-cone with a small cross on its point. D'Alviella is of opinion that this *perron* may be resolved into five elements attributable to as many periods. In his view, the origin of the column is to be found in German paganism; the fir-cone and the cross are to be referred to Gallo-Roman and Christian influences respectively; the lions and the crown belong to the feudal period; and the Graces are a product of the art of the seventeenth century.[46] In his latest work,[47] he points to a sixth element—the base—which he regards as oldest of all, and as closely related to those 'stones of justice' which, in the Middle Ages, marked the spot where the law was administered. M. Ch. Piot, general archivist of Belgium, has proved that persons were sworn on the perron ;[48] and d'Alviella cites a northern saga which shows that the Scandinavians swore 'by the holy white stone.'[49] In Scotland, the Kings of the Isles swore on 'the Black Stones of Iona' to preserve inviolate the rights of their vassals ;[50] and in his learned introduction to Small's valuable work on *Scottish Market Crosses*,[51] Hutcheson gives examples from Scotland of courts being held at standing stones, and of oaths being sworn upon them. The stone of Scone[52], and the *longi lapides* in the 'Rhineland,' the blue stone of Cologne, and the black stone of Worms, at all of which assemblies were held, may be recalled in this connection ;[53] and we are reminded that 'the Cross of Clackmannan is placed close to a great monolith . . ., and the Cross of Minigaff is simply

[46] *The Migration of Symbols*, pp. 103 ff.

[47] *Les Perrons*, pp. 3-4.

[48] *The Migration of Symbols*, p. 107. The present writer has unfortunately been unable to consult M. Piot's study, *Observations sur le perron de Liège*, in the *Revue belge de Numismatique*, iii. pp. 369 ff.

[49] *Loc. cit.*

[50] M. Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, in J. Pinkerton, *A General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, London, iii. p. 657. At p. 651, a similar instance is given from Islay. In Raasay, the islanders raised little pyramids of stones in memory of the deceased ladies of the proprietor's family. These they called crosses ; and some of these were built of stone and lime and have three steps of ascent to them (p. 627). See also Forbes Leslie, ii. pp. 319-20.

[51] Stirling, 1900.

[52] Black, *op. cit.* p. 22.

[53] J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, 3° Ausg. Göttingen, 1881, p. 303.

a large block of whinstone.'[54] It seems, then, permissible to infer that these stones were in some way associated with the administration of justice, and may in time have come to be regarded as symbols of collective life, and, perhaps, of popular privilege.[55]

The *perron*, then, and the typical market cross of Scotland, which, as Dr. Black explains, is not a cross at all,[56] present themselves, when divested of later embellishments,[57] in the form of an upright column, standing upon or set into a base. And the question arises,—What is the origin of this column? D'Alviella expresses himself as inclined to adopt the answer of M. Eugene Monseur,[58] who holds that the *perron* was, in origin, simply a *truncus super lapidem*, 'a post of justice' upon a 'stone of justice,' as is suggested by the expression found in old Alsatian documents —to have 'post and stone' in a village—*i.e.* to have jurisdiction there. He recalls the German custom of erecting, in their public assemblies, a post on which was suspended a shield,—a custom which continued in observance until the zenith of the period known as the Middle Ages. These posts were, before the diffusion of Christianity, at once the symbols of 'the god of assemblies' (*Thingsaz*, the equivalent of Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος), probably the god Tiews, and of the autonomy of the assemblies themselves. When the desire arose to ornament these emblems, it seems probable that an image of the god, in the guise of an armed warrior, was attached to or carved upon the top of the post or column. And when the meaning of these little figures had been forgotten, popular imagination gave to them the name of the paladin who stood highest in favour at the time, and the Irmin-pillar became

[54] Black, *op. cit.* p. 19.

[55] Cp. *The Migration of Symbols*, p. 105.

[56] Black, *op. cit.* pp. 12-13.

[57] Dr. Black suggests that possibly the Church gave its sanction to a market-cross by adding a wooden cross to the ancient symbol,—the upright column upon a base,—at times of market (p. 13); and points to the cross of Kilwinning—a short shaft to the top of which is attached an old wooden cross—as in harmony with that view (p. 16). At Cologne, the duration of the market was fixed by the expression 'quamdiu crux erecta steterit'; and Ducange in his *Glossarium*, *s.v.* '*Crux in mundinis*,' quotes from a charter of the year 1277 as follows: 'Omnes ad ipsas mundinas venientes ... totis diebus antequam crux ipsarum nundinarum erigatur, et tribus diebus postquam deponitur ipsa crux, in protectionem nostram et ecclesiae Traiectensis recipimus' (see Huvelin, *op. cit.* p. 354, note 4).

[58] *Supplément littéraire de l'Independance belge* of the 3rd May, 1891, cited in *The Migration of Symbols*, pp. 116-117, and in *Les Perrons*, p. 27. Monseur, whose work we have not seen, relies upon two German authorities—Zöpfl, *Die Rolandsäulen*, 1861, and Hugo Meyer, *Abhandlung über Roland*, Bremen, 1868.

the Roland-pillar. This substitution would, in Mayer's opinion, be made easier by the surname Hrodo, which, like Irmin, was one of the epithets attached to the name of Tiews.

v.

What, then, was the Irmin-pillar? Grimm[59] quotes from Frankish annalists of the year 772, who state that Charles the Great, in his conquest of the Saxons, captured Heresburg in Westphalia, and there destroyed the Irminsûl, which is referred to now as a fane, now as a fane and grove, and now as an idol. Ruodolph of Fuld expresses himself in some detail, and his statement is repeated by Adam of Bremen.[60] He says: 'Truncum quoque ligni non parvae magnitudinis in altum erectum sub divo colebant, patria cum lingua Irminsul appellantes, quod Latine dicitur universalis columna, quasi sustinens omnia.' Grimm[61] points out that in certain compounds *irman* had merely an intensive force, and that, consequently, *Irmansul* meant nothing more than 'a great pillar,'—a meaning exactly reproduced in Ruodolph's translation. At the same time, this fact does not preclude the possibility that *Irmin* had 'a personal reference in previous centuries.... Granted that irmansûl expressed word for word no more than 'huge pillar,' yet to the people that worshipped it, it must have been a divine image, standing for a particular god.' From a passage of Widekind of Corvei, which he quotes,[62] Grimm infers that on the occasion of their victory over the Thuringians on the river Unstrut, *circa* 530, the Saxons set up a pillar to their *Irmin*; but the words of the chronicler leave it uncertain which of the gods *Irmin* represented. He says that the name of the god suggested Mars, his pillar-statue Hercules, and the place where it was set up the Sun, whom the Greeks call Apollo; and he adds that these facts support the view that the Saxons owed their origin to the Greeks 'quia Hirmin vel Hermes Graece Mars dicitur.' This jumble, as Grimm calls it, seems to be explained by the fact that the correspondence between the classical gods and their northern counterparts was by no means exact. The offices of Hermes-Mercurius and Mars were to some extent performed by Wodan, Tiews, the war-god proper, being as such hardly more than Wodan's representative.[63] In one passage,[64] Grimm inclines to regard Irmin as the equivalent of

[59] *Teutonic Mythology*, i. pp. 116 ff.
[60] Grimm, *op. cit.* iv. p. 1322.
[61] *Ib.* i. p. 352.
[62] *Ib.* i. pp. 111, 353.
[63] *Ib.* i. pp. 264-5.
[64] *Ib.* i. p. 197.

Mars; but he points[65] to 'the accidental yet striking similarity of the name Irmansûl or Hirmensûl to Ἑρμῆς and ἕρμα = prop, stake, pole, pillar,' and to the facts 'that it was precisely Hermes' image or head that used to be set up on such ἕρματα, and further, that the Middle Ages[66] referred the irmen-pillars to Mercury': and he concludes his argument with the words: 'in *Hirmin*, the Saxons appear to have worshipped a Wôdan imaged as a warrior.'

Kemble[67] states that Woden was worshipped *æt wega gelætum*, and that he was the peculiar patron of boundaries. Indeed, he regards his identification with Hermes-Mercurius as satisfactorily established. On the other hand, Müllenhoff[68] holds that the true representative of the classical god is Tiews,—a view shared, as we have seen, by Monseur.

VI.

What, then, is the conclusion at which we have arrived? The evidence seems to show that the border-land was a holy ground, a neutral territory, within which those who belonged to different communities,—*i.e.* strangers and, because they were strangers, enemies,—met with one another for the purpose of trading, without fear of violence or robbery, so long, at all events, as the trading lasted. The case of the fair at Usnech suggests to us as probable that this trading took place not merely within the boundary-land but at the boundary-stone itself; and this fact, if it be a fact, leads us to think that, just as the beginnings of the market may be traced in the temporary truce of which we have spoken, so the symbol of the market-peace may have been, in origin, the symbol of the boundary and its neutrality. The characteristics of Hermes-Mercurius, the god of boundaries and the protector of merchants,

[65] *Ib.* i. p. 354.

[66] In the twelfth century, it is said of Mercury in the 'Kaiserchronik' (quoted by Grimm, *ib.* i. p. 116),

uf einer yrmensûle.	Upon an yrmensûl.
Stuont ein abgot ungehiure.	Stood an idol huge.
den hiezen sie ir koufman.	Him they called their merchant.

(See also Grimm, *op. cit.* iv. p. 1322, and i. p. 353, and the metrical homily, quoted by Kemble, *op. cit.* i. p. 339.)

[67] *op. cit.* i. pp. 340-341.

[68] Cited by Grimm, *ib.* i. p. 353. Schrader, *op. cit.* p. 108, regards it as undeniable that the classical writers regarded Woden-Odin as the counterpart of their Mercurius. The 'dies Mercurii' (Wednesday) was called Woden's Day, and Paulus Diac. i. 9, expressly says, 'Woden sane, quem adjecta littera Gwoden dixerunt, ipse est qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur et ab universis Germaniae gentibus ut deus adoratur.'

whose symbol was the upright stone, lend force to this suggestion. And, if we are warranted in identifying Irmin-Wôden, whose symbol was the wooden pillar, and the Gaulish god in whom the Romans saw Mercurius with that deity, we have grounds for holding that the boundary-stone is the ancestor of the *Irminsûl*, the Roland-pillar, the *perron*, and the so-called market crosses of Scotland.

It is, of course, not to be forgotten that many market crosses were Christian crosses from the time of their erection ; and that these were, in some cases, planted by the Church as substitutes for the old pagan monoliths. Still, the question remains whether some of the stones, now crosses in appearance, were not originally the objects of heathen worship, and do not owe their existing form to attempts by their votaries to give them the shape of a living body.[69]

P. J. Hamilton-Grierson.

[69] See note 43 above.

John Barclay

'WHAT?' wrote Etienne Pasquier in 1552, 'Shall we bear the name of Frenchmen, that is to say of free men, and yet bow our minds to the yoke of a foreign language? Have we not expressions as suitable as Latin ones, are we not as well equipped for eloquence as this ancient Latin?'[1] These words will serve as a typical expression of the growing interest in native literature and language which prevailed before the close of the sixteenth century over the old common Latin medium. The issue of the linguistic struggle was a happy one for writers who drew their inspiration from a rich native soil, but it bore hardly on those upon whom misfortune had imposed a destiny welcomed by the scholars of an earlier age. The growth of national literatures closed the doors in the faces of many who would have been made free of every fireside fifty years earlier. In most cases the result of this change was to drive the writer to the task of perfecting his native idiom and adapting it to his purpose. Where Latin was retained it implied a deliberate choice of that tongue as more fitted for a subject which appealed only to the cosmopolitan specialist. While this was the final result of the change, it was not arrived at immediately, and for some time it was possible for a writer to address his contemporaries in Latin on current events, but this condition did not outlast one generation. The fate of De Thou's *Historia sui temporis* was typical. It had in its Latin dress a great success among his contemporaries who had been steeped in Latin in their youth, but as the years passed, it only maintained a precarious foothold in the light of day in a French translation and has long since passed into the outer darkness inhabited by the productions of forgotten historians.

There was a class of writer to which this choice of idiom was not open. The strengthening and hardening of national life which found expression in the development of distinctive literatures in France and England was accompanied by the loss of

[1] *Les Lettres*, 1586, fo. 3 v. Cf. *Les Recherches de la France*, vii. 10 and 11.

types and elements of considerable value. Thus Scotland lost much in the departure of men such as Ninian Winzet and William Barclay, and in their turn these men and their like suffered an even greater loss in their uprooting from their native soil. These unfortunate exiles found that times had changed since Buchanan, Mayor, and Alesius came to their own in a Europe which had a common language and common standards. In the first generation they kept in touch with the associations and interests of their youth and their work smacked of their native soil, but it was different in the case of their children. The latter found themselves adrift in the stream of European life without ties or traditions—*isti peregrini*, as William Barclay, with a strange blindness to his own condition, dubbed some uncongenial fellow exiles. Men in this position found it impossible to link themselves on to any literary tradition save the common Latin tongue which was passing out of vogue under their eyes. The ordinary inarticulate Scottish exile soon found a home in France and was absorbed, but those who had an instinct for expression went to swell the thin stream of Latinity which watered Europe until French became the cosmopolitan language.[1] Scotland had passed out of their ken; they had no home market and had to appeal to a public interested in the pale abstractions which seemed their only heritage.

These general considerations find concrete expression in the career and work of John Barclay. He was the only child of William Barclay of Pont-à-Mousson and Angers, and his French wife. His father, a man of fine character and high attainment, gained a European reputation as a political theorist, and his treatises, *De regno et regali potestate* and *De potestate Papae* mark important stages in the development of the doctrine of the divine right of kings. The father's writings have an interest which those of the son do not possess. The former had passed his youth and early manhood in Scotland, and his writings, though primarily concerned with the political aspects of the French wars of religion and the controversy between James I. of England and Cardinal Bellarmine, are coloured with his national traditions and the memories of the Scotland of his youth. The facts of Scottish history formed the foundation upon which William Barclay built up a theory of universal application. This quality is conspicuously absent from the work of his son. Born at Pont-

[1] Cf. Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du Lundi*, iii. 253; 'ce travers de latinisme prolongé.'

à-Mousson in 1582, he was probably educated by the Jesuits who controlled the College in which his father taught law. In any event and granting that his father directed his studies, John Barclay passed the first years of his life in surroundings stamped with the hard impersonal seal of the Society of Jesus. There is a tradition that his father quarrelled with the Jesuits on the head of the education of his son, and that he left Pont-à-Mousson to free the latter from their attentions, and John Barclay's writings offer strong arguments in support of it, but in the meantime it is sufficient to note that he accompanied his father to England in 1603, returned with him to France in a few months and remained with him at Angers until the year 1605, when he married a French-woman whose attainments as a writer of Latin verse were associated with less pleasing qualities. He returned to London in 1606[1]

[1] Apart from the evidence of his own writings and a few references to him in the State papers, nothing definite is known of Barclay's residence in England. He appears to have been received at Court, and his Latin verses are mainly tributes to persons of influence. Ghilini writes that, through the special favour of King James, he was not molested on account of his religion (*Teatro d'huomini litterati*, ii. 162), and Roscius credits him with a large share in the composition of his royal patron's *Funiculus triplex et cuniculus triplex* (*Erythraei Pinacotheca*, iii. 17). Crasso (*Elogii degli huomini litterati*, i. 203) states that under English influence Barclay abandoned Roman Catholicism for a time, and Roscius refers to this rumour, which was possibly a Jesuit fiction. Crasso writes that Barclay visited Scotland. His *Elogii* contains a fine engraving of Barclay, in which he is represented as having a high forehead and the prominent cheek-bones of a Scotsman, eyes watchful and wide apart, a small fastidious mouth, and the pointed beard of the period.

The following are the chief references to Barclay in the Calendar of State Papers (Domestic) :—

27th April, 1609. Dud. Carleton to J. Chamberlain. 'Sir Hen. Savile is appointed to correct the translation of the King's book, which was first done by Downes, then by Lionel Sharpe, by Wilson, and last by Barclay, the French poet.'

22nd May, 1609. Warrant to pay to John Barclay and Robert Ayton £300 each, for expenses on their journey with his 'Majesty's letters to divers foreign princes.'

19th Nov., 1609. 'Warrant to pay to John Barclay £200 for charges incurred on a long voyage, over and above his ordinary allowance.'

2nd September, 1910. Jean de Barclay to M. North (French). 'He remembered the name of the person whose escheat was granted to him; it is Cicely Howse, *alias* Rokete. Begs its speedy entry as she is extremely ill. Asks whether, as a foreigner and the King's servant, he is bound to contribute to the subsidy now raising.'

The foregoing references indicate that on at least one occasion Barclay was employed on minor diplomatic business.

and left England ten years later for Rome, where he died in 1621.[1] The brilliant promise of his youth bore partial fruit in writings which were very highly appreciated in their day and still mark a stage in the development of certain literary forms, but it was his fate to lead the life of a cosmopolitan exile. His father's well-marked personality and isolated career cut John Barclay off from those relations which offer an entry to the world of politics, and after leading the life of a needy and wandering scholar he died, isolated and disillusioned, in early middle-life. His widow died at Orleans in 1652, a wanderer like her husband. He left at least one son who became a priest, and in 1629 appeared in Paris, the bearer of a Cardinal's hat for the Archbishop of Lyons. He published some Latin verses, but, in the words of Menage, 'he made no great figure there,' and the family was swept away in the stream of European life.[2]

It would be vain to attempt to form an estimate of Barclay's character as a man apart from his writings. There is no material available, and we must be content to note in the course of an examination of his writings the personal factor which shows itself from time to time in his artificial pages.

His first production was a youthful commentary on Statius. The first book of his *Satyricon* is said to have been published in London in 1603, but no copy of this edition has been traced. A second edition appeared in Paris in 1605, and in the same year his Latin poems, bearing the title *Sylvae*, was published in London.[3] The second part of the *Satyricon* was published at Paris in 1607 and the third part appeared there in 1611.[4] *Icon animorum*, which has been generally printed as the fourth part, was published in 1614. A year after his arrival in Rome, *i.e.*

[1] Roscius gives some interesting details of Barclay's devotion to gardening, and describes his wife as *mulier tumido animo atque elato*, who removed her husband's monument from S. Lorenzo when Cardinal Barberini erected a similar monument to his tutor, *homo obscurus, ac nullius fere ingenii, et, ut ipsa dicebat, paedagogus.* Cf. *Erythraei Pinacotheca*, iii. 17.

[2] Cf. Dukas, *Étude bibliographique littéraire sur le 'Satyricon' de Jean Barclay* (Paris, 1880), 9.

[3] Cf. *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* (1637), i. 76. The version of Barclay's verses here printed is apparently that of the second edition published, with a dedication to Prince Charles, in 1614. Cf. *Ibid.* i. 77.

[4] Barclay had an interesting connection with Marco Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, who fled to England, but afterwards made his submission to the Pope. Cf. *Erythraei Pinacotheca*, iii. 17.

in 1617, Barclay published at Cologne a work of controversial theology which bore the title *Paraenisis ad sectarios*.[1]

The *Argenis* is said to have been completed on 28th July 1621. The author died on the 15th of August following and his masterpiece was passed through the press by his friend Peyrescius. Of the foregoing works it will be sufficient to consider the *Satyricon* and the *Argenis*.

Before dealing with these writings in detail it is desirable to note another effect which the author's personal history had upon his literary work. Reference has been made to the limiting and in a sense the impoverishing effect of his detachment from national life. But there is another side to the picture. John Barclay had much in common with his father, but one can trace in his work a gradual clarification of the rude and somewhat heavy temperament which he inherited. He began life by being almost exclusively Scotch and ended by evolving a point of view which had the clarity and parsimonious balance of a Frenchman of the eighteenth century, or perhaps of one of the modern Athenians who gave to Edinburgh a fugitive glory. The first step in this direction was his impatience of legal studies. In the words of Roscius he found 'jurisprudentiae studia spinosiora atque ab omni fere delectatione vacua.'[2] The next step is marked by his adoption in his earlier writings of peculiarly artificial and imitative literary forms, such as his attempt to reproduce the tone and manner of the *Satyricon* of Petronius Arbiter, with a resulting absence of life and character. A further stage is marked by his *Icon animorum* in which literary grace is combined with the results of personal observation of the various types of national character. This little treatise is a masterpiece of its kind, but it is abstract, and does not fully express the character and mind of the author. No writer of weight can express himself adequately in this medium, which can only be the receptacle for the by-products of a well stored mind. As a literary exercise this delineation of national traits has fallen into disuse, its place being taken by the casual and unstudied descriptions of foreign travel which are found scattered through the pages of most modern biographies. In this as in many other fields the eighteenth century gradually developed a rarefied and desiccated product which sterilised what was once a sufficiently promising literary method or instrument.

[1] Barclay in addition to the above writings, published a work in defence of his father—*Joannis Barclaii Pietas* (Paris, 1612).

[2] *Erythraei Pinacotheca Imaginum* (1692), iii. 17.

The final stage in this clarification of Barclay's talent is found in his *Argenis* which is infinitely superior from the literary point of view to any of his father's writings, and while essentially artificial in design and workmanship, is at the same time coloured with the experiences and mentality of the author. John Barclay fetched a wide compass, but he returned at last to the semi-political, semi-religious point of view of his father. In his hands, however, this point of view finds expression in a graceful and distinguished product of which his father was incapable. At the same time there is something wanting. In its Latin dress the *Argenis* is detached from the rich spontaneous life of humanity, and has none of the fire in which alone literature can be wedded to life.

The first book of the *Satyricon*[1] is a faithful and painful exercise in the manner of Petronius. It has all the abrupt and fantastic characteristics of its model. The hero jumps on to the stage with something of the inconsequence of a harlequin, and his grotesque misfortunes have no more reality than those of the Tin Soldier of Hans Andersen. It is practically free from the lubricity which characterises the original *Satyricon*, and has a certain human interest in respect that the incidents described have reference to the experiences of the author's father after his departure from Scotland. In the character of Callion one can trace an attempt to caricature the Duke of Lorraine, and there are casual references to the malign influence of the Jesuits, but the satire is purely literary and traditional and generally inept, and there is no characterisation. There are one or two picturesque incidents such as an encounter with two girls and a sorceress in a cave during a thunder-storm, but at the highest the production has simply the merits of a literary *tour de force*. A few points may be noted. Barclay puts some interesting observations on the history of letters, from the dark ages to his day, into the mouth of a loquacious professor, and notes the passage from the barbarity of medieval Latin to the false purism of his day which produces a style, '*non gravis ac nervosus, sed vanus et inanis*,' with '*nullum in verbis judicium, nullum in oratione acumen.*' Fired with an ambition which they are incapable of realising, mere boys attempt to rival the poets of antiquity, and instead of devoting their attention to more pedestrian and remunerative studies, such as Jurisprudence

[1] For an elaborate and interesting bibliographical study of the *Satyricon*, *vide* Dukas, *op. cit.* This is a rare pamphlet, coloured by the author's quaint and engaging personality.

and Eloquence, purchase glory at the cost of perpetual poverty. Only a few old men, the last remaining servants of the Muses, carry their names and attributes with them into the tomb. The fierce cruelty of the Italian race has done Apollo to death within their borders, and their pens stained not with rust but with blood, pierce their enemies more fiercely than all the *acerbitas* of their antique orators. What part have the Muses in the deliberate heaviness (*tardum pondus*) of Spanish or the rough asperity (*dura asperitas*) of the Germans? These delicate maids even made an attempt on the Poles and the Russians, but they were driven back from their borders by the horror of the eternal snows. France has no place for them in all her temples and palaces, and denies the greatest of the poets seemly burial and a simple stone. Barclay lightens the gloom of this picture with a measure of comic relief, but it probably expressed his own feelings. In a similar manner a certain imaginative sympathy with the passion of the alchemists may be traced in the words which he puts into the mouth of a fraudulent charlatan. An interest in the pseudo-sciences of alchemy and astrology had been introduced into France by Italian adventurers. '*Est etiam*,' he writes, '*quaedam paupertatis in hoc studio suavitas, ne gratis in naturae secreta pervaserint.*' Barclay had the art of coining epigrammatic phrases. Another example is found in the sentence, '*Sed nihil fiebat tardius, quam quod omnes imperabant.*' Again with reference to the misery of litigation, he observes that one successful law plea only proves the rule. '*Sed notum naufragiis mare non salute aliquot navium amittit crudelitatis nomen; nec proba est sirenum vicinia, quoniam transeuntem Ithacum non evertit.*'

In this first book with all its artificial extravagance a serious note is struck which links it on to that which follows in the expression of the author's hostility to the Society of Jesus. He had inherited this antipathy from his father, whose quarrel with the Order originated in a struggle for scholastic precedence, and was embittered by political differences and a sharp conflict regarding the education of his son. It is almost pathetic to find William Barclay reverting to the matter with dour animosity in the last pages of his unfinished *De potestate Papae*, and his son took the envenomed pen from his dying fingers. He was gifted with an imagination which his father did not possess, and his indictment of the Jesuits has a pungency and penetration which are lacking in the fierce parental invectives. In the first pages of the *Satyricon*

the fascinating and yet sinister figure of Acingius, the Jesuit, appears. By the purity of his life and his lofty aims, he has inspired his followers and incited youths to austerities and labours which are not naturally congenial to them. In spite of his humility, the world resounds with his fame. He rules Princes by inspiring them with fear of their subjects and nobles with an ungrounded pretence of royal favours. He directs governors and magistrates, and even controls the domestic affairs of many households. As the occasion requires, he makes use of severity, benignity, and astuteness, and is the author of reconciliations, marriages, and treaties, and the arbiter of piety, justice, and knowledge. But his presence casts a blight, and under his influence art and letters wither and grow barren. Youth is led astray by a show of wisdom, and deceived by the idea that the Muses have taken refuge among the Jesuits, and can only be cultivated in their dwellings.

The second book is dedicated to the Earl of Salisbury. Euphormio has escaped from his servitude to the Duke of Lorraine and recalls his past adventures, breathing the free air of the land of the Thistle and the Rose (Scholimorrhodia). He drops the fantastic artificiality of the first book and is content to deal with his personal history and the most salient political questions of the day. His actors bear fictitious names, but their identity can be discovered by the most casual reader. The narrative is full of interest, and contains a vivid account of the Court of Henri IV., of the Duke de Sully, of the bizarre personality of Rudolph of Austria, and of Venice and the struggle between Sixtus V. and that republic, but the prevailing note is that of hostility to the Jesuits, and it will be sufficient to deal with this topic.[1]

Barclay describes how he was fascinated by the learning of the Society and decided to perfect his education at Pont-à-Mousson under their auspices. There he met Themestius, the name under which he veils the personality of his own father, and he gives a glowing description of his virtues and those of his race. The old sage, writes Barclay, had fallen victim in his youth to

[1] Barclay's outspoken criticism of the Jesuits cannot be accepted as evidence of moral courage on his part. From the date of the submission of Paris to Henri IV. and the subsequent *arrêts* of the *Parlement*, the Order had been in disgrace, and its educational work in France was only carried on here and there by the tolerance of the local authorities. The documents are printed in *Mémoires de la Ligue* (Amsterdam, 1758), vols. v. and vi. Cf. also Crétineau-Joly's *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris, 1847), vol. ii. cap. 7 and vol. iii. cap 1.

a passion for a woman of an alien race, and in yielding to this affection had doomed himself to perpetual exile, but he never forgot the beauties of his native Scotland and urged his protégé to betake himself there. But other influences were at work, and along with a friend of his own age Barclay fell under the spell of the Jesuits who like Sirens drew the youths from their duties to their parents and station to life to the vain pursuit of a fictitious and pretentious sanctity and learning. Seldom, one might almost say never, has the unique fascination which the Society exercised on a certain type of generous youth been more adequately described. The narrative has all the colour of personal experience, and constitutes a psychological document of first-rate importance. It is curious to note that the struggle which Barclay portrays is not one between an active practical life and a life of devotion and learning. Barclay was essentially a man of letters and a student. The conflict is one between a personal self-directed independent life and a life passed in the same pursuits, but stunted and perverted by a pretentious and ruthless discipline. Barclay holds no brief for the ordinary sensual man, and he describes how the enthusiastic boyish friend who along with him escaped from the lures of the Jesuits by foreign travel ended by becoming a dissolute man of the world. The character of his friend is a keen piece of psychological analysis. The strict discipline of the Jesuits once removed has often been followed by a revulsion to an unworthy and careless manner of life. Barclay's hostility to the Jesuits was not based on devotion to secular interests. He had a tenderness for religious convictions, however degraded and unworthy they might appear. 'As once,' he wrote, 'none would put out his hand to extinguish dying tapers lest he should violate the divinity within their flame; so it is surely more humane to suffer the smoke of flickering torches borne by those who light the way to faith, than to offer violence to those sanctities which cannot be stained by the blots of their votaries.'[1] Further, he insists on his fidelity to the Roman Church, and portrays a high ecclesiastic, identified as the Cardinal du Perron, who combats his own and his friend's enthusiasm for the Society of Jesus. The body, this personage insisted, is too close a comrade of the spirit to suffer violence without injury to its fellow.

[1] 'Nam ut olim occidentibus lucernis non afferebant manus, ne ignis divinitatem violarent; ita in illis qui ad religionem praelucent, humanius est vitia, tanquam fumum lychnorum morientium pati, quam dignitatibus vim affere, quas in turpissimis hominibus nulleae tamen sordes maculant' (ed. 1655), p. 136.

How monstrous it is to find the pupils of the Jesuit fathers attempting with minds blunted by excessive physical discipline and barren speculation to dictate to Princes and regulate the relations between church and state! In turn these pupils become fathers and magistrates and spread the poison which they have imbibed, at home and abroad.

A short description of two scenes from Barclay's narrative will indicate his temper and point of view better than further analysis. Euphormio was liberated from the unworthy life which he had been leading in Paris by a wave of moral and intellectual disgust and determined to retrieve his reputation in his own and others' eyes. With this end in view he entered the hall of a Jesuit College where a public disputation was about to be held. The walls were hung with allegorical designs, and the Jesuit who presided announced that the correct interpretation of one of them was required. Before Euphormio had time to rise to his feet a fluent and impertinent young pupil had launched forth in an eloquent attack on Jurisprudence as a study for the young.[1] This attack on the profession which his own father adorned, at the hands of a callow youth, was too much for Euphormio, who was no less eager to display his powers. He observed with indignation the faces of the Jesuits diffused with a joy which they made no attempt to conceal, and interrupted the harangue 'forti asperaque voce.' He accused his audience of seeking to introduce into the republic of letters and the sciences that ambition and envy with which they had already distracted the Commonwealth. In the absence of Pallas and Themis their spokesman would violate their daughter, Justice. The study of Jurisprudence is far more apt to discipline and elevate the mind of youth than the barbarous servitude in which the Jesuits contain their pupils by the aid of their hard regulations. The songs of the Sirens never sound so sweet as in the ears of those to whom sweetness is unknown, and the crude desires of youths are purged as they pass into the higher freedom of the serious study of a great science such as Jurisprudence. You apply, he declared, the sacred name of science to the nightmare which you call philosophy and to your sectarian barbarism

[1] In this, as in many other matters, the Jesuits had much in common with the Protestants. François Hotman, *e.g.*, wrote 'Nous ne parlons point de l'asnerie et barbarie des Canonistes, de la desbauche et dissolution des jeunes gens.' Cf. *L'Antitribonian*, cap. 14 and 15; *Opuscules Françoises des Hotmans* (Paris, 1616), pp. 80, 92, etc. A saner view of the dignity of legal studies is found in the masterpiece of Antoine Loisel, *Pasquier, ou Dialogue des avocats du Parlement de Paris* (printed in Dupin, *Profession d'Avocat*, i. 149).

and thrust out into the street Jurisprudence, the mistress of Gods and men. Euphormio proceeded with a bitter attack on the inanities of Scholastic philosophy, and the author notes that he was listened to with marked attention and even with dismay. At last the patience of his audience was exhausted, and the presiding Jesuit interrupted him by remarking that he had wandered from the point and must confine himself to his interpretation of the allegorical painting. Then Euphormio came to the earth, remembered who he was and that his interlocutor was that most formidable of beings, a Jesuit, and the stream of his eloquence dried up in a moment. He proceeded in a more moderate tone to set forth the disastrous effects of the Jesuit system in the study of Philosophy and History, and the absurdity of their practice of making their pupils perform tepid dramas in which their childish ineptitude only served to make ridiculous the heroes and heroines portrayed.[1] But again he was carried away with his own eloquence and developed his argument *ingenti vociferatione* until the evening, when one of the pupils interrupted him and with much amusement explained that the painting simply represented a jar of good wine and the appetites which such an object excited in different minds. This was received with much laughter, but Euphormio's wounded spirit was soothed by the skilful flattery of the Jesuit who expressed high appreciation of his gifts and spared no effort to capture him for the Society. The whole incident is described with great charm and a playful humour, which is directed to the youthful self-confidence and eloquence of Euphormio ; but it has its serious side, and is a valuable piece of evidence in a field in which external evidence is singularly lacking. The Jesuits are criticised for their democratic theories of the origin of human society and institutions, for their blighting and sterilising discipline and for their pretentious and superficial educational methods. There is no suggestion of the charge of lax moral teaching which was levelled at them in the next generation.

Euphormio fled from Paris to escape from the fascinations of the Jesuits, for after the irregular life which he had been leading there, they seemed to offer a haven of refuge. His flight only served to cast him again into their hands. In his journey to England he lost his way in the fields and took refuge in a building which proved to be a Jesuit College. To his confusion he found himself face to face with the very Jesuit from whom he had fled, but his host received him warmly and refreshed him with a good

[1] Cf. Sainte-Beuve's excellent phrase, 'cette manie singeresse.'

dinner and a feather bed. Euphormio would have been glad to clear the air with a few plain explanations as to their respective intentions, but he could not break through the web of courteous reserve, which seemed to suffocate him and made him almost hysterical. The whole scene is pure comedy. Each knew that the other knew that he knew. Barclay's description of the Jesuit institution is as full of allegories as a chapter from the revelation of St. John. As Euphormio wandered apprehensively through the grounds and examined the exterior of the splendid buildings, he was always conscious of the presence of the bands of emaciated youths who were engaged in tilling the soil. Their eyes were downcast and never met his own, but he felt that he was watched. The park had no walls and the open country offered him freedom in every direction, but at intervals isolated gates with allegorical figures seemed to his imagination to play the part of gaolers, and a species of torpor seemed to paralyse his will. He endeavoured to enter the main building, which had the appearance of a temple, but he was driven back by a fierce lion. The curiosity which he desired to satisfy, was another bait to lead him to submit to the preliminary discipline required of worshippers. He felt ill at ease in his isolation, and when he joined in the substantial mid-day meal, the food choked him and he could not eat. Ultimately he drew himself together and escaped what was in fact a mental obsession. Apparently he had no vocation for a religious life in the technical sense, and was free to marry his French shrew—a very Protestant conception of freedom.

Euphormio's arrival in England was followed by an encounter with a Puritan, who excited in his mind similar feelings to those caused by the Jesuits. In this respect he resembled King James, who dubbed the Jesuits *puritanopapistae*. In the course of their journey to London Euphormio and his companion encountered some peasants who were merry-making on a Sunday afternoon. They joined them and were pleasantly occupied when they were invited to enter a neighbouring house by a number of young people, who struck them by the simplicity of their dress and the gravity of their demeanour. On entering they were greeted by the master of the house, who had placed himself in the midst of a semi-circle of chairs, and bore himself with the exaggerated dignity of a Roman senator. He cast his eyes down on his long, white beard, and sighed deeply. When they enquired what might be the cause of his sorrow, he broke out into an indignant harangue: 'Had they been reared among the Scythians and barbarians?

Did they not know that they had committed an unpardonable breach of the Divine law in travelling on the Sabbath day? Not only were they travelling, but they were even travelling with unseemly mirth, and profaning his doorway with their untimely hilarity.' As soon as they had overcome their astonishment they were loud in their regrets, and finding him somewhat mollified, ventured to ask his name. 'I am the famous Catharinus,' he replied, 'so named by the prelatic faction, and if I may speak of myself, I am among the first in morals, and in religion I stand alone.' Pressed for further information he beckoned to his family, who ranged themselves reverently round him on the semicircle of chairs. When silence had been obtained, he discoursed at length on the fall of man and the powerlessness of Divine justice, on his own purity and righteousness, and in attempting to describe his own merits, he burst into tears. At this point his wife, a pretty girl of twenty, soothed him with caresses and turned him from further sacred eloquence by announcing dinner. During the meal, which was sufficiently merry, Catharinus could not keep his eyes from his young wife, on whose charms he gloated in a manner which astonished his guests. But their astonishment increased when the wife produced a pipe and the aged saint began to smoke. This satire of the early Puritans, with its deft irony and humour, doubtless pleased King James, and the reference to tobacco suggests that Barclay had this ulterior end in view in writing it.[1]

The *Icon Animorum*, which has been frequently treated as the fourth book of the *Satyricon*, though it has no relation to those which precede it, consists of a series of *characters* in the technical sense. It belongs to the same category as the writings of Earle, Sir Thomas Overbury, and La Bruyère's masterpiece. It appears to mark an interesting stage in the development of Barclay's talent. As has been noted, the first book of the *Satyricon* is a laboured exercise on a classical model, the third book is an autobiographical fragment under a thin veil, but in the *Icon Animorum* Barclay employs a narrow and conventional literary form, and without introducing alien matter, gives to his work distinctive character and individual colour. After some adventures in search of a medium, he found one in which he could express something

[1] In many editions of the *Satyricon* a fifth book is added under the title *Alithopoli veritatis lacrymae*, in which the attack on the Jesuits has characteristics which are absent from Barclay's work. The fifth book is the work of Claude-Barthélemy Morisot (1592-1661): cf. *Menagiana*, iv. 24.

of his experience of life. Barclay was a talented scholar, with all a scholar's interest in traditional forms, and in his *Icon Animorum* he is at his ease. The book contains penetrating observations on the general types of moral and intellectual character, but its interest lies in the fact that the author supplements those not with more specialised studies, such as the effects of occupation on character, but with descriptions of national types. This feature is the result of his limited personal experience and outlook as a cosmopolitan wanderer. His account of the French is as true to-day as it was three centuries ago, and if he treats Scotland and the Scots with less respect than they deserved, it may be pleaded in his defence that he was an exile and only met needy Scotch adventurers on the make.

The following passage may be quoted as a proof of Barclay's just appreciation of the best qualities of the French mind :

'But the middle disposition between these two, which is not wanting in that nation of the French, flowing with cheerfulness and capaciousness of mind, not bridled too much with a fained gravity ; is a disposition of transcendent excellency, and exactly framed to the image of wisdom joined with alacrity. . . . There is in them a wonderfull curtesie not feigned, nor trecherous, to ensnare them whom they court with friendship ; they are free from deceit, and secret hatreds ; they are free to entertaine all who desire their acquaintance and society ; and respective of all men according to their degrees and rankes. It is enough for a forreiner, which is admitted into their company, to preserve their friendship, if he keep himself from open villany, and too absurd folly ; soe that in other places thou had'st neede have a care of other men's dispositions, least they hurt thee ; but among true and accomplished Frenchmen, to keep thyself from giving offence. Nor is there anything more happy in human society than the manly sweetness of such compleat company.'

His estimate of the Scots was more critical :

'The Scots are of dispositions fitted for society ; of behaviour, and gestures of the body, excelling other nations, and like unto the French in all things, but the riches of their country. . . . But noe people are more mindefull of their pedigrees than they ; that they had rather sometimes disgrace their family by their poverty, than conceale the unreasonable expressing of their titles, or not mention their kindred. For it is necessary in a country more populous, than fruitfull, that some of noble blood should be borne to extreme poverty. Soe that the Scots dispersed into

many countries to get their living (and none are more faithfull and industrious than they) being still eager in publishing their nobility, are often laughed at by the hearers, than believed, or pittied. . . . None are more patient of military duties, nor none more valient in fight, than they, nor do the Muses ever appeare more beautifull than when they inspire the breasts of Scots. They are capable also of city business, and can fit their industry to any kind eyther of life or fortune. But those that travell, or rather wander in a poore fashion and rely upon no other meanes, than going to the houses of their country-men, which are growne rich in other lands, and demand, as it were, the tribute of their country, are most intollerable in their proud beggery.'[1]

The *Argenis*, Barclay's posthumous and most important work, stands by itself. It is a political romance with a peculiar character, and has features which mark it off from the work of Harrington and More, Sidney, and Fenelon. M. Boucher,[2] in his short Latin thesis on Barclay, states that having been asked by King James to translate the *Arcadia* into Latin, Barclay determined to produce an independent work and wrote the *Argenis*, but the story bears all the marks of fabrication. The legend that the *Argenis* was one of Cardinal Richelieu's bedside books, and was in fact his favourite political manual, is probably no better founded, but it is true in the sense that the political principles set forth in Barclay's romance found frequent expression in the policy of the great French statesman of the succeeding generation.

The *Argenis* was treated by the author's contemporaries as a *roman à clef*, and all the editors of the Latin text have furnished their readers with keys in which an attempt is made to identify the characters with real persons, but the attempt is doomed to failure, and adds nothing to the interest of the story. It is easy to identify Philip of Spain, the Duke de Guise, and one or two other actors in the French Wars of Religion ; but Henry of Navarre appears, now as one character and now as another, and the father of the heroine, a benevolent, dignified, wise and weak old King, has more of our King James I. than of the last of the Valois. Argenis herself is undoubtedly France, and in his portrait of this charming and spirited girl Barclay achieved a masterpiece and repaid a hundredfold his debt to the country of his exile. A prudent reader will be satisfied to realise that

[1] These passages are quoted from the English translation of Thomas May (London, 1631).

[2] Leon Boucher, *De Joannis Barclaii Argenide* (Paris, 1874), p. 41.

Barclay's romance is an abstracted and clarified reflection of the political state of France, and in a lesser sense of Europe, in the latter half of the sixteenth century. It is also the expression of the author's judgment of events and an indication of the remedies which he would apply to put an end to national disorder and disunion. It is in no sense a theoretical treatise in which an ideal world is outlined with the object of satirising the defects of human society, and the political system which the author sets forth is far from Utopian. It is rather a panegyric of the work of Henry IV. and a plea for its completion and preservation. The main argument is directed to showing the need for a strong and benevolent centralised government directed by a monarch endowed with his functions by divine right, but fully conscious of the duties of his calling. William Barclay had devoted his writings to the exposition of this political theory, and now his son set it forth with an elegance and literary charm which his father's semi-historical, semi-juristic writings lack.

Regarded simply as a romance, the *Argenis* suffers from the author's failure to observe the distinction between the manner and qualities of this literary form and those of an epic poem.[1] There are too many interludes thrust into the narrative, and the author's desire to follow the poetic tradition results in an artificiality which at times sinks to the level of puerility. On the other hand, the character drawing is excellent, and shows a remarkable advance on the *Satyricon*. The note of youthful extravagance and resentful exaggeration which sounds through Barclay's early work is entirely absent, and has given place to a certain sanity and fine irony which are often the marks of mental and moral maturity.

King Meleander, wise but weak, is beset with disobedient vassals who, under the leadership of Lycogenes, seek to usurp his functions, and have drawn a part of his subjects from him by deceit. The rebels have formed a league with a proud and overbearing foreign King who besets Meleander by

[1] This characteristic of the *Argenis* was regarded as a merit by the anonymous author of a French synopsis of Barclay's work, which appeared at Paris in 1728. 'La Gloire, une Conquete, des Triomphes,' he observed, 'sont l'objet principal des Poèmes Epiques: les sentiments nobles et vifs, les passions delicates, les artifices et les tourmens des cœurs amoureux font la base des Romans. Ceux, ou l'on voit le dessein marié à celui de l'Epopée, deviennent dignes de l'atention (*sic*) des lecteurs les plus sérieux, et telle est l'Argenis.' (*Argénis, Roman Heroique* (Paris, chez Pierre Prault 1728), ii. p. 332.) The modern view is expressed in Dupond's *L'Argénis de Barclai* (Paris, 1875).

sea, while Lycogenes and his allies besiege him by land. His daughter, Argenis, who has refused the suit of the foreigner, is the innocent cause of his enmity. The situation is further complicated by the fact that her father had received effectual aid from Archombrotus, the son of Hyanisbe, an African Queen. Inspired by the fame of Argenis, this youth had introduced himself into her household disguised as a serving-maid, and had saved the life of her father from assassins at the cost of his disguise. In an impulse of gratitude Meleander promised his daughter to him in marriage, and he departed to return in his true colours. His departure was hastened by calumnies which the seditious faction had poured into the ear of the too credulous King. In his absence Polearchus, also the son of a King, was shipwrecked on the coast of Meleander's kingdom. He gained the love of Argenis, who had a warm regard but no love for the man of her father's choice, and rendered valuable services to Meleander. The old King was in a dilemma between his promise to Archombrotus and his desire to gratify the mutual affections of Polearchus and his daughter. In his turn Polearchus departed and Argenis was left alone. On his return journey Polearchus succeeded in rescuing Hyanisbe, the mother of his rival, from an invasion at the hands of Radirobanes, the foreign King who had attacked Meleander, and on his part Archombrotus on his return rescued Meleander from another attack from the same source. The position of Meleander was a difficult one, but he was relieved from it by the discovery that Archombrotus was his own son by Queen Hyanisbe, whom he had met once, but had apparently forgotten. Argenis received a chaste salute from her new-found brother and married the man of her choice.

This complicated drama is enacted in a pseudo-classical setting. Argenis is a priestess as well as a princess, and, like the other characters, is continually sacrificing to the gods, and giving the author opportunities of displaying archæological knowledge, but when she swoons away at critical moments her attendants have to cut the laces of her stays. The reader derives mild entertainment from shipwrecks and battles, but, looked at merely as a romance, the *Argenis* owes whatever merit it possesses to its human interest and delineation of character. The two rivals for the hand of Argenis are gallant youths with nothing to distinguish them but their rivalry, and the associates of King Meleander simply serve as mouthpieces for the expression of the author's political views, but the character of the old King is well drawn, the French

conception of the character of Philip of Spain is well expressed in the person of Radirobanes, an idealised Queen Elizabeth can be traced in Queen Hyanisbe, and there is a study of Charles V. in his cloister. These characters are sketched with some skill, but it is difficult for the reader to forget the living models upon which they were partially framed save in the case of Argenis herself. In this high-spirited and warm-hearted Princess dutiful and yet independent, Barclay has painted 'a very woman'. Her letters are as vivid and charming as the writer of them, and she belongs to the gallant band of girls who move, at times fearful and at times serene, through the pages of the Elizabethan dramatists.[1]

The political aspect of the *Argenis* is found not so much in the plot, with its reflection of the political situation of France, as in the exhortations which Barclay puts into the mouths of the counsellors of King Meleander. Their practical observations mark the progress towards a settled form of government which had been made since the Wars of Religion. They have none of the doctrinaire extravagance which characterises the political speculations and polemical pamphlets of the Huguenots and the Leaguers. The claims of democracy and the religious question have dropped out of the field of vision and the questions discussed are mainly administrative. The people or the nation which asserted itself in the religious struggle of the previous generation has subsided and faded into an inert abstraction, and the court and camp form the narrow field in which the ruler plays his part. The scene is changed, and we are in the age of Richelieu, and even of the Fronde. Emphasis is laid on the futility of abstract political speculation, and attention is directed to the claims of a strong central government. The dangers of an oligarchy

[1] The estimate of the anonymous translator of 1728, to whom reference has already been made, merits quotation:

'Elle a toutes les qualites eminentes qui font l'apanage des filles vertueuses mais sensibles, la prudence, la grandeur d'ame, la fermeté. Sa tendresse nait de sa reconoissance; c'est le principe distinctif de tous les Romans, parce qu'il part du cœur. Des services importans, mille assurances de fidelité, soutiennent l'*Amante* dans les disgraces, dans les pleurs, dans l'absence. Barclai a de la modestie; il ne lui echape rien qui doive blesser la pudeur, et il eloigne les moindres soupçons. Mais parce qu'il faut qu'une Heroine de Roman soit *inimitable*, il veut bien exposer la sienne au même danger que les Filles de Lecomede coururent avec Achile. Il lui permet de sacrifier tout a sa passion; et pour la degager de la superstition, foible favori du Sexe, il la jette peutêtre dans l'extremite oposée: tandes qu'elle se donne toute entière au dehors de la Religion, en dedans elle paroîtra un peu *Esprit-fort*.'

are emphasised, and the questions of vital interest appear to be such as the maintenance of a standing army, the reformation of legal abuses,[1] the position of ambassadors and Parliamentary control of taxation. Barclay's observations on the last question seem to reflect the difficulties of James I. of England, and have a special interest for English readers in this respect.

It is to be noted, however, that the new political world which can be traced in the pages of the *Argenis* represents a compromise. The Leaguers and Huguenots had not lived in vain, though their extreme views had been repudiated by the common sense of the nation, and the monarchy which Barclay outlines is not the benevolent despotism which his father was constrained to advocate. His monarchy is a national office and not a dynastic privilege. He portrays kingship as a function derived certainly from God and not from man, but the emphasis which he lays on the rights of rulers is based on his keen sense of their responsibilities. He was enough of an idealist to conceive of kingship as an office which would enlighten and direct its holder by a kind of indwelling force, of a kingship which would hold to its course in the face of an inarticulate populace and unruly subordinates.

The *Argenis* was received with enthusiasm on its publication, and there are several editions in the original Latin, but the fact that it had to be translated into Italian to satisfy the curiosity of the ladies foreshadowed the fate which awaited it.[2]

The Italian version was quickly followed by others in French, English, and other languages, but few books can maintain their foothold in translations. From time to time, as is evidenced by the French version of 1728, the attention of a cultivated dilettante was drawn to the book, but its destiny was told by Johannes Meursius in his *Elegantiae Latini Sermonis*. In an epistle purporting to be written from the Elysian fields the writer refers to a conversation in which the shade of Barclay took part. Reference was made by Barclay to the good offices of Peyrescius, who

[1] In this field Barclay's suggested remedies have much in common with those advocated by François Hotman (*op. cit.* cap. 17 and 18).

[2] *Erythraei Pinacotheca*, iii. 17.

On 30th March, 1622, Chamberlain wrote in a news-letter to Dud. Carleton that he thought Barclay's *Argenis* 'the most delightful fable he ever met with,' and the letter of 11th May of the same year contains the following: Barclay's *Argenis* has grown so scarce that the price has risen from 5s. to 14s.; the King has ordered Ben Johnson to translate it, but he will not be able to equal the original (*Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series*).

had edited and published his posthumous romance. *Et jure conquerimur, refert Barclaius.* But he was soon constrained to add: '*Viae temporum iniquitatem, summe Furbine; hominum malignam vide stoliditatem. Non placuit varicosis Magnatûm ingeniis liberalis Argenidis forma; non placebat stola Romana. Non amârunt in Latio natam pulchritudinem. Bibliopola magno, quòd sumptus, quos fecerat in ornandâ & comandâ, nullus inveniretur emptor qui refunderet, succensebat pudore offusae. Piper & thus minabatur. Erat Argenis toga cordyllis, & paenula olivis futura, ni Marcassi opem obtes-taretur, non magni viri, non ingenio sublimi, non doctrina lucupleti. Commendavit litteratorum plebi plebeius, nec nobilis scriptor. Rem ridiculam! Principibus viris placuit Argenis, postquam ineptis & fatuis placuisset.*'[1] Again, Menage refers to the *Argenis* as 'l'ecueil des jeunes gens qui veulent apprendre le latin.'[2] Scotland alone, the native country to which Barclay always looked with the enthusiasm of an exile, did not join in the general forgetfulness. She could not, for she had never known him.[3]

The *Argenis* was Barclay's final production, and it is difficult even to hazard a conjecture as to the lines on which his talent would have developed had he lived. The work which he has left serves to define him as a *politique* and *moraliste* in the French sense of the terms. His father's writings are those of a jurist with strong political and religious interests; his own work is literary in the first instance, but it owes its value largely to his interest in conduct and in the political questions which present themselves to the discriminating observers of every generation. It possesses qualities which give its author a modest place in the long array of political moralists who have enriched French literature from Philippe de Commines to Madame de Stael and her successors.

[1] *Joannis Meursii Elegantiae Latini Sermonis* (Lugd. Batavorum, Ex Typis Elzevirianis, 1724), p. xviii. The references to Barclay are contained in the introduction to Meursius' pornographic dialogues. The manner in which he is associated with Aretino, Boccaccio, and Rabelais suggests that he was credited with the authorship of Morisot's addition to the *Satyricon* (cf. note, p. 49).

[2] *Menagiana* (ed. Amsterdam, 1718), ii. 20.

[3] In his *Vota Modesta* (Delitiae, i. 129) Barclay wrote:

> 'Odi! sed me hominem sim tamen esse memor,
> Ne cupiam, timeamve mori, sint gaudia semper
> Mista malis; sed non haec mala longa nimis.
> Sit senium felix; quod quem fata ultima solvent,
> Fama meae restet non violata lyrae.'

Lord Hailes' short sketch of Barclay's life and writings is marked by a curious hostility to his subject.

One quotation must suffice to indicate Barclay's quality as a student of character in this sense :

'Whereas you say that King's Palaces are not altogether empty of worthy men ; I doe not disagree ; but hear mee, Archombrotus, there is a middle order of wise men, and fit for employment (as Gentry is in honour) which yet reach not to that height we now speak of. Of these men, there is more plentee ; and that these come oft to Court, I deny not; and when they are advanced, shine so bright with the borrowed rays of dignitie, that men think it the work of exact nature : as meann gemmes sometimes by cunning workmanship or the gold they are set in, receive a lustre equall to the best. To be diligent, to speak nothing rashly, to take paines, to imitate wise patternes, to hide the defects of their own wit : these things, as they do not necessarily make an excellent man ; so they are sometimes all you shall find in a praised great man : so that the absence of vice is called virtue ; or that a small streame of wisdom should grow in fame equall to the Ocean : whilst most doe conceive that agilitie and practice, whereby they doe enable themselves in civill business, to be the greatness and perfection of their judgment. Neither doe I grudge these their praise ; it is a great matter for a man to be raised to that height, and grow by his employment. But these are not they, Archombrotus, of whom we speake.'[1]

As publicist and moralist, Barclay belongs ultimately to the French school, and as a literary man he can only be 'placed' by linking him on to one phase in the development of French literature. In some respects his *Argenis* was a precursor of the Epic Romance of the Seventeenth Century, a highly artificial literary form composed, as an eminent critic has demonstrated, of the wreckage of many others. Barclay anticipated the work of Chapelain and Mlle. de Scudéri. From one point of view their productions were historical and from another moral. By their length, by the number of episodes with which they are weighted, by the unreal and heroic character of their incidents, and by the exalted station of the actors, they are epics of romance, but they are at the same time closely modelled on the facts of contemporary life. They have an historical interest and paint with sharp fidelity the characters, sentiments, and destinies of contemporaries. The fantastic plot cannot hide the realism with which the actors are portrayed. The artificial literary fashion

[1] *Argenis*, i. 13 (Long's translation, London, 1636).

which the *Argenis* inaugurated had much in common with the exercises in perspective which are to be found in the less frequented rooms of the leading galleries of Europe.[1]

Barclay was in fact French in all but his romantic attachment to the country of his father's origin and his fidelity to the Latin idiom.[2] These reservations, however, sufficed to exclude him from both France and Scotland, and he has always remained a stranger 'from the parts of Lybia round about Cyrene.' He

[1] Cf. Brunetèire, *L'évolution des genres dans l'histoire de la littérature* (Paris, 1910), pp. 6, 13, 78 and 81.

[2] The merits of Barclay's Latin style have been variously estimated. Hugo Grotius provided Peyrescius with the following lines for his first edition of the *Argenis*:—

> 'Gente Caledonius Gallus natalibus hic est
> Romam Romano qui docit ore loqui.'

The tribute is emphatic, but it has been interpreted as referring to *Romance* and not to Latin. 'Il aprend aux Romains a parler *Roman*, à composer dans leur langue latine une sorte d'ouvrage qu'ils n'ont point connu.' (*Lettres du traducteur a Monsieur* D.M.VIII., ed. Paris, 1728, ii. 344.) Barclay's learned contemporaries had the habit of decrying one another's latinity. As Henri Étienne wrote his *De Lipsii Latinitate Palaestra prima*, in which he criticised the style of Justus Lipsius, so the author of the *Censura Euphormionis* (1620) wrote of Barclay 'quod meritur aliquis, latinitas quoque ipsa Romanas aures perigrinate radit, et veteris saporis imbutum palatum offendi,' and Joseph Scaliger wrote to Charles Labbé: 'Quanti euphormionem Barclaii faciam ex ea cognoscore potes, quod vix sex folia ejus legere potuerim.' (Letter 311.) On the other hand, Coleridge is reported to have observed in the course of a conversation in which the *Argenis* was mentioned '. . . the style and Latinity of which judged by the universal logic of thought as modified by feeling is equal to that of Tacitus in energy and genuine conciseness and is as perspicuous as that of Livy' (*Literary Remains*, (London, 1836), i. 257). This estimate is of course exaggerated, and probably represented Coleridge's recollection of a passage in one of Cowper's letters (*Works*, ed. Southey, 1854, iii. 384). Barclay's style had the defects of his times. He had a wide knowledge of Latin literature, but he did not appreciate the importance of a scientific study of historical philology. Just as Justus Lipsius created a Latin style based on an attempt to combine the characteristics of Tacitus and Seneca, so Barclay employed a Latin which is a *mélange* of different epochs. Even the uninstructed reader is soon aware of the *clichés* with which the *Satyricon* bristles, but the style of the *Argenis* is much superior. The judgment of M. Dupond on this question is moderate and sound. 'Nous ne trouvons jamais dans Barclai,' he writes, 'cette maniere grave et majestieuse a laquelle se prete si bien la langue latine, ces phrases développées avec ampleur ou la pensée se deroule tout entière, avec tous ses éléments. Il ecrit comme les écrivains de la décadence, comme Pétrone dans un style sautillant coupé, haché meme quelquefois. On pourrait souvent croire qu'il ne fait que traduire du français.' (Dupond, *L'Argénis de Barclai* (Paris, 1875), p. 121.) The question is also discussed by Bayle in his article on Barclay.

stood on the narrow ridge which separated humanism from pedantry, and while his intellectual equipment was probably sufficient to give him access to the southern slope, his personal history and negative temper confined him to the higher levels of the other side. The latter years of his short life were passed in cultivating tulips on the slopes of the Aventine under the protection of a Jesuit Cardinal—a foretaste of the eighteenth century.

DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

The Site of the New Park in relation to The Battle of Bannockburn

THE publication of Mr. W. M. Mackenzie's ingenious and revolutionary theory about the battle of Bannockburn has drawn the attention of scholars to the tactics of the battle at the appropriate moment of its six hundredth anniversary. I venture to construct a new theory of the battle, which seems to me compatible with the authorities on which Mr. Mackenzie relies and also in harmony with new evidence of charters and other records.

The stress of the present argument rests upon the limits of the New Park. Any one who is familiar with the history of the battle will realise the importance of evidence for the exact situation of the New Park. Mr. Mackenzie's plan places the New Park a considerable distance to the north of the farm now known as Coxithill, and about a mile and a half from the Bannock. I believe that the New Park extended from Coxit Hill to the Bannock. As the Scots encamped the night before the battle in the New Park, and as Mr. Mackenzie says that everyone is substantially in agreement that 'the battle was fought on the ground between the encampments,' it is clear that a change in the site of the New Park affects the whole argument.

A detailed discussion of the evidence of the ancient charters and the more modern sasines must be reserved for publication elsewhere. Meanwhile, the following summary will indicate the main points on which is based the theory of the locality of the New Park, which is the basis of a new reading of the battle. That locality is an area enclosed between Borestone, Parkmill, and Coxithill, and it can be shown to have been under trees at the date of the battle. The accompanying sketch map illustrates the sense of the charters and sasines which transmit the New Park and the adjacent lands to successive owners from Bruce's day to our own.

Twenty-five years before Bannockburn made it famous, the New Park had very well ascertained boundaries. Its circum-

ference was carefully measured, and the measure of its length in feet has been preserved in the Exchequer Rolls. In the account of the Sheriff of Stirling for 1289,[1] there is an entry of a payment for putting up a fence 7200 feet long to enclose it. Fourteen years after he used it as his base at the battle of Bannockburn, King Robert granted the New Park, by charter[2] to a vassal named Adam Barber. The conveyance of the New Park by charter implies the existence of boundaries, either described in the charter or so familiar in the district as not to require description. There is no description, probably because the New Park may still have been enclosed in 1328. The charter simply states that the New Park is to be held according to all its right marches. A charter by David II., granted in 1369, proves that the land was then under wood. A charter of 1455 shows that the New Park had been acquired by William Murray of Touchadam, and since that date it has always been in the possession of the Murrays, whose title-deeds include the original charter of 29th July, 1328.

The situation and the boundaries of the New Park can be discovered from documents relating to the surrounding properties, the limits of which were not so well known as those of the New Park itself, and therefore required description. The lands of Torbrekkis (Torbrex) were given by Robert Bruce to a William Bisset, *c.* 1315-1321, and a charter of Robert Bisset in 1533 shows that New Park was on the south and south-east of Torbrex. A sasine of 1709 indicates that the south and south-eastern boundaries of Torbrex ran slightly to the south of the road from St. Ninians to Touch, marching with the lands of Cocksithill. We have therefore reached this point—that the charter of 1533 speaks of the lands of Torbrex as being bounded by the lands of Coxit. But the original charter of 1328 grants the lands of Kokschote, near Kyrktoun, along with the lands of Newpark, and the Murray sasines show that the names were used interchangeably, Newpark being the usual description where title is concerned, and Coxit being employed in descriptions of boundaries. Other sasines show the distinction between the lands of Newpark and the lands of Blackdub of Touchadam which form their eastern boundary, and the distinction between Newpark and the lands of Haggs and Graysteall which bound it on the west. The whole series of charters and sasines is consistent in leading us to the

[1] *Exch. Rolls of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 38.

[2] Charter in the possession of Major Murray, Polmaise.

conclusion that the lands given in Bruce's charter of 1328 as Newpark and Coxit, near Kyrktoun, were approximately the present farms of Parkmill, New Park, and Coxithill, lying to the south and south-east of Torbrex. In other words, the New Park lay between the road from St. Ninians to Touch and the road from St. Ninians to Chartershall, and the traditional Borestone is near the middle of the eastern boundary of the Park. In what follows, this localisation of the New Park will be assumed.

On the night of Friday the 21st June, 1314, the army of Edward II. lay at Edinburgh, and on Saturday the 22nd it was marching upon Falkirk. When Bruce received this information, he conducted his troops from Torwood on the English line of march to a point also on the English line of march, but much nearer Stirling Castle, the relief of which was the immediate purpose of the enemy. The ground to which he removed was well known as the New Park. Bruce's choice was dictated by the advantage given by a wood to an army of foot soldiers when the enemy is powerful in cavalry, a circumstance insisted upon, almost in identical terms, by Bruce in Barbour's poem and by Wellington in a conversation about the battle of Waterloo. Other considerations also recommended the choice of the New Park. A camp so placed had access to a good water supply in the Bannock Burn and the Kirk Burn, and there was plenty of firewood for cooking purposes.

The danger lay in a descent of the English upon the New Park from the high ground immediately to the south by way of Chartershall, where or whereabouts (and where alone in this locality) the Bannock could be crossed by an army in good order. This was certainly the natural point for Bruce to render impassable. In his account of the pits, Barbour indicates that their purpose was to prevent an attack on the Scottish right, to block an army route, not to form a trap on a battlefield; he makes Bruce say on the Sunday evening that there is no place for alarm: the strength of their position must prevent the enemy from 'environing' them. A tract of ground by the present old Kilsyth[1] road was dug all over into little pits the depth of a man's knee, fitted with stakes sharpened at the top and covered deftly by turf. So thickly were the 'pottis' or holes dotted that Barbour compared the tract where they were made to a bee's honeycomb; the 'pottis' (the *lids* of the 'pottis' were 'green,' so that they did not show) were perfectly placed to protect the right wing of Bruce's army—the

[1] It was part of Bruce's strategy not to block this route till Saturday night—till the last moment. The enemy first learned of the pits on Sunday.

only point exposed to immediate attack; and we read that on going out to inspect them on Sunday morning after they were made, Bruce was satisfied on seeing how admirably they answered their end.

'On athir syde the way weill braid
It wes pottit as I haf tald.' [1]

The tract 'honeycombed' must have stretched a considerable distance to left and right of what is now the old Kilsyth road.

'Gif that thair fais on hors will hald
Furth in that way, I trow thai sall
Nocht weill eschew foroutyn fall.'

Meanwhile the English army was approaching. They were met well out from the Scottish position near Torwood by Sir Philip de Mowbray, governor of Stirling Castle, who could inform them of Bruce's dispositions and of the blocking by the Scots of the best route by which to approach their position.

Stratagem must defeat stratagem. To get immediately within striking distance of the Scots position was not to be a simple matter. To the east of the hard level crossing blocked[2] by the pits, the bog of Milton,[3] then a sort of natural mill-dam,[4] arrested the approach of an army in strength, while from the mill, running due north-east to the carse, was the gorge of the Bannock. This impediment, following a winding course a mile in length, was impassable by troops. To the artist this cañon stretching on the one hand towards Beaton's mill at its upper extremity to Skeoch mill on the other and beyond to the carse, suggests only a scene strikingly picturesque, but to one looking for the military possibilities of the landscape it presents an overwhelming barrier[5] to an advancing army.

[1] Barbour, xi. 387-388. Mackenzie's edition, 1909.

[2] Sir Herbert Maxwell, in spite of Barbour's indications that Bruce had protected this exposed flat by digging pits to the south of it, marches the English army over the honeycombed ground to attack the Scots ('The Battle of Bannockburn,' *Scottish Historical Review*, xi., plan facing page 234).

[3] From Milton Bog to Milton Mill 'the strawnd' (muddy ditch) ran (1727). Over the Bannock from Milton Bog, *i.e.* on the south bank, a strip of ground was known as Weetlands, another strip as 'the bog,' as late as 1727 (Sasine, 10 April, *Stir. Reg. Sas.*). Of same date Craigfoord, immediately at the west of Catcraig, marks the site of the ford at Milton Mill, where James III. was thrown from his horse in 1488. This very narrow ford no army could cross in any order.

[4] The mill was here in 1215, a hundred years before the battle.

[5] The gorge for the whole mile averages from 30 to 40 feet in depth. Buchanan comments on the very high banks of the Bannock above the carse: '*prærupti utrinque ripis.*'

To bring the Scots immediately to a general action was impossible, in view of the news brought by Sir Philip Mowbray. But honour and safety were in conflict. The following day was the expiring day of the contract sealed between Sir Edward Bruce and Sir Philip.

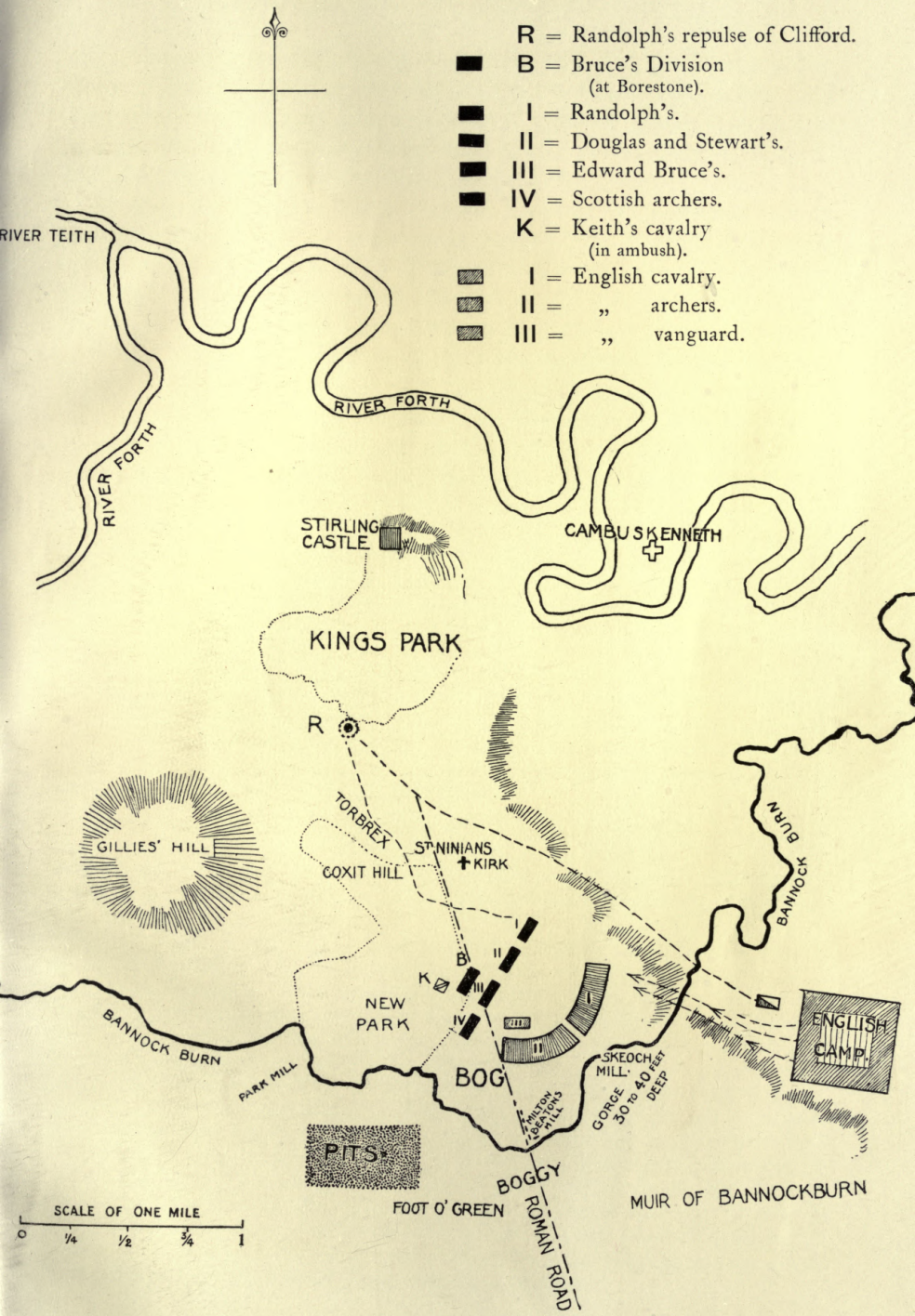
Honour and delay of a general conflict must therefore be reconciled. This led to the counter stratagem of the enemy. Sir Philip, who was personally responsible for the English being mustered here in Stirlingshire in force such as had never before crossed the borders, must vindicate his part of the treaty with Sir Edward—capitulation of Stirling Castle if not relieved by the 24th—and it was probably his suggestion that if a detachment of cavalry were flung forward to the Castle by the carse this would redeem his pledge and save the honour of England. The carse he knew well,[1] and could act as guide to the detachment or leave for that purpose a trustworthy member of the garrison who had accompanied him in this sally. This would allow the main body of the army to choose between an immediate engagement, if that were possible, and a delay in striking the contemplated blow.

The skill with which this stratagem was managed by the English has scarcely been sufficiently appreciated. That King Robert was watchful of the enemy we know, and his scouts must have been on the alert; yet this detachment had already passed the Scots position when first reconnoitred by them. This seemed to spell disaster; and the rebuke which Bruce administered to his nephew, the Earl of Moray, must have made his blood tingle. Moray, who occupied the Scottish left, which the English had just passed, now had the opportunity of showing the stuff of which he and his men were made. They instantly formed[2] and advanced towards the Castle. The English detachment was over confident; and 'the bloodless ride over' which Sir Philip had suggested as a redemption of his pledge, must be supplemented by an attempt to surround[3] the Scots position. To obtain this object it was necessary for Clifford either to await Randolph's advance or charge him. The latter alternative was the one decided on. The Scots knights, marching on foot, formed into a

[1] Sir Philip, as constable of Stirling Castle, regularly commandeered corn, cattle, victual, and other goods for his garrison from Stirlingshire (*Rot. Scotiae*, 81).

[2] It does not appear that the whole of Randolph's division advanced, but a detachment only.

[3] 'Voluit circuire silvam ne forte Scotti evaderent fugiendo' (*Chronicon de Lanercost*).


R = Randolph's repulse of Clifford.
B = Bruce's Division (at Borestone).
I = Randolph's.
II = Douglas and Stewart's.
III = Edward Bruce's.
IV = Scottish archers.
K = Keith's cavalry (in ambush).
I = English cavalry.
II = „ archers.
III = „ vanguard.
RIVER TEITH
RIVER FORTH
RIVER FORTH
STIRLING CASTLE
CAMBUSKENNETH
KINGS PARK
R
TORBREX
ST NINIANS KIRK
COXIT HILL
GILLIES' HILL
BURN
BANNOCK
B
II
K
III
IV
I
NEW PARK
BANNOCK BURN
PARK MILL
BOG
HILTON
BEATON'S HILL
SKEOCH MILL
GORGE 30 TO 40 FEET DEEP
ENGLISH CAMP
PITS
BOGGY
FOOT O' GREEN
ROMAN ROAD
MUIR OF BANNOCKBURN
SCALE OF ONE MILE
0
¼
½
¾
1

circle,[1] with spears protruding and their wall of shields protecting them. The English cavalry dashed upon them, but at the first encounter Sir William Deyncourt, a knight of great repute, was brought to earth, his horse slain with him. As a result of repeated charges many horses and riders lay upon the plain.

Among the persons taken was Sir Thomas Gray, whose son in his narrative tells of an altercation among the English leaders at the moment of attack. Sir Thomas was averse to an encounter, although there was no braver knight in the English ranks; as a prisoner of war he paid for his advice not having been followed.

The fighting had been no tournament affair; it was a determined struggle of mounted knights against knights on foot, and the former were utterly routed[2] by the latter. But the Scots camp was not only in danger of an assault on the north, it was simultaneously attacked from the east. The vanguard of the

[1] The field of this encounter is kept green by the name 'Battleflats,' corrupted into Batterflats. The ancient approach for cavalry to the Castle was from the west. Hence, riding south from the Castle the route was by the Round Table. Hence, also, in marching to intercept the English column, Randolph kept to the west of Laurelhill, as on the east of it was boggy ground. Nearly every sasine of Torbrex lands mentions this bog. In these sasines the two standing stones at the north-east of the old Torbrex lands are frequently mentioned, described as 'The standing stones betwixt the burgh of Sterling and St. Ninians Kirk' (*e.g.* Sasine, 4 and 6 Aug. 1716). As St. Ninians parish was constant in its boundaries towards the north prior to 1700, we may infer that the stones were there long before 1314, and were not a landmark set up to indicate where this engagement took place. This is the view of Sir Herbert Maxwell.

[2] *Scalacronica*: 'Lez vns dez queux fuerent au chastel, autres al ost le roy, qy ia auoint guerpy la voy du boys, estoint venuz en vn plain deuers leau de Forth outre Bannokburn, vn mauueis parfound ruscelle marras, ou le dit ost dez Engles detrusserent, demurrerent tout nuyt, durement auoint pardu countenaunce, et estoint de trop mal couyne pur la iournee passe.'

Gray, it seems, is referring here solely to the *destinations* of the fugitive knights routed by Randolph. At the moment of rout they were nearly a couple of miles *north* of the Bannock. The destination of a part of them, he tells us, was the English army then in camp *outre Bannockburn, i.e.* on the other side of the Bannock burn, or the *south* side. Mr. Mackenzie cites only the relative clause of the sentence, and argues that the phrase *outre Bannockburn* must be understood from the geographical standpoint of Sir Thomas as he wrote (*The Battle of Bannockburn*, p. 66; 'The Real Bannockburn,' *Glas. Arch. Soc. Proc.* vol. vi. pt. i. p. 94). If we follow these diametrically opposite readings, a glance at the plans will show that, while we both place the English camp in the carse, its site on Mr. Mackenzie's plan is *north* of the Bannock, and directly on Bruce's left flank (cf. *The Battle of Bannockburn*, pp. 69, 102, 99), while its position on the present plan is *south* of the Bannock, and directly in Bruce's front. Sir Herbert Maxwell (editor and translator of the *Scalacronica*) is of opinion that *outre Bannockburn* must mean south of the Bannock. Mr. Andrew Lang took the same view.

enemy was eager to share in the honour of at once surrounding the Scots position ; and as this squadron advanced at a trot, the mounted knights from the high ground of the Roman Road at Snabhead saw some Scots moving about in a provoking way on the east skirts of the New Park, as if already in flight. Had Clifford's column succeeded in its object ?[1] Warned by Sir Philip to avoid the pits, this second column filed over the Bannock—where a large army could not have crossed—at Craigfoord and Milton Mill, ascending the high ridge on the other side, formerly known as Lawhill. A quarter of a mile up the Bannock the Roman Road crossed. But the Romans, with their preference for straight lines, had run this road through a quagmire. The tract of ground on the south bank where it crossed the Bannock was known in 1727 as 'the place of the streets of the sinks,' while the ground skirting 'the street' is denominated 'bog' and 'weet-lands.' Once on Lawhill, the ground in front is firm, and with but a gentle gradient is suitable for a charge by mounted troops.

King Robert's station was at the Borestone. He rode about on a nimble pony in front of his position, reconnoitring the enemy's advance while holding his own troops in readiness in the margin of the wood. The *point a'appui* at Lawhill is such that a rider stationed at the Borestone is silhouetted into treacherous relief. Bruce, wearing a crown above his helmet, was immediately recognised by the most advanced English knights, especially when he rode out from the wood to a point some distance in front to have a better view of them. Here was a rare chance for single combat with the Scots King, and quick as thought Sir Henry de Bohun, cousin of the Earl of Hereford, gave his horse the spur. The king headed his palfrey into line with the advancing war-horse. When a horse-length distant, the king, with a swift jerk of the reins, avoided his assailant's spear, rose in his stirrups and with his battle-axe struck de Bohun as he passed. The knight fell lifeless, his skull broken to pieces.[2] When the English vanguard saw that de Bohun was dead, they fled, and the Scots, frantic with enthusiasm on seeing the English champion fall by the hand of

[1] Clifford was then engaged with Randolph's division to the north of the New Park, but hid from view by the wood and Coxit-Hill.

[2] The name of Braehead, the scene of this trial of arms, is given as *Brackhead* in the earliest recorded sasine of the farm (June 17, 1732, *Stir. Reg. Sas.*). The writer of the *Life of Edward II.*, c. 1325, who recounts the incident in a slightly different manner from Barbour, says :—'Sed Robertus ei restitit et securi quam manu gerebat, caput ipsius contrivit.'

their king, rushed from their camp with loud shouts[1] and pursued the retreating column as far as the defile.

The two detachments having broken away, the English army, following in the wake of the vanguard, reached the lands of Plane (so known in 1215), where Edward halted his entire force and called a meeting of his staff.[2] When Bruce directed the formation of the pits, he had calculated on their effect in dislocating the English plans: this meeting of Edward with his staff was the result. The English strategists carefully considered the new conditions in which they found themselves. Never before had the route by Chartershall been obstructed, and the information conveyed to them by Sir Philip Mowbray had come upon them as a surprise. Edward for his part desired the immediate arbitrament of battle. But he could not get within striking distance of Bruce by the expected route on that day, and to camp at any point above the gorge on the lands of Bannockburn[3] would render him powerless to attack the Scots position on the morrow, for the gorge, twisting to and fro for another mile, barred all passage for his army *by dryfield* to the Scots front.

It has not been sufficiently observed that when the English vanguard approached the Scots front by the narrow defile at Beaton's Mill and occupied Lawhill they were unopposed by the Scots. The Scots, on the other hand, made a feint of flight, Bruce meantime observing the movements of the mounted column from the Borestone. The single combat, with its attendant results, was a brilliant accident—the outrush of the Scots and the evacuation of Lawhill by the vanguard.

But Bruce neither then, nor at any time that day, nor that night, nor up till the dawn of the 24th, opposed the enemy's taking up a position in his front. It is here that the locality of the New Park is of first importance. The ground in the Scots front, devoid of trees, being outside the New Park—the eastern march of which was the old Kilsyth road, had a wavy surface, including Lawhill and Balquhiderock Hills—rising contours—but in addition three gentle depressions (1) Whins of Milton hollow, through which the present Denny road runs, (2) the hollow between the Bannock-

[1] Barbour, xii. 75-78.

[2] 'He gert arest all his battale
At othir als to tak consale.'—Barbour, xii. 7-8.

[3] The lands of Bannockburn in Bruce's time, as the evidence of charters and sasines shows, included the lands on both sides of the Bannock from Chartershall to a point on the gorge about midway between Beaton's Mill and Skeoch Mill.

burn and Denny roads, (3) the hollow below the Bannockburn road, where the farmhouse known as The Hole is situated. Mr. Mackenzie, conceiving this area as also part of the New Park,[1] and finding that the fourteenth century writers are in agreement[2] that Bruce went out of the New Park to fight, is thus obliged to seek the battlefield in the carse. He calls the part of the carse where he places the fighting 'the dryfield lands of the *Old Statistical Account*.' But there is no dryfield in the carse. The soil is all carse clay, on which cavalry could not, even to-day, be conveniently moved. Mr. Mackenzie's view that there is dryfield in the carse (a point which is essential to his argument) depends, I think, upon a mis-reading of the words of the *Statistical Account* (1796).

All King Robert's plans and wishes were that the English should take the area now described as in the Scots front. The English writer who points out the Scots feint of withdrawal gives us the clue to Bruce's plan of battle. After matters had righted themselves by the rout of Clifford at Battleflats, after Bruce had slain de Bohun and remade his dispositions, addressing his troops, according to Barbour, he used words which, when put in their proper place alongside the English writer's observation, disclose his whole plan of battle. As these words form the best guide to the site of the Battle of Bannockburn we quote them in full, all the more emphatically because an accurate fourteenth century topography is necessary to appreciate their significance.

> 'Na vs thar dreid thâme bot befor
> For strynth of this place, as zhe se
> Sall let us enveronyt to be.'

Bruce then feeling that his dispositions were justified by the events of the past day, which had rendered the impending battle a calculation of hours, inferring too the enemy's design from the position of their camp, said : We need not apprehend an attack from the enemy except in front. The strength of the position, as you see, is such as shall keep us from being surrounded.

When we have found that his frontal attitude throughout the 23rd and up to the dawn of the 24th was a false retiral or, at the most, a lying on the defensive under shelter of the wood, while he

[1] *The Real Bannockburn*, p. 91.

[2] Sir Herbert Maxwell, on the other hand, is in opposition to these writers when he assigns the Scots a position in the middle of the New Park in the point of attack on the 24th.

thus spoke of his front to his troops as the Achilles-heel of his position, the strategical design of his dispositions is unmasked. Bruce had *strategically* given up to the enemy the entire ground in his front, an area in itself larger than the New Park. It is this area, roughly speaking a parallelogram, bounded on the west by the old Kilsyth road, on the east by the mile of Bannockburn gorge, on the south by Milton bog and Milton lead or 'strawnd,' and on the north by the margin (or slope) separating dryfield from carse, that Barbour describes[1] as 'a mekill feild on breid.' It lay there *carte blanche*. No demonstrations were made upon it. No pits were dug there, nor is it necessary to assume, as Mr. Mackenzie does, that the English vanguard on the 23rd 'unconsciously' avoided them. By placing the pits south of Charters-hall Bruce designed to shift the scene of conflict from a very strong position for the enemy on his right, with no barrier to intercept their flight if defeated, to an excellent tournament ground on his front where if defeated no way of retreat lay open to them, while he himself in the event of defeat could retire among the New Park trees only a hundred yards in his rear. In fine, his plan was *not*, as it appeared, to *evade a battle*, but to *accept a battle* on ground of his own selecting.

But not content with making a free gift to the enemy of the area before the Borestone, he took a further precaution to conceal his intention from them by giving it out in the evening that he was on the point of evacuating the New Park for the Lennox.[2]

Meanwhile Edward had entered camp in the carse at the mouth of the gorge on the south bank of the Bannock (near the later village of Bannockburn). That this step was taken late in the afternoon is expressly stated in the *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, in Barbour's poem (xii. 330-334), and in the *Scalacronica*. Barbour makes it clear that the passage of the Bannock took place subsequently to the camping, very late at night and up till dawn on the 24th. In this he is in agreement with Sir Thomas Gray, who represents some of the English knights routed at Battelflats in the afternoon, as riding to Edward's camp south of the Bannock. Mr. Mackenzie in making the crossing precede the encampment[3] inverts the time-table of these writers. It is important to notice

[1] Barbour likewise certainly speaks in unmistakeable terms of 'the gret stratnes of the place wherein they (the English) were to abide fechtin.' The field of battle was a limited one.

[2] *Scalacronica*. [3] *Battle of Bannockburn*, p. 67.

that Barbour uses the same word about the encampment of both armies. The Scots

'in the park thaim herberyd thar.'

The English

'herberyd thaim that nycht
Doune in the Kers.'

He thus distinguishes the 'dryfield' of the next day's fighting from the camp, which was situated in the carse, which he describes as a morass (xi. 287). This distinction perplexed Mr. Mackenzie, who explains it on his hypothesis that 'the battle took place on the plain between St. Ninians slope and the carse.'[1] There is no such plain. The slope is the margin which separates two of the great agricultural sections of Stirlingshire, carse and dryfield—the plain lies not between St. Ninians and the carse, but between the Borestone and Bannockburn village.

During the night 'the plane hard feild' across[2] the Bannock, before the Scots position (reached at this point by a piece of green slope which looks to-day as if it might have been artifically graded for the purpose), was rapidly occupied by the English as a substitute for their adjoining marsh camp.

The English archers advanced first ('*ante aciem*') in the twilight of the midsummer night, ranging themselves on the ridge from Lawhill to Braehead farmhouse; the vanguard covered by the archers, and burning to redeem yesterday's retreat, advanced to a position slightly lower than the bowmen, while the battalions following the King's standard occupied the ground known as Balquhiderock Hills. When day broke, Bruce again stationing himself at the Borestone, saw his plan of battle realised.

He now issued orders to his own troops to march from their cover into the open field. This was one of two thrilling moments before the actual charge. The English army had been standing listlessly[3] in battle array; but as the Scots army emerged from the

[1] *The Real Bannockburn*, p. 101. [2] *Lanercost*: 'transissent.'

[3] Gloucester had even ridden over to Edward to suggest postponing attack on the Scots position till the morrow (*V.E.S.*). We have here an independent voucher that Bruce's prediction had been verified. The English now lay in his front, ready to attack him. Edward was right in rejecting Gloucester's suggestion, for King Robert's orders to his troops left the English no alternative but immediate battle. Gloucester's suggestion, like Bruce's memorable utterance to his troops, so responsive to the dispositions that are in the minds of the fourteenth century writers, bears no relation to the dispositions in Mr. Mackenzie's hypothesis; or, in the case of Gloucester's suggestion, did it mean, as on Mr. Mackenzie's hypothesis of the relative situations of the two armies it must mean, that Edward was preparing to attack Bruce's left flank on the plateau above, from the carse.

trees a few hundred yards in front, a gust of rapid movement animated the enemy's ranks. Every knight leapt into the saddle.[1] Barbour describes the bold emergence of the Scots :

'Thai went all furth in gud aray,
And tuk the playne full apertly.'[2]

The writer of the *Vita Edwardi Secundi* similarly :

'He (Bruce) led his whole army forth from the wood.'

The *Scalacronica* to the same effect :

'They marched out of the wood on foot[3] in three divisions.'

A short march, wholly unexpected by the English, for Bruce had hitherto appeared anxious to screen his troops in the shelter of the wood. King Robert was sensible of the terrible game he was playing in leading his troops from cover. But these troops the evening before in his presence had expressed the earnest resolve[4] to die upon that plain, or set their country free.

The first movements on the field were by troops on the higher ground. Well in front of the New Park trees, on the gentle eastern slopes of Caldom Hill, the battle began. Gloucester gave the order to his men to charge. The Scottish division on the right, led by Sir Edward Bruce, received the charge. The battle now became general. Randolph was posted on the Scottish left and the lower ground. King Edward, at the moment of attack, occupied the slightly undulating plain fronting the Earl of Moray. The division led by Douglas and Stewart now advanced, and thus the Scots ranks, when the English vanguard—the *élite* of the enemy—had been hurled[5] back upon the large 'schiltrum'[6] behind,

[1] *Scalacronica.* [2] Barbour, xii. 420-421.

[3] Cf. *Vita Edwardi Secundi.* 'Nullus eorum equum ascendit.' From these graphic touches, so sensitive to the dispositions, it appears that to the enemy looking on the Scots army at this juncture, the latter seemed destitute of a cavalry arm. This deception King Robert had designed. Sir Robert Keith, the Scots marshal in command of 500 light mounted troops, lay *in ambush* in the wood. Mr. Mackenzie is obliged by his hypothesis to assign Sir Robert a post *in the open.*

[4] Barbour, xii. 201-206.

[5] 'Aciem comitis contritam' (*V.E.S.*)

'Thar avaward ruschit was,
And, magre tharis, left the plas,
And to thar gret rowt to warrand,
Thai went.'—Barbour, xiii. 169-172.

[6] Barbour briefly describes the English order of battle :

'in a schiltrum
It semyt thai war all and some,
Outane the vaward anerly.'

were engaged from a point several hundred yards in advance of the Borestone to a point near the margin of the carse below. A mass of dead and dying horses and men marked the line where the battle was joined.

In the first encounter of the archers on the highest ridge of the battlefield the Scots bowmen were put to flight,[1] and the English bowmen proceeded to riddle the flank of the Scots line, when, to use Barbour's graphic words :

> 'The Inglis archeris schot so fast,
> That, mycht thar schot haf had last,
> It had beyne hard to Scottis men ;'[2]

but at that grave moment Sir Robert Keith, at a command from Bruce, wheeled round the south slope of Caldom Hill and took the archers in flank and rear. This *coup-de-main* led to important results.[3] A total rout of the English archers ensued. Throwing down their arms, they ran into their own cavalry's position. To save themselves from being cut down many fled. Thus, at the most critical moment of the day, by a skilfully laid ambush, the most efficient and most powerful arm of the enemy was in an instant put out of action. Two new phases of the conflict now supervened. The Scottish archers took up a position in the Scottish rear, and shot their arrows over the lower schiltrums of spearmen into the ranks of the English mounted knights.[4] The Scots knights on foot were still maintaining themselves along the whole line with the most determined courage and coolness.

But this was not all. Hitherto, Bruce from the Borestone, a well-selected vantage ground, had merely directed the evolution of his troops. The division following the Royal Standard had been kept in reserve on the height at the Borestone. The whole division now advanced. Thinking that the turning point of the day was clearly come, King Robert threw himself—at the head of this division—upon the enemy's left. 'It was awful,' says Barbour, 'to hear the noise of these four battles fighting in a line—the din of blows, the clang of arms, the shoutings of the war-cries ;

[1] 'Sagittarii regis Angliae cito alios fugaverunt.' *Lanercost C.*

[2] Barbour, xiii. 47-49. The Scots archers, says Barbour, were few in number compared with the English, 'that ma than thai war be gret thing.'

[3] How much at Bannockburn depended on the generalship of Bruce and the *finesse* of his dispositions is clear from the fact that were we to eliminate this *coup-de-main* from King Robert's strategy, the issue of the battle might have been altogether different.

[4] Barbour, xiii. 76-88. Cf. *ibid.* xiii. 208-224.

to see the flight of the arrows, horses running masterless, the alternate sinking and rising of the banners, and the ground streaming with blood, and covered with shreds of armour, broken spears, pennons and rich scarfs torn and soiled with blood and clay, and to listen to the groans of the wounded and dying.'[1]

The English ranks began to waver when along the whole Scottish line rang out the words :

'On thame ! On thame ! On thame ! Thai faill !'[2]

At this juncture what appeared to the enemy as a new Scottish army was seen issuing from the hills to the west, palpably to aid Bruce.[3] The English battalions now reeled. Some on either flank fled. But at many points the tendency to rout was for a time stayed by the English leaders. This gave the opportunity to King Edward's personal attendants to urge him, much against the grain, to leave the stricken field. A brave attempt was made to rally the day by de Argentine, who, having seen his sovereign safely off the field, returned to the battle. He fell.[4] Gloucester fell. The English ranks broken, the studied plan of Bruce's dispositions was now to tell with overwhelming effect.

As the eye to-day sweeps up and down the zig-zag mile of the great natural gorge which hemmed in the English rear, it is clear that, to an army routed or in flight, such a tremendous ravine would form a barrier of the most calamitous kind ; especially when one remembers that the southern boundary of the battlefield which dovetails with the gorge is 'the strawnd,' and that again led into Milton bog, while beyond these is the course of the Bannock, and still further the line of Bruce's pits.

In the Register of Sasines the edge of the cañon behind the English is expressively described as 'the rigne of the brea'[5] (*e.g.* Sasine 12 May, 1685). It is this feature of the battlefield which impressed itself upon the imaginations of Sir Thomas Gray, the Lanercost writer, the writer of the *Life of Edward II.*, and Barbour himself, as they heard the battle described, and they have vividly set forth what they heard.

[1] *The Pictorial History of Scotland*, Division I., p. 137.

[2] Barbour, xiii. 205. [3] *Ibid.* xiii. 225-264.

[4] 'Of his ded wes ryct gret pite.
He wes the thrid best knycht, perfay,
That men wist liffand in his day :
He did mony a fair journe.'

[5] 'The rigne of the brea' = the top of the slope.

Sir Thomas Gray sums up this phase of the battle in one masterly sentence. The English front ranks could not clear themselves, he says, their horses being transfixed on the Scottish spears; and as the fallen horses kicked out, and the fallen knights clutched at their comrades in the effort to rise again, the rear ranks recoiled, and in recoiling plunged over 'the rigne of the brea' into the ravine of Bannock burn, every one tumbling upon the other.[1]

The Lanercost writer similarly divides the principal slaughter on the field between those slain in the front fighting rank, such as the Earl of Gloucester, Robert de Clifford, Sir John de Comyn, Sir Payn de Tybetot, Sir Edmund de Mauley, and those slain by the natural death-trap in the rear. Another great calamity, he says, befel the English, who, driven back behind the pressure of the front ranks, fell (*ceciderunt*) mounted knights, horses and foot, into a large ravine at their backs; some extricated themselves, but the majority did not succeed, and those who were present at the battle and escaped spoke with terror of the gorge for years afterwards. The writer of the *Vita Edwardi Secundi* states as a novel feature that, when the hour of flight came, 'lo, on a sudden (*ecce*) a certain ravine,' as it were, a monster 'swallowed' (*absorbuit*) the bulk[2] of our army (*magna pars nostrorum in ipsa periit*). Barbour, who usually finds a parallel to the events he describes, states that in the annals of war he conceived the battle of Bannockburn to be unique:

> 'I herd nevir quhar, in na cuntre,
> Folk at swa gret myschef war stad.'

It was at once a defeat and a carnage.

The lads, swains, and baggage followers now arrived on the battlefield, ran down among the cumbered knights and struggling horses in the ravine and slew them, where they could offer no resistance.

On the two flanks, where pressure upon the gorge was less, flight was possible, and it was resolved by King Robert to pursue all sections of the enemy, giving him no time to rally.

Sir James Douglas was detached in pursuit of the King of England, who had first ridden to Stirling Castle,[3] but was now

[1] *Scalacronica.* 'Chescun cheoit sur autre.'

[2] The centre of the English army must have fared worst. The gorge was further in the rear of the two flanks.

[3] The present plan is compatible with Edward's movements, and is therefore not open to the objection which Mr. Mackenzie brings against the old view.

riding south for safety. The pursuit was followed to Dunbar. Sir Edward Bruce was detached in pursuit of the Earl of Hereford. He came up with the fugitive at Bothwell Castle. The earl and all his company were taken prisoners. A great body of troops leaving the right flank fled towards the Forth. In doing so they unwittingly entered a cul-de-sac as fatal as that from which they had just escaped. They found themselves shut by their pursuers in an angle made by two rivers. The Bannock receives the tide[1] daily a mile up its course (as far as Stewarthall bridge). Nor could the Forth be crossed here by fugitives; it is too broad and deep. Most of those who tried to cross were drowned. A great number of the fugitives ran from the battle-field over the carse to Stirling Castle, and clinging to the castle rocks made a show of resistance. A strong company was sent by Bruce up the crags to attack them, upon which they yielded as prisoners. A number of Welsh troops headed by Sir Maurice de Berclay got across the gorge on foot and fled south. Many, including Sir Maurice,[2] were taken prisoners, and many slain during their flight.

The finest army England ever saw had ceased to exist, and in a moment the destiny of Scotland was changed.

Sir Philip de Mowbray, Warden of Stirling Castle, in fulfilment of his treaty with the king's brother, now tendered the castle to Bruce. As in one sense he had given the occasion for this mighty overthrow of his nation, he preferred to remain in Scotland, and tendered his sword to Bruce, whom he served with the brilliant qualities that he had formerly displayed in the service of England.

THOMAS MILLER.

Cf. MacGregor Stirling's criticism of Nimmo's plan of battle: 'Many English, at the close of the battle, ran to the castle or the Forth, which they must have done through the victorious army, had it been drawn up from East to West.' Nimmo's *History of Stirlingshire*, 2nd edition, 1817, p. 222.

[1] 'In quam intrat fluxus maris.' *Lanercost.*

[2] *Vita Edwardi Secundi.*

Scotstarvet's 'Trew Relation'[1]

Chap. 3 *Concerning the erections.*

THERE were only 7 gentlemen and my selffe qho mett privatly for feare of the counsell whose principall members were all lords of the erections in whose presence I drew up a petition to the king shewing the great oppression of the noblemen in leading the gentries tithes and having there superiorities of kirk Lands over them craving his majesties favour to be liberat therfrae qhilk was anno 1626 qhilk petition was signed by Sir Jo^{n} Prestoun of Ardrie Sir Ja. Lermonth of Balcomby Robert Forbes of Reres Sir W^{m} Dowglas of Cavers Sir W^{m} Barlzie of Lammingtoun Sir Ja. Lockhart of Ley and my selffe qhom they intreated to carrie the samyn to his majesty bot being newly come from England I pleaded exemption and so Balcomby was sent whose coming was so acceptable to his majestie that he not only got ane favourable answere but was also maid a lord of the session after his returne Sir W^{m} Scot of Elie my uncle having a 1000 lib. stirlin of yeirlie rent subject to the slaverie of tithes to the Lord of Balcarras commended the enterprise but would not subscryve the same And because it may be surmised that in procuring the act of parl^{t} 1649 I exceded my commission in offering some augmentation of the yeirlie fewdewtie for obtening that favour to be turned the Kings vassals it seemes for my awin exoneration to insert the petition of the gentlemen of the shirefdome of the Forrest qho gave me warrand to condescend to the said offer qherof 9 were of the name of Scot as followes

To the Kings most excellent majestie The humble petition of the barrons gentlemen and uther fewars of kirk Lands within this kingdome humbly sheweth

Wheras albeit by 3 several acts of parl^{t} the kirk livings are appoynted to be halden of your majesty two anno 1633 and one anno 1641 and that your majesty by severall acts of exchecker

[1] Continued from *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. xi. p. 403.

proceding upon your missive lettres discharging all deeds done in the contrair and that by ane speciall letter writtin in favours of Thomas Hebburne your majesties expresse mynd to the full that your royall pleasure is that he sould hold his Lands [page 16] only of your majesty in place of the abbot of Kelso and therin gives command to the wryters and keepers of seales to register that letter in there severall registers and to doe no deed in the contrair as they sould be answerable to your majestie in there hightest perrell yet your petitioners to there great greife hes the tyme of this last parl^{t} found dyverss new signatours under your majestie putting the saids lords of erections in there awin places and of new subjecting us qho by the former acts & standing Lawes were free of there slaverie to hold our Lands of them in tyme to come qherby we were forced to meane ourselffs to the parl^{t} and to crave of them that the Lawes standing in vigour might not be taken away and therupon did obtaine an act in our favours that we still remane vassals to your majestie but withall we were put to reduce in law before the lords of session some grants & infeftments latlie past the seales directly contrair to all the former acts qhilk will be very prejudiciall & expensive unto us viz of Paslay Musse[l]burght Dumfermling & Kelso and being yet confident that these noblemen qho hes had that power so farre against the lawes to draw from your majestie a proper part of your patrimony will not yet being neare your majesties royall persone cease to importune your majesty with new suits of that kynd to our great prejudice the seene hurt of the croune the samyn kirk livings being the 3^{d} part of the kingdome We in all humility beseech your majestie to give command to your treasurer and advocat to asist us in the said persute and that therafter your majestie will do no deed in prejudice of the standing lawes in their favours and that seeing the saids lords of erections are still in confidence to remane our superiors so long as they possesse our few dewties qhich your majestie in respect of the present condition of affairs is not able to buy from them That your majestie would be pleased to give order to your treasurer and remnant lords of exchecker to suffer us in your majesties name to buy our awin few dewties from them at ten yeirs purchase and we are not only willing to advance the money in your majesties name but also during the tyme of not repayment by your majestie or treasurer a full 5^{t} part yeirly of qhatsumever dewties we sall redeme from you and being paid by your majestie or exchecker of the money qhilk we sall happen to advance we sall therafter enter in payment

of the full and haill dewties contened in our infeftments qhich in itselffe being just and equitable we hope will not be refused to us to the effect we may therby rest as god and the auntient lawes of the kingdome has provyded

Your majesties vassals & servaunts [1]

Bot as it is written of Crist[opher] Columbus that for all the good service he did to the croune of Spayne in finding out the Indies he was rewarded with a prison and irons on his legs so was I litle better by the gentry of Fife qho in there committee 1650 summoned me to compeir at Couper in the midst of winter under the payne of plunder and to bring with me the accompt of the 100 dollars sent to me to defray the lawyers charges qho were employed to pleade the cause of reduction qhilk forced me to send to Ed[r] an expresse qhen the passage was closed by the Inglish and bring from thence my servaunt Jo[n] Scot qho had received the money from Sir Ia. Lumsdene qhilk was superexpended bot at the tyme of the parl[t] 1649 qhen the act in favours of the gentry was made the power of the lords was so great with his majestie contrair his awin interest that he wrote both to the parlt and session in there favour willing then to permitt the noblemen to keepe the power they had & servitude over the gentry seing he was made beleve by them that the gentry that way would be kept at under and moved to act as pleased his majesty as there vassals & followers whose missives to that purpose stands registrat both in the books of parl[t] & session. And albeit there be many Limitations & restrictions in that act in favours of many corporations & particular persons the reason was to gett them on our side of it to overballance the power and great opposition of the saids lords yet qhenever the supreme authority sall urge there right in law they undoubtedly will triumph in the cause and make all these persons to be just in the cace that the rest of the nation are in for the reasons raised in the principall summons.

The true causes moving me to prosequute that bussines were two, the one the obligation I had to his majestie my master as director to his chancellarie not only myselffe as possessor of that place since the yeir 1611 but 4 of my predecessors clerks clerk registers directors of the chancellarie & lords of the session successively since the yeir 1487 whose interest I fand to be great by loosing a great part of the croune rent and superiorities of vassals

[1] Signatures not given in MS.

—(contrair the act of annexation)[1]—The uther was my awin prejudice as an heritor of 5 portions of Land all holden of kirkmen qhich would have forced me to have sought entrie of them[2] and become all there vassals qhich before by my wryts I held only of the king. I was also exasperate at ane sentence obtened at the Lord Lauderdales instance as pryor of Haddingtoun against me finding him superior of some of my Land holden of that abbey notwithstanding it was allegit by my advocats that both I and my author the Lord of Tarvet had our infeftments granted under the great seale to be halden of the croune dyvers yeirs before his infeftment of the said abbey and I behoved notwithstanding to agknowledge him superior till I fand ane way to illude him by purchasing ane chaplans ry^{t} qho long befor had gotten the samyn mortified and the few dewtie therof disponed to the chaplanrie called St Marufe in the casle of Craill and be the chaplans dimission I procured ane gift of the same from King James to S^{t} Leonards college in S^{t} Andrews And lykewise the fees of my office (upon there resignations service or retours or precepts of clare constat)[3] uplifted by there bailzies all qhich before past throw the chancery bot I behove to misken all till the matter of resignations of kirk lands came in hand anno 1628 since qhich tyme I was ever mynding it to my great expenss and deadlie hatred the lords of erections hes ever borne towards me and speciallie in the yeir 1648 I gott warrand from 14 shyres to complane to the parl^{t} in there names and to urge the act to be made in the gentries favours and they commissionat some principall barrons to second me in that bussines being 80 persons in all at a meeting in the tailzeours hall qhere sir Jo^{n} was president.

The commission granted by the barrons and gentlemen fewars to sir Jo^{n} Scot.

We barrons gentlemen & heritors of kirklands undersubscryvend for ourselffs and in name of the rest of the gentry of this kingdome being informed that albeit we have dyvers acts of parlt in our favours making & constituting us his majesties vassals yet the lords of erections are not ceasing daylie to impor-

[1] The words in brackets are in the margin of the MS., their precise place in the text is conjectural.

[2] It is of interest to note that this is the same grievance which has arisen under the Scottish Conveyancing Act of 1874.

[3] In margin of MS., place in text conjectural.

tunat his majestie for granting them new gifts of our superiorities and gifts of bailzieries qherby we are forced to agknowledge them our superiors contrare to equitie & reason have therfor made & constitute and etc the lord Scotstarvet givand & granting unto him to repair to his sacred majestie and to present a petition to him and argue the justice therof by all laufull means & reasons he can devyse and humblie to crave his majesties answere therupon and to follow & attend the samyn till the procuring & obtaning therof firme & stable holding & for to hold all & qhatsumever the forsaid commissioner laufully does or sall doe in our names in the premisses. In witness qherof we have subscryved ther presents with our hands

Ludovic Gordoun Fr. Lyon of Brigtoun Sir Ja. Monypenny Smetoun Richardsone Jo^{n} Moncreif of Randerstoun Sir Ja. Melvill Charl. Arnot of that ilk Kilbrachmount Da. Lyndsay of Pitslandy W^{m} Dundas M^{r} Jo^{n} Wardlaw of Alden W^{m} Scot of Ardrosse Rentoun Sir Ja. Lumsdaill Stitchill Sir Patrick Hammiltoun Sir Fr. Ruthven etc.

The petition of the gentrie given in by Sir Jo^{n} Scot anno 1649 to the Parliament[1]

Humbly sheweth

That qheras sindry noblemen and uthers taking advantage of the distempers and many difficulties of thir tymes having power and credit about his majestie have contrair to many standing Lawes of this kingdome procured from his majestie new gifts grants & concessions qherby his majesties immediat power and relations to us his vassals & subjects the profits & emoluments of his croune and the interest of us are much prejudged speciallie by the new gifts of the superiorities of kirk Lands regalities & bailzieries with power to enter vassals and other gifts of that nature already granted althogh unknowne to us or that in the progress of tyme by the successe of the forsaid attempts if not prevented may be expected from his majestie to the enthralment of the rest of the subjects & vassals of blanch few and ward Lands and subjecting of them to other new offices and jurisdictions for remeid qherof we have alreadie made our most humble addresse to the last session of parl^{t} and acording to thair reference therin to the lords of session and being after long dependance delayed & frustrat of bringing our just desyres to the wished effect find it necessary

[1] See *Acts Parl. Scot.* vi. part ii. page 244.

againe to have recourse to this honorabill parl[t] that our desyres and greivances may by your wisdome & justice [be] immediatlie taken to consideration & broght into a speedie determination Therfore we humbly begge that we may be freed of the great thraldome qhilk has bein endeavoured to have bein broght upon us by the forsaid practick and that his majestie and his successors may continue our immediat superiors in all tyme coming and that all such gifts of the superiorities of kirk lands regalities and bailzieries with power to enter vassals obtened contrair to Law and uthers of the lyke nature may be recalled & rescinded and that we may enjoy our freedomes & liberties as freely as at any tyme hertofore And that such acts and lawes may be made & constitute as will serve for the securing of us and our posterity in the enjoying of these liberties & freedomes in all tymes herafter all qhich being consonant to good conscience & equitie the lawes & liberties of this kingdome we are confident your lordships will grant the petition of 900 persons out of the shirrefdoms of Fife Stirlin Lothian Roxburgh Kincardin Lithgow Drumfreis Selkirk Renfrew Barwick Forfare Air Perth

The summons of reduction intended against the Lords of Erection

Charles

Our will is etc that ye peremptorly summond warne & charge our ry[t] trust cousins & counsellors Charl[es] erle of Dumfermling Ja[mes] erle of Abercorne Robert erle of Roxburgh Jo[n] erle of Lauderdale in maner following That is to say so many of them as are within the realme personally or at there dwelling houses and so many of them as beis furth be open proclamation etc To compeir To answere at the instance of etc our advocat for our entress who by dyvers lawes & acts of parl[t] and namly by dyverss acts of annexations & other acts have good & undoubted right to all & qhatsumever kirk Lands teynds superiorities patronages regalities pertening of old to qhatsumever abbacies pryories and other benefices erected in temporall lordships within this our kingdome at leist we having the undoubted right to the superiorities be vertue of our act of parlt 1633 qherby it is declared that the ry[t] and titill of the superiorities of all & sindry the Lands barronnies woods mylnis fishings maner places and haill pertinents therof pertening to qhatsumever abbacies pryories provestries & qhatsumever other benefices of qhatsumever name & designation the samyn be erected in temporall lordships barronnies or livings

befor the generall annexation of kirk Lands made in July 1587 together with the haill few maills few fermes and other rents & dewties of the said superiorities to be annexed and remane with our croune for ever and therby having good & undoubted entress to persew the action of reduction declaration & improbation underwritten And also to answere at the instance of our vassals of the kirk Lands & uthers after specifeit viz of W^m erle of Dalhousie & Geo. lord Ramsay his sone vassals to us in the Lands of Abbotshall & Westmylne of Kirkaldie with the pertinents therof Lyand within the regalitie of Dumfermling & shirrefdome of Fife M^r Jo^n Nicolsone advocat heritor of the Lands of Nether Houdane qhilk held of old of the regalitie of Mussilburgh Sir Robert Dobie of Stoniehill heritor thereof qhilk held of old of the said regalitie Sir Ja. Melvill of Burntiland proprietar therof qhilk held of old of the regalitie of Dumfermling Sir Jo^n Scott of Scotstarvet commissioner for certane gentlemen vassals to us in certane portions of Land halden of before of the abbots lo[rdships] & regalities above writtin M^r Ja. Cheyne of Wastoun heretabill proprietar therof qhilk held of befor of the abbacie of Kelso Robert Fork shirreff clerk of Renfrew for his lands of Corsflat in the abbay of Paslay and toune with concourse of there magistrats for there toune Lands and liberties therof Who were vassals to us in the saids Lands have lykwise good and sufficient entress to persew the said action against the saids defenders to the effect they and there airis & successors may hold the saids Lands immediately of us and our successors and be subject and lyable in payment to us our treasurer and collector of the saids few maills few fennes and other rents and dewties of the saids superiorities in all tymes coming without interposition of any superior betwixt us and them and may be only subject to us and our shirreff officers and others our ordinar bailzies of regalities and noways to any of the defenders Lords of the erected Lands & livings there officers and bailzies of regalities be vertue of ane pretended lyferent or heretabill right granted to them be us or our predecessors be the Lawes of this kingdome That is to say the saids defenders to bring with them exhibite and produce befor the saids lords of our counsell and session the saids day and place etc all and sindry pretended infeftments chartours tacks rights & other titles after mentioned maid to them or any of them as followes viz ane pretended tack of land made be us to Charl[es] erle of Dumfermling under our privie seale of the dait the 25 June 1641 of the lordship and regalitie of Dumfermling and haill pertinents

therof and of the profits emoluments and haill patrimony of the samyn for the space of 3 nyneteene yeirs except for the regalitie of Musselburgh item ane pretended letter of explanation of the forsaid tack under our privie seale of the dait 8 Sept. 1643 contening ane warrand for uplifting of grassumes doubling of few dewties and for ressaving & entering airis & vassals upon retours precepts of clare constat comprysings resignations adjudications persewing of improbations against the vassals & tennents of the said Lo[rdship]: item the act of parlt made in his favours qherby the 3 nynetene yeirs tack is ratified item ane pretended letter of gift qherby our umqhill father King Ja. 6 gave & granted to umqhill Patrick Master of Gray the monastery & prelacy of Dumfermling with the haill teynds kirks barronnies emoluments & dewties pertening to the said monastery daited at Stirlin the 8 Sept^{r} 1586 qhilk is ane pretended ground of the ry^{ts} following conceived in favours of Jo^{n} erle of Lauderdale and his predecessors of the lordship and regalitie of Mussilburgh qhilk was ane part of the lordship and regalitie of Dumfermling Item ane chartour granted be our umqhill dearest father to umqhill Sir Jo^{n} Maitland of Thirlestane secretary for the tyme of the said lordship of Mussilburgh contening the particular Lands mylnes and others therin mentioned upon the resignation of the commendator and the convent contening ane clause de novo damus qhilk chartour is daited the 28 June 1587 As also an other pretended chartour made be us to umqhill Jon erle of Lauderdaill of the sad lo[rdship] daited the 12 nov^{r} 1641 As also ane pretended chartour under our great seale maid be us to Ja. erle of Abercorne of all & haill the lo[rdship] & barony of Paislay daited the etc day of etc 1642 And in lyke maner an other chartour granted be us to Robert erle of Roxburgh of the lo[rdship] & baronies of Holliedeane comprehending dyvers lands teynds offices & uthers pertening of old to the abbacie of Kelso qhilk chartour is daited the 21 June 1647.

(*To be continued.*)