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## Student Life in St. Andrews before 1450 A.D.

SO far as we read of Student Life in connection with the early Colleges—and it is there we have the most reliable and definite information—it was modelled on that of the cloister. We find the observance of fasts and festivals along with, and sometimes rather than, the pursuit of literature and the culture of the intellect. It is significant that at St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, down to 1698, 'there seems reason for saying that appointments by the Crown were generally made out of consideration for the spiritual needs of the Church rather than the intellectual wants of the College.'<sup>1</sup> But there was a period in Scottish University history prior to the foundation of the Colleges. St. Salvator's, the first Scottish College, was founded in 1450 by James Kennedy, and it is the period between 1410 and 1450 with which we are at present concerned.

The reproduction of medieval student life in general is rightly regarded as a somewhat severe strain upon the historical imagination. Perhaps even more so is it true of that life in Scotland in pre-College days. Our information is so scanty that one is at first tempted to call it prehistoric. General conceptions can be obtained from well-established facts at contemporary Universities—these are indeed of the utmost value for the understanding of a time when there was among the learned in Europe a camaraderie that has not been surpassed.<sup>2</sup> The collections of Student

<sup>1</sup> Herkless and Hannay, *The College of St. Leonard's*, p 34.

<sup>2</sup> Rashdall's vol. on *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* is indispensable. For student life, see vol. ii. pp. 593-712.

Letters<sup>1</sup> are also of some importance; whether real or imaginary they reflect the conditions of the age in which they were composed, telling, *e.g.* of the accidents that may befall one on the way to a seat of learning, of the clamant need of money on arrival there for books and parchments, for clothing, bedding, etc. But for obvious reasons we read little in these letters of the wilder side of University life; indeed, if we were to judge him by his own account the medieval student in general was a model of industry and good behaviour. For particular information as to Scotland we must look to contemporary Scottish records, and above all to the records of St. Andrews, the seat of the oldest Scottish University and the principal seat of learning in Scotland prior to the Reformation; and here we have the *Acta Facultatis Arcium* (still unfortunately in manuscript), the collections of early Statuta,<sup>2</sup> and occasional references in the University Commissions' Reports. Still with all this we feel the want of an authentic record of the daily life of a student in the early times, and we should have been grateful for an account like that of James Melville for the Reformation period, and of the scholar of St. John's, Cambridge, concerning whom we are told exactly when he rose out of bed, how much of the day was devoted to study and what kind of study, what he had to eat—how he was content with 'a penyee pycece of byefe amongst iiii havyng a fewee porage made of the brothe of the same byefe with salt and otemell, and nothyng els' for his dinner—and how he warmed himself by walking or running about for half an hour before going to bed because there was no hearth or stove to warm his feet.<sup>3</sup>

At first, and for a considerable time afterwards, as we might expect, special buildings were not available for the reception of the St. Andrews student, let alone provision for collegiate residence; lectures were delivered wherever it was convenient to meet. As a consequence many 'schools' sprang up, and it was found necessary as early as 1414, *i.e.* within two or three years of the University's foundation, to enact statutes for their regulation. The intention was 'quod omnes studentes in artibus viverent collegialiter.'<sup>4</sup> It was required, *e.g.* that no schools were to be

<sup>1</sup> See Chas. Haskins's instructive article in *Amer. Hist. Rev.* vol. iii. pp. 203-29.

<sup>2</sup> R. K. Hannay, *The Statutes of the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Theology at the Period of the Reformation* [St. Ands. Univ. Publications, No. vii.], 1910.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Lever's *Sermons* (1550), Arber's English Reprints, p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> *Votiva Tabella* (1911), p. 36.

conducted in the Faculty of Arts unless 'per modum communitatis, aule, vel pedagogii sub cotidiano regimine et custodia magistrorum'; that no 'extra commensales,' or 'Martineti,' as they were otherwise called, be admitted to these schools with the exception of poor students and the sons of burgesses; and that no master was to receive the scholar of another master without first giving him satisfaction.<sup>1</sup> It thus appears that masters were to exercise personal supervision over scholars, that special provision was to be made in favour of poor students to whom the expense of living with a master would doubtless be prohibitive, and also in favour of the sons of citizens who were under the guardianship of their parents. According to Thurot, pedagogies had become very numerous on the Continent before the close of the fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The pedagogies at St. Andrews were forbidden in 1429, as discords and scandals had arisen in these rival establishments. The prohibition was, however, evaded, and in 1432 the Dean of the Faculty of Arts was required to visit the various houses once a week and ascertain if the discipline and teaching were satisfactory.<sup>3</sup> Finally, in 1460, it was resolved that in future there should be only one pedagogy. We find, therefore, that generally speaking considerable provision was made for the personal supervision of the Scottish student in the very earliest days. Notwithstanding this, we learn also that very considerable license was allowed to him; indeed, the laxity of house discipline was at times so pronounced that we can only account for it by the rivalry existing between the different pedagogies, each of which was naturally anxious to secure as many of the students as possible.

It will be observed, also, that thus early have we come across the Poor Scholar to whom we look for much of the poetry and heroism of student life, who has always figured largely in Scottish education, and for whom special provision has always been made. It is interesting to learn from the *Acta* under date 1444 that remission of fees was granted in favour of four poor men, who, however, were taken bound to pay back when they were able to do so.<sup>4</sup> One is not wholly left to conjecture as to how such

<sup>1</sup> Hannay, pp. 3-6.

<sup>2</sup> *L'enseignement dans l'Univ. de Paris*, p. 92 ff.

<sup>3</sup> J. Maitland Anderson in *Scott. Hist. Rev.* iii. p. 312.

<sup>4</sup> Principal Sir Jas. Donaldson, *University Addresses* (1911), p. 520; and Rashdall, p. 658 n. 1.

students were to meet the necessary charges of lodging and food and University dues, and what menial services they could perform in return for benefactions without loss of academic caste. Mr. Risk assures us that a necessitous student of Harvard of the present day can employ himself from reading gas-meters to waiting at table in the hall, like the ancient servitor of Oxford and Cambridge, without any sense of inferiority.<sup>1</sup> In a less exacting age than this, when even gentle youths were habitually brought up as pages to bishops and abbots, few tasks would be too humble for a poorer student—the office of ‘luminator’ was a highly respectable one—and opportunities would not be wanting to enable an ambitious youth to eke out his slender stock. For him begging, at all events, was no disgrace. The example of the Friars had made it comparatively respectable, and all that the Scottish Parliament of the time could do was to attempt to regulate matters.<sup>2</sup> Many a man who would have been ashamed to dig was not ashamed to beg.<sup>3</sup> The Chancellor’s Court at Oxford, on 13th July, 1461, made the interesting entry that Denis Burnell and John Brown, poor scholars at Aristotle Hall, had officially sealed letters testimonial permitting them to beg (‘ad petendum eleemosynam’), and this does not appear to have been exceptional

<sup>1</sup> *America at College* (1908), pp. 29-31.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Acts Parl. Scot.* vol. ii. 36(9), 49(17), etc.

<sup>3</sup> The Goliards sang :

No one, none shall wander forth  
Fasting from the table ;  
If thou’rt poor, from south and north  
Beg as thou art able !

J. A. Symonds, *Wine, Women, and Song*, p. 46.

And their petition was :

Literature and knowledge I  
Fain would still be earning,  
Were it not that want of pelf  
Makes me cease from learning.

Do., p. 50.

It was not till 1574 that ‘vagabundis scolaris of the vniuersities of sanct androis glasgow and abirdene’ were included in the Act against ‘strang and ydle beggaris’ who on conviction were to be ‘scurgeit and burnt throw the girsell of the rycht eare with ane het Irne of the compass of ane Inche about,’ and who were to suffer the pains of death as thieves if at the end of sixty days they fell again into their ‘ydill and vagabound trade of lyff.’ It is important to note, however, it is expressly stated that these rigorous measures were not to be applicable to such students as were ‘licensit be the Dene of facultie of the vniuersitie to ask almous.’—*Scott. Act. Parl.* vol. iii. 86-9 ; re-enacted in 1579.

at any University of the time.<sup>1</sup> Again, to support a scholar at the University, or to help him on a smaller scale by giving him something at the door in return for a prayer or two, was a recognised work of charity in the medieval world.<sup>2</sup> It is to be hoped that not many of them could make the confession which R. L. Stevenson puts in the mouth of Villon: 'I am a poor student of Arts of this University. I know some Latin and a good deal of vice. I can make chansons, ballads, lais, virelais and roundels, and I am very fond of wine.' While the poor scholar was never wanting in the Scottish Universities the students in pre-Reformation Scotland were for the most part drawn from the clergy and the lairds, with an occasional sprinkling of the sons of the nobility and of burgesses and artisans.

A journey<sup>3</sup> to the Scottish seat of learning in the first half of the fifteenth century was an event of some importance, not unattended by risk to life and limb, though the legislation of James I. had happily for a short time ensured unusual peace and security. But Bower, referring to the following reign, could only cry out, 'Woe unto us miserable wretches, exposed to all manner of rapine and injury, how can we endure to live?'<sup>4</sup> Self-preservation, therefore, made travelling in company practically a necessity. It does not require a very vivid imagination to picture the eager youths on their way, the well-to-do on horseback accompanied by servants and retainers, the poorer on foot and carrying little beyond what the wants of a day demanded, and all of them armed; the stoppages by the way at inns, which were for the most part comfortless; the quaint talk and occasional song and story to beguile the tedium of a lengthened journey; the frequent alarms or actual conflicts with highwaymen; the welcome and good cheer furnished by the monks; and the safe arrival at the destination at last.

Having arrived, our bejant can now enter upon the main business of his coming. He is liable to be visited by some touting master or one of his students anxious to secure the newcomer for his 'school.' That custom, prevalent at other University centres, early manifested itself at St. Andrews; by statute in June, 1416, the masters, regent and non-regent, bound themselves

<sup>1</sup> Giles, *Undergraduate of the Middle Ages* (1891), p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rashdall, pp. 657-8.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. generally, Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland* (1891) and *Acts Parl. Scot.* for reigns of James I. and II.

<sup>4</sup> *Scotichronicon*, vol. ii. p. 512.

not to 'procure' students by entreaties, bribes, promises or threats.<sup>1</sup> 'In the matter of lectures,' says Rashdall, speaking generally, 'a trial was respectfully solicited with all the accommodating obsequiousness of a modern tradesman.'<sup>2</sup>

To whatever 'school' our student might attach himself there is one essential by way of equipment. As all lectures were delivered in Latin, he must be able to read and write that language with a fair degree of readiness if he was to benefit from the prelections of his instructors. To speak Latin and to understand it when spoken was the common acquisition of the schools of the period; even in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and we may say down to the seventeenth, it was a living language among the learned in Scotland. The Schools Commission in their Third Report (1867) state that 'schools for Latin, to which were subsequently added Lecture schools for English, existed in the chief towns of Scotland from a very early period.'<sup>3</sup> Regarding the purity of the Latinity as spoken, it is generally agreed that it was not of a high order, and proficiency naturally varied with the individual. From that as well as from other causes many, indeed, would leave the University with about the same amount of scholarship as they had when they entered it.

What kind of instruction was obtainable? In 1419 the books specified for license, which seemed to have been the minimum required, are minuted. No distinction is made between 'ordinary' and 'extraordinary' books, and no further information is given as to requirements till we come to the Reformation period. The list is as follows:—*Logic*—The *Vetus Ars*; Topics (four books); Prior Analytics; Elenchi. *Philosophy*—Physics (eight books); De Generatione et Corruptione; De Coelo et Mundo; De Sensu et Sensato; De Somno et Vigilia; De Memoria et Reminiscentia; Metaphysics (librum metaphisice vel quod audiat eundem); Tractatus de Sphera; De Perspectiva (si legatur); Geometry (first book); Meteorics (three first books); De Anima (three books); some libri morales, especially the Ethics. (The books here given are according to the order and specification in the minute.)<sup>4</sup>

The student's study for the day being done, he is more or less at liberty to spend the remainder of his time as he will. One of his first and most vivid experiences will be to face the ordeal of 'Initiation.' In medieval times student initiation seems to have

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hannay, pp. 4-6.

<sup>2</sup> Rashdall, vol. ii. p. 606.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i. pp. 1, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Hannay, pp. 11, 12.

been universally prevalent, and it was a custom of such a nature that no academical prohibition or regulation could wholly put it down. The usual form it took in German Universities was the ceremony of 'dishorning.' The bejant was dressed up in a cap with horns and long ears to resemble a wild beast. With a variety of ceremony the horns and ears were cut off, the student's nose was held to the grindstone while the handle was turned, his hair was combed and cut, his nails were pared, his face was painted, and he had rubbed into his skin or he was made to swallow a mixture of salt and wine. In France, on the other hand, the bejant was represented as a criminal who had to undergo trial at the hands of his fellow-students; he was admitted to the fraternity only on his making expiation for the supposed crime by fine or otherwise, such as 'per captionem librorum.' We have no information as to the form of initiation in vogue at the English Universities in medieval times.<sup>1</sup> Whether the method in Scotland was dishorning, criminal trial, or otherwise, it may be regarded as certain that the bejant had to face some form of badgering; hoaxing and bullying would be followed by welcome to the brotherhood, and finally a feast would be provided at his own expense, which was not infrequently a serious inroad upon the savings of many years' pinching. Within the last decade a St. Andrews bejant was treated somewhat similarly to that indicated above—the hair was taken off one side of the head!—but repressive measures were at once adopted by the authorities and the practice has apparently been seldom repeated.<sup>2</sup> It is still customary at St. Andrews for a bejant to give a packet of raisins to the first senior who demands it on 'raisin-day,' as it is called; this must be regarded as a survival of the ancient Bejaunia.

As to his leisure time. Naturally much must have depended upon his age, his disposition, and his upbringing. We can dismiss the sombre, ideal youth, who in all ages lives the stern, laborious life, and whose only 'dissipations' are of a religious nature—pious processions, masses, and University sermons—he is not the typical student of any age. It is with the typical student we are concerned, the man of many interests to whom there are joys outside a lecture-room or a tabernacle, and whose existence cannot yet be summed up in 'chapel, work, dinner; dinner, work, chapel.' Nor are we considering that part of the sixteenth

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rashdall, vol. ii. pp. 628-36.

<sup>2</sup> This winter a bejant is said to have been condemned to be ducked in the Swilcan Burn for 'crimes' committed by his sister, now an M.A.!

century whose theological teaching embraced a general prohibition of all 'profane games, immodest runnings, and horrid shoutings'; the early fifteenth century was more natural and healthy than that.

For even the most studiously inclined, Reading must have been somewhat of a luxury when few books were available, and most of them very expensive. It appears that 'as early as January 17, 1415, the Faculty of Arts resolved that £5 should be sent to Paris to purchase books of the text of Aristotle and commentaries on logic and philosophy. But on May 21 of the same year this resolution was rescinded.'<sup>1</sup> The minute of 1439 speaks plaintively of *librorum paucitas* among other things; and the poor student for the most part would require to write out his own books at the dictation of the master. It is not till 13th August, 1456, that we have the nucleus of the University Library, when, at a meeting of the Faculty of Arts held in the Pedagogy, it was agreed to make the necessary provision, and various donations of books are recorded in the Faculty Register. Most, if not all, of the 'houses' would have some literature. Besides the classics, it was now possible to have even the product of native talent in such works as those of Thomas the Rhymer, Barbour, Fordun, Wyntoun, and James I. The comparative lack of reading material was a difficulty that beset the path of the studious in all the preceding centuries, and for a considerable time after the period under consideration. The scarcity of books was not without its compensations; there was still the contact of mind with mind engaged in discussion on the same problems—'disputation' was indeed an essential and characteristic feature in early University education—resulting in mental acuteness and resourcefulness, which form after all one of the main ends of a University training, and were a *raison d'être* for the very existence of a University.

As for Plays, the Miracles and Mysteries formed an outlet for dramatic display;<sup>2</sup> while the Abbot of Unreason began to appear in Scotland in the first half of the fifteenth century. Music and musical instruments of a simple nature were not wanting,<sup>3</sup> and student poems of uncertain antiquity have come down to us,

<sup>1</sup> J. Maitland Anderson in *Votiva Tabella*, pp. 93-4. The first volume was presented to the Library by Alan Cant, Chancellor of St. Andrews, who gave 'unum notabilem librum, scilicet, magnorum moralium cum diversis aliis voluminibus in illo libro.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rashdall, vol. ii. pp. 674-5.

<sup>3</sup> Bower (p. 505) says that James I. sang well, and played on the tabor, bagpipe, psaltery, organ, flute, harp, trumpet, and shepherd's reed.

some grave, some gay, some sacred, and some profane, embracing the magnificent *Gaudeamus*—the song-creed of the undergraduate.<sup>1</sup> The reckless spirit of the time is well reflected in Dunbar's Goliardic poem : <sup>2</sup>

'I will na priestis for me sing  
 Dies illa, Dies ire ;  
 Na zit na bellis for me ring  
 Sicut semper solet fieri,  
 Bot a bag pipe to play a spryng,  
 Et unum ale wosp ante me.  
 In stayd of baneris for to bring  
 Quatuor lagenas cervisie,  
 Within the graif to set sic thing  
 In modum crucis juxta me  
 To fle the fendis, than hardely sing  
 De terra plasmasti me.'

In the Middle Ages generally there was a lack of organised amusement, however, more particularly of an intellectual character. It is with jousts, hawking, and cockfighting the people were mostly familiar. In such ways the sporting instincts of our student could find expression. We may take it, perhaps, that jousts were rather big undertakings for the ordinary University youth while in session ; yet at Cambridge about this time there was much loss of life among the students from tilting, and it was found very hard to get the king's command obeyed which forbade that sport within four miles of the town. The famous contest between the Burgundian knight Jacques de Lalain and Sir James Douglas at Stirling in 1449 would be certain to excite speculation, excitement, and emulation among the youth of the University.<sup>3</sup> We have some definite information about hawking and cockfighting. The *Acta* expressly tell us that the students were allowed to go out a-hawking on condition that they went in their own clothes and not in 'dissolute habiliments borrowed from lay cavaliers.' And at the Festival of St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the *Grammatici*, over whom control seems to have been exercised by the Faculty of Arts from the beginning, we learn that while two or three days were permitted for cockfighting, it was expressly forbidden that a fortnight or three weeks be spent 'in procuracione gallorum.' We may perhaps regard this limited permission as an instance of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. generally Symonds, *Wine, Women, and Song*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Testament of Maister Andro Kennedy,' Dunbar's *Poems*, ed. by Schipper, p. 215.

<sup>3</sup> *Early Travellers*, pp. 30-8.

the inability of the authorities to put down a sport of which they might disapprove and which they therefore attempted to regulate.<sup>1</sup>

An amusement perhaps of a less harmful kind in connection with the *Grammatici* was the burlesque quasi-religious festival of the Holy Innocents, in which the Boy-Bishop figures. A boy, dressed in full bishop's robes, with mitre and crosier, and attended by comrades as priests, made a circuit of the town blessing the people; his authority usually lasted from the 6th to the 28th December, and differed according to the locality. The custom was prohibited in 1431 by the Council of Basel, but it was not finally abolished in England till the reign of Elizabeth. References to the ceremony are made in the *Acta*. The Faculty required that the Feast of the *Grammatici* should no longer be celebrated in December, but in summer, on 9th May, *i.e.* the day of the translation of St. Nicholas; and the collecting of money from house to house as the saint passed with his boy-bishop from the castle to the monastery was forbidden. We have no description of the Feast of St. Nicholas as celebrated by the Faculty. But it was required that 'there was to be no bringing in of May in guise: on Twelfth-day, going to the church and returning, all must wear their proper garb, and the King of the Bean alone was to be dressed up.'<sup>2</sup>

Apart from numerous Scots Acts for the people in general, certain restrictions as to Dress were made applicable to students in the earliest times. A regulation in the *Acta*, apparently of June 6, 1416 (the year is wanting), forbade 'incepturi in artibus' to have 'sotulares rostratos nec laqueatos nec fenestratos'; nor were they to put on 'supertunicale scissum in lateribus.' Among the early Statuta of the University we read: 'Item ad decorem Academicæ pertinere creditum est, quod tamen imperatum non fuit, ut adolescentes, in publicis comitiis, in aede sacra, foro et locis celebrioribus incedant veste talari et dimissa, non cincta. Postea damnatus fuit abusus excisarum vestium, et cordularum de cervicibus pendentium, consultumque ne his vestibus adolescentes assuescerent.'<sup>3</sup> It appears also that the Faculty of Arts even increased its finances to some extent by exacting small sums from those students to whom there was granted the privilege

<sup>1</sup> Cockfighting, as a pastime, continued customary among certain classes until comparatively recent times.

<sup>2</sup> Hannay, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> 1826-30 Commission Report, *Evidence*, p. 235.

of appearing at congregations in secular costume.<sup>1</sup> In the College days the regulations as to dress are very minute.

If to amusements such as these above described we add chess, and the somewhat commoner ones of walking, running, leaping, fencing, wrestling, throwing the hammer, putting the stone, 'fute-ball,' and dancing with the 'most honourable and elegant daughters' of the local magnates, and, I fear we must add, drinking and gambling, we have pretty nearly exhausted the round of the students' diversions in that period. But at least two outdoor amusements remain to be more particularly referred to, viz. Archery and Golf. These are purposely classed together, for the reason that the Scottish Legislature found it necessary to fulminate statutes repeatedly against golf among other pastimes as being unprofitable, interfering with the more important accomplishment of archery and the military efficiency of the people in general. It was in March, 1457, that Parliament 'decreted and ordained that wappinschawingeis be halden be the Lordis and Baronis spirituale and temporale foure times in the zeir, and that Fute-ball and Golf be utterly cryit doune and nocht useit; and that the bowe-merkis be maid at ilk parochie Kirk a pair of buttis, and schuttin be useit ilk Sunday.'<sup>2</sup> Clearly the game of golf had taken a firm hold at that date, otherwise there would be no occasion that it should be 'cryit doune.' So far as we know the history of St. Andrews Links, that does not take us further back than 1552, when Archbishop Hamilton acknowledged the license granted to him by the city of St. Andrews to plant and plenish cuniggis (or rabbits) in them; but this document is not conclusive as to the date when the Links became city property, or as to the uses to which they were put.<sup>3</sup> For several centuries now they have afforded unrivalled opportunities for golf.<sup>4</sup>

As to Archery, which it was the especial care of the Government of the country to foster for offensive and defensive purposes, it is clear from frequent enactments, including the above, that the people were not allowed to remain ignorant or unskilful in the use of the bow, and in later days there was an Archery Club

<sup>1</sup> Hannay, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Acts Parl. Scot.* ii. p. 48(6).

<sup>3</sup> Hay Fleming, *Historical Notes and Extracts concerning the Links of St. Andrews, 1552-1893.*

<sup>4</sup> The blue ribbon of Amateur Golf has been twice gained by a student of St. Andrews, first by Peter Corsar Anderson in 1893, when a student of Divinity, and second by Arthur Gordon Barry in 1905, when a student of Arts and Science, and on both occasions on the Prestwick Golf Course.

among the students, the medals of which are still in the possession of the University. We see that the Sundays were to be utilised for shooting purposes. At Leipzig and Nantes the Sundays were utilised for lectures or disputations, though that was exceptional.<sup>1</sup>

Thus in various ways the life of the early student might be a more or less joyous and healthy one; and if asked to abandon his University career, even to marry a lady of many attractions, he might answer, like the student of Siena, that he deemed it foolish to desert the cause of learning for the sake of a woman, 'for one may always get a wife, but science once lost can never be recovered.'<sup>2</sup>

But there is also another side to the picture. Students of all ages have had a reputation among the laity for general uproarious behaviour, yet the number who deserved this reputation may be regarded as an insignificant fraction of the whole. In one particular we may think the modern student more fortunate than his pre-Reformation brother; tobacco was a comparatively late importation, and it is possible to blame much of the license of the medieval student to the lack of nicotine! In the course of his dealings with the citizens, as deal he must, and in the pursuit of his amusements, or even of his studies, he not infrequently came into contact with the townspeople. The antipathy between town and gown is immemorial and perennial, though we hear of nothing so terrible in Scotland as the Oxford dispute in 1208, or the bloody encounter in Paris in 1229. Still it is not without reason that a concordia had to be made between the University and the Priory as early as 1422,<sup>3</sup> and again between the University and town authorities under Bishop Kennedy in 1444, in which the duties, privileges, and jurisdictions of the parties were carefully defined.<sup>4</sup> Possibly, however, in the whole history of the relations of these two authorities the most bitter and prolonged controversy was at the end of the seventeenth century, when a suppost of the University named Balmanno had belaboured a townsman with a club stick to such purpose that 'he left him for deid'; this gave rise to years of litigation, the parties ultimately ending where they began, and agreeing to recognise each other's jurisdiction.

Struggles between students of the different 'houses' were also not unknown, for the pedagogies were rivals, and officials as well

<sup>1</sup> Rashdall, p. 674 n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Guido Fabia, *Parliamenti ed Epistole*, 16-19.

<sup>3</sup> 1826-30 Commission Report, *Evidence*, p. 234.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 176-8.

as students were occasionally involved in actual participation. The disputes in 1457 and 1460, as well as the still more famous one 1470, fall outside the period under consideration. Doubtless events like these added zest to life in the imagination of hot-blooded youth; but there is a day of reckoning with the authorities. It is certain that birching was not unknown in the Universities generally, and St. Andrews was no exception. In the University's reply to the 1826-30 Commissioners there is this significant remark with reference to laws enacted even in the days of the Colleges: 'In the most ancient there is the nearest approach to the spirit of Draco—corporal punishment is prescribed for the disorders noticed' in certain of the regulations, such as swearing or scaling College walls.<sup>1</sup> Again, the Lord Primate empowered the Principal of St. Leonard's College as late as 1687 to 'punish transgressors, either corporally or by pecuniall mulcts.'<sup>2</sup> Further, the early statutes contain severe strictures as to those guilty as 'noctu-vagi,' etc., with a gradation of punishment up to expulsion, according to the nature of the offence.<sup>3</sup>

It would appear that comparatively few graduated in the early days, for various reasons, among them being the difficulty about *lectura*, and in 1419 more than a third of the licentiates in Arts seem to have avoided the master's degree. In the following year Bishop Wardlaw licensed four men presented to him without examination. Indeed, it looks as if the distinction was mainly confined to those who were specially recommended by the regents, for while the *Acta* contain no instance of actual rejection, we find that under date 1441 'decanus facultatis ut moris est secundum formam statutorum inquisivit a regentibus an noverint aliquos bacalarios ydoneos ad examen anno presente, ad quod respondatur negative.' If we can believe Mr. Rouse Ball's statement in his *History of Mathematics*, Paul Nicolas, a Slavonian, was the first student on record to be 'ploughed' at any University; this was at Paris in 1426.

To the ordinarily constituted mind it is a day of rejoicing when a career is crowned with success; and as at the present day, so in the early years, there was feasting when one was made a bachelor, and again there was feasting when he became a master. Even this also required regulation, until in 1467 it was found necessary 'to restrict expenses at the bachelor's feast to 40s. and at the

<sup>1</sup> 1826-30 Commission Report, *Evidence*, p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 214-15.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 235.

master's to £4, though a young man of birth who was *egregie beneficiatus* might obtain permission to make his graduation memorable for festivity.<sup>1</sup> It was required by statute that each examiner should receive a *duplex birretum*, worth at least 4s. 6d.; besides which there were customary *gratitudines* to the vice-Chancellor and the examiners. Guests at the act were presented with gloves, which were required to be of good material. It would be difficult to think of a more extraordinary expression of delight than that of a successful inception at Bologna thus described by Buoncompugno, 'Sing unto the Lord a new song, praise him with stringed instruments and organs, rejoice upon the bright-sounding cymbals, for your son has held a glorious disputation which was attended by a great number of teachers and scholars. He answered all questions without a mistake, and no one could prevail against his arguments. Moreover he celebrated a famous banquet at which both rich and poor were honoured as never before.'<sup>2</sup>

One obligation at least remains for the successful youth. The only provision for teaching made by the ancient constitution of the Universities of Europe was that masters came under an obligation to teach, if called upon, for a period of two years; and this matter of post-graduate *lectura* was a vexed question at St. Andrews from time to time. It was difficult to induce masters to undertake regency, and as there was not a sufficient number of lecturers at the 'schools' in 1439, a regulation was adopted imposing a fine on those who neglected this duty; but by 1455 the omission of *lectura* by new masters as well as failure to pay the fine had become a matter of course.

This duty done, the student was free to enter upon his life's work, and wherever he may have gone he doubtless carried with him pleasing memories of his sojourn in the 'city by the sea.'

JAMES ROBB.

<sup>1</sup> Hannay, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Munich Cod. Lat.* 23499, f. 6 v.

## Ballad on the Anticipated Birth of an Heir to Queen Mary, 1554

THIS ballad is preserved in MS. amongst the Pepys Collection of Ballads in Magdalene College, Cambridge. It does not appear in any of the published collections of ballads, nor is it, to the best of my knowledge, referred to by any historian. The rejoicings for the reported birth of a prince in April, 1555, are mentioned by Strype (*Memorials*, III. i. 343, ed. 1822), Froude (*History of England*, v. 517, ed. 1875), and other writers, but this ballad is of earlier date, and evidently refers to the rejoicings at the news of the Queen's conception. A memorandum which follows the ballad in the Pepys volume runs as follows :

‘Extract of a Letter from Mr. Michael Bull, M.A., Fellow of Bennet Coll., Camb. of the 12<sup>th</sup> of June 1701 to Mr. Humphry Wanley, relating to the foregoing Ballad.

‘I have according to your desire copyed out the Ballad, and with all the exactness I could. There is no picture in it; nor anything wrott in Capital or Roman Letters, but all printed in the old English Letter. I have spelt it and pointed it, just as it is printed.

‘There is pasted on the Backside of this Ballad, a printed copy of a Letter sent from the Council to the B<sup>p</sup> of London, to sing *Te Deum* for her Maj<sup>tie</sup>s being w<sup>th</sup> child. If a copy of it will be usefull to you, I shall send it you assoon as I know it.’

This note fixes the approximate date of the ballad. The *Te Deum* at St. Paul's, in consequence of the Council's letter to Bishop Bonner, was sung on Wednesday, November 28, 1554 (Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii. 123; Stow, *Chronicle*, ed. 1631, p. 625; Strype, III. i. 324).

THE BALLAD OF  
JOY,  
UPON THE PUBLICATION OF  
Q. MARY, WIFE OF KING PHILIP,  
HER BEING WITH CHILD;  
Anno Dom<sup>ni</sup> 15.

Now singe, now springe, our care is exiled,  
Oure vertuous Quene, is quickned with child.

Nowe englande is happie, and happie in dede,  
That god of his goodnes, dothe pspir<sup>1</sup> here sede :  
Therefore let us praie, it was never more nede,  
God prosper her highnes, god send her good sped.

How manie good people, were long in dispaire,  
That this letel england, shold lacke a right heire :  
But nowe the swet marigold, springeth so fayre,  
That England triumpheth, without anie care.

How manie greate thraldomes, in englane were seene,  
Before that her highnes, was publyshed quene :  
The bewtye of englāde, was banyshed clene,  
With wringing, and wrongynge, & sorrowes betwen.

And yet synce her highnes, was planted in peace,  
Her subjects were dubtful, of her highnes increse :  
But nowe the recōfort, their murmour doth cease,  
They have their owne wyshynge, their woes doo release.

And suche as envied, the matche and the make  
And in their proceedinges, stooode styffe as a stake :  
Are now reconciled, their malis doth slake,  
And all men are willinge, theyr partes for to take.

Our doutes be dyssolued, our fancies contented,  
The mariage is joyfull, that many lamented :  
And suche as enuied, like foles have repented,  
The Errours and Terrours, that they have invented.

But God dothe worke, more wonders then this,  
For he is Auther, and Father, of blysse :  
He is the defender, his workinge it is,  
And where he dothe favoure, they fare not amys.

Therefore let us praye, to the father of myght  
To prosper her highnes, and shelde her in ryghte :  
With joye to deliver, that when she is lighte,  
Both she and her people, maie joye without flight.

<sup>1</sup> Prosper.

God prossper her highnes, in every thinge,  
 Her noble spouse, our fortunate kynge :  
 And that noble blossome, that is planted to springe,  
 Amen swete Jesus, we hartelye singe.

Blysse thou swete Jesus, our comforters three,  
 Oure Kynge, our Quene, our Prince that shal be :  
 That they three as one, or one as all three,  
 Maye governe thy people, to the plesure of the.

Imprinted at London in Lumbarde strete at the  
 signe of the Eagle, by

WYLLYAM RYDDAELL.

## A Ballad Illustrating the Bishops Wars

SINCE the publication of the paper entitled 'Ballads on the Bishops Wars,' which was in 1906 (*Scottish Historical Review*, iii. 257), I came across another on the same subject. It is contained in volume two of the Luttrell collection of 'Humorous Political Historical and Miscellaneous Ballads' in the British Museum (No. 31). No ballad of the period seems to me so well to reflect the feelings inspired by the alliance of the English and Scottish nations against the government of Charles I. It shows the temper which produced the league of 1643. As it does not appear to have been reprinted it deserves to be made more accessible.

The use of the phrase 'Jock of broad Scotland' to personify Scotland is curious. In Masson's *Life of Milton* (v. 92) there is another example of the name, but there it is applied to a beggar — 'Alexander Agnew, commonly called Jock of Broad Scotland,' — who was hanged for blasphemy on 21st May, 1656.

C. H. FIRTH.

A New Carroll compyled by a Burgesse of Perth, to be sung at Easter next 1641, which is the next great episcopall feast after Christmass : to be sung to the tune of Gra-mercie good Scot.

When Jock of broad Scotland went south to complain  
 That Prelats-and-pick-thanks this land had ov'rgane  
 He came unto Tweed, Heaven favoured him so,  
 The waters soon fell, and so let him go

That without great trouble his foot came to land  
Where *Jack* of fair England took *Jock* by the hand.

*Jack* bade him beware there were knaves in the way  
That would meet him and kill him, at least make a fray  
But *Jock* went on with a bag full of bloes  
He had ay two for one to give to his foes  
With a club and a cudgell whomever he fand ;  
Yet *Jack* of fair England took *Jock* by the hand.

But *Jock* being wearie he took him to rest,  
The winter being cold, where the fire was best :  
He sent his complaint, to him who commands,  
It was found to be just, with all his demands ;  
How the prelat and pick-thank had joynd in a band ;  
Yet *Jack* of fair England took *Jock* by the hand.

They banded to put both the body and saull  
Of the poore Scot at home in a terrible thrall  
By loosing the bands of the Kirk and the State  
Conforming to Rome their Imperiall seate  
Where beast after beast hath still had command,  
Yet *Jack* of fair England hath took *Jock* by the hand.

The Scot had a good and an honourable cause,  
For still he protested to live by the lawes  
And that made his courage both courteous and keene  
Although that his purse was sober and meane  
By begging or stealing he sure could not stand,  
But *Jack* of fair England hath took *Jock* by the hand.

*Jack* told him so long as his cause was so good  
He should neither want money nor fewell nor food  
Untill it were clearly both ? heard and discust (Badly rubbed.)  
And prelat and pick thanks both dung to the dust  
Be merrie good Scot, they shall both understand  
That *Jack* of fair England hath thee by the hand.

When *Jock* did send home, he wrote it for news  
That England warr'd Ireland in wearing of trewes :  
For Ireland but weares them on their nether parts  
But England on both their heads and their hearts.  
Let Scotland and Ireland praise God in a band  
That *Jack* of fair England took *Jock* by the hand.

And also he wrote, that made Scots to dance,  
That England for manners warr'd the kingdome of France  
For still they were giving, God knows what they got,  
Yet they said and they sang grand mercie good Scot  
French manners, an sword, and an idoll we fand  
For purity and peace, *Jack* took *Jock* by the hand.

Now good Scot returne, thy prelates are gone  
As beasts to their dens; thy pick-thanks each one  
Are all to the rout, and have quat their cause:  
Take them home with thy self, and after thy Laws  
Sit and judge the false traitours that joynd in a band  
For *Jack* of fair England hath thee by the hand.

Come heere good Scot as a friend when thou will,  
Goe camp with thy friends in Ireland thy fill;  
Keep order at home, serve God and thy Prince,  
Thy Kirk and thy Counterey are setled from hence:  
It shall be proclaim'd through many a land,  
That *Jack* of fair England took *Jock* by the hand.

When *Jack* of fair England hath to do with a man,  
Let *Jock* of broad Scotland advertis'd be than  
For *Jock* shall be ready when *Jack* hath to do  
With his club and his cudgell and his wallet too.  
Till the whoore be hunted by sea and by land,  
It's for God and the King, Jack and Jock joineth hand.

FINIS

## John Bruce, Historiographer

1745-1826

**D**URING the time when Henry Dundas was the chief henchman of the younger Pitt, it was good to be a Scotsman, and especially a Scotsman who had the means of being useful to the Ministry. Most of the patronage of the Government was in the hands of Dundas, and he used it steadily as a means of securing political support for the party. From 1784 to 1801, moreover, he was first a member and then President of the Board of Control, enjoying in the latter capacity—as a courtesy, though not as a right—a considerable share in the patronage of appointments to the East India Company's service; and this was used in the same way. Scotland was Dundas's chief concern, for England was already converted to the cause. Regularly, therefore, nominations for writerships and cadetships sped northwards to doubtful constituencies; and as a consequence, season after season the batch of recruits for India was largely made up of youths hailing from across the Tweed; until, as one disgusted Englishman remarked, a cry of 'I say, Grant,' outside the Secretariat at Calcutta would bring a dozen of red heads out of the windows. These Scotsmen—to say nothing of an earlier generation of military officers who had gladly sold their swords to John Company—brought many others to the land of mohurs; and even to-day the proportion of Scottish names, alike in the service and in the mercantile community of India, is considerable. Not that this infusion was in any sense a bad thing; on the contrary, Anglo-Indian history would be very different if the names of Malcolm, Munro, Elphinstone, Mackintosh, Duncan, Grant, Ochterlony, Burnes—to mention but a few—had never been included in its pages. The Scotsman carried to India the national energy and the national conscientiousness; and both countries were benefited thereby.

Among the Scotsmen thus recruited was John Bruce. He owed his appointment as the East India Company's Historiographer to

the good offices of Dundas, who in this way remunerated services rendered to himself and to the Ministry of which he formed a part. Undoubtedly, the appointment was in some senses a job ; but it was one for which there was a good deal to be said, and we must confess that Bruce did his best to earn the salary that was paid to him in that capacity, just as he was the first Keeper of the English State Papers to make his post an effective and useful one instead of a mere sinecure.

Of Bruce's early life we know but little. He was born in 1745, and was the heir male of the ancient family of Bruce of Earlsall ; though the ancestral estates had passed by marriage into another family, and all that he inherited from his father was the small property of Grangehill, near Kinghorn in Fifeshire. Young Bruce was sent to Edinburgh University, where he distinguished himself so greatly that in 1774 he was made Professor of Logic. His lectures in that capacity attracted much attention ; and he repeated this success when he took at short notice the place of Adam Ferguson as Professor of Moral Philosophy.<sup>1</sup> On the double series of lectures thus delivered were based his earliest published works, namely, one on the principles of philosophy, which went through three editions in five years, and *The Elements of the Science of Ethics*, issued in 1786.

Bruce appears to have been first brought into contact with Dundas (to whom, by the way, he was distantly related) by becoming tutor to that statesman's only son Robert (a future President of the India Board). His services in this respect were rewarded by the grant, to him and another jointly, of the reversion of the post of King's Printer and Stationer in Scotland—an office which, however, did not fall in for about fifteen years. Soon there occurred an opportunity of making himself useful to Dundas in a fresh capacity. The time was approaching when the Government must decide whether or not to propose the renewal of the exclusive privileges of the East India Company, and both the supporters and the opponents of that body had already taken the field. Dundas, though he was not yet President, was by far the most influential member of the India Board, and it was to him that Pitt looked for guidance in the matter. The duty now (1790) entrusted to Bruce was to prepare for Dundas's use a detailed

<sup>1</sup> Among his pupils was Walter Scott, who writes in his fragment of autobiography : 'I made some progress in Ethics under Professor John Bruce, and was selected, as one of his students whose progress he approved, to read an essay before Principal Robertson.'

digest of the various proposals which had been made for the future regulation of Indian affairs, and to provide him with any further information he might require on the subject ; in short, he was to 'devil' for Dundas in the Indian controversy. The task was one well suited to Bruce's capacity, and he entered upon it with his usual energy. He seems to have planned an extensive report upon the subject, which was to be divided into three sections. The first was to sketch the general history of India down to the time of writing ; the second to give a special account of the operations of the East India Company from its inception to the year 1790 ; and the third was to analyse the various plans suggested for the future administration of the dependency. It was a heavy piece of work to undertake in addition to other labours, and it is not surprising to find that the first section was only partially completed, while the second had to be left for later treatment. The third, as being most urgent, received the greatest amount of attention, and it was completed and printed in 1793 (by order of the India Board) under the title of *Historical View of Plans for the Government of British India*. The author's name was not given ; and as late as 1810 James Mill, writing in the *Edinburgh Review*, either was, or pretended to be, in doubt whether the work was not written by Dundas himself.

It was probably in connexion with these researches that Bruce's attention was drawn to the unsatisfactory state of the State Paper Office at Whitehall. The post of Keeper had been held from 1773 by an ex-diplomatist, Sir Stanier Porten (uncle of Edward Gibbon), but he seems to have treated it as a sinecure, and, although three commissioners had been appointed in 1764 to arrange and digest certain classes of records, little real progress had been made. Porten had died in June, 1789, and his post was now vacant. A letter among the Dropmore MSS.<sup>1</sup> shows that Dundas was on the look-out for some suitable appointment for his protégé ; and it was possibly on his prompting that Bruce, in October, 1792, submitted a series of suggestions for rendering the office more efficient and for calendaring certain series of documents, including those relating to the East Indies and to other dependencies of the Crown. The result was seen in Bruce's appointment to be Keeper of the State Papers, with effect from July 5, 1792. The post was one of honour rather than of emolument, for the salary remained at £160 per annum (the figure fixed in 1661), and

<sup>1</sup> *Fourteenth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission*, Appendix, part v. p. 306.

was subject to deductions for taxes, fees, etc., amounting to over £27 yearly; while no provision was made for any clerical assistance. Bruce, however, did not rest until matters were put upon a more satisfactory footing. He drew up a series of regulations and a scheme for a more suitable establishment, and pressed these upon the ministry. After considerable delay—Pitt himself mislaid the royal warrant at Walmer and a fresh one had to be prepared—these were sanctioned by a warrant of March 4, 1800; and they remained in force until 1854, when the State Papers were transferred to the Public Record Office. By the new arrangement Bruce's salary was raised to £500 per annum, and he was provided with a deputy and the necessary clerks. His post had already been confirmed to him for life, by letters patent of September 23, 1799, possibly as some compensation for his having refused the post of Consul at Hamburg, which had been offered to him by Grenville in the previous year and was worth £600 a year.<sup>1</sup>

It was the aim of the new Keeper to utilize the archives under his charge in bringing the experience of the past to bear upon the problems of the present; and he succeeded rather too well for his own comfort. Pitt and Dundas had discovered his merits as a digesting machine, with the result that, whenever a subject at once complicated and important came before them, Bruce was applied to as a matter of course. Thus the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, and other Dutch settlements in the East (1795) raised the question whether these possessions should be governed directly by the Crown or through the East India Company; whereupon Bruce prepared under instructions two reports on the history of the Cape and the Dutch Islands—a task which, as he said, necessitated his 'wading through heavy Dutch authors and still heavier Dutch papers,' and occupied him for a considerable part of the years 1796-97. At the same period he produced a *Review of the Events and Treaties which established the Balance of Power in Europe and the Balance of Trade in favour of Great Britain*, which was printed in 1796. About two years later, when the country took alarm at French threats of invasion, he reported on

<sup>1</sup>The particulars here given of Bruce's connexion with the State Paper Office are taken from Mr. W. N. Sainsbury's account of that office, printed as an appendix to the *Thirtieth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records* (1869). It may be added that Bruce was in no way related to another John Bruce (1802-69), who had much to do with the public records as author of several calendars of the Domestic State Papers, and Treasurer and Director of the Camden Society.

the arrangements made for the defence of the kingdom at the time of the Spanish Armada ;<sup>1</sup> while in 1801 he submitted a further report on the precautions adopted at the time of previous French schemes of invasion. The projected union of Ireland with Great Britain led to a fresh call upon his energies, inasmuch as ministers desired a full account of the measures taken at the time of the union of Scotland and England. And all this was in addition to the labours he had undertaken for the East India Company, his connexion with which we must now examine.

This takes us back to the middle of 1793, when Bruce's *Historical View* had just been printed, and the Company's exclusive privileges, thanks to Dundas, were on the point of being extended for another twenty years. The minister may well have thought that some small return was due to him, especially if it took the form of a provision for Bruce, who had already worked hard in the Company's interests. As we have seen, Bruce's post at the State Paper Office brought him at this time only £160 a year, and was terminable at His Majesty's pleasure ; and this was but a poor substitute for the life professorship at Edinburgh which he had surrendered at Dundas's suggestion. Moreover, it is evident from the letter already mentioned (p. 368) that as early as August, 1792, the latter had in mind the possibility of employing Bruce to investigate the records lying at the East India House. Accordingly he now proposed to the Directors that they should create for Bruce the post of Historiographer to the Company—an employment familiar enough to a Scotsman, for there was then (and still is) an official Historiographer at Edinburgh. The motion, however, proved unpalatable to the Directors, and they countered it in a very ingenious manner. They represented that practically the post already existed and was filled by a distinguished writer, since for over twenty years they had been paying £400 per annum to Robert Orme, the author of *The Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, to enable him to continue his historical studies. However, Dundas was not easily moved when once he had made up his mind ; and so a compromise was reached, by which Bruce was given the reversion of the post, with £100 a year meanwhile. The actual date of this arrangement was July 10, 1793. In the establishment lists of the time Orme and Bruce are bracketed together as joint Historiographers.

Though his salary from the Company was little more than nominal and he had plenty of other demands upon his time, Bruce

<sup>1</sup> On this work Pitt is said to have grounded some of his measures of defence.

set to work at once to justify his appointment. He had still at heart the completion of the general history of Indian affairs he had already sketched out ; and his letterbook (now at the India Office) shows how indefatigable he was in applying to everyone (especially the officials in India) who could afford him assistance in procuring materials. It was while waiting to see the result of his first appeal that he compiled and presented to the Company a detailed history of the recent negotiations on the renewal of the charter—a work which was printed in 1811, when the period for which the Company's privileges had been extended was approaching its termination. He also prepared for Dundas an elaborate report upon the various plans proposed for the organization of the military forces in India.

The response to Bruce's appeal for assistance from India was on the whole disappointing. Certain individual officers forwarded him valuable reports on matters within their cognizance ; while in the Bombay Presidency, thanks to the interest shown by Governor Duncan, a committee was appointed which provided him with a quantity of useful materials. But, although Bruce persuaded the Company to send out (May, 1797) official instructions on the point, in other parts of India his demands were practically ignored. Further discouragement was afforded by the death in November, 1796, of his brother, Colonel Robert Bruce, of the Bengal Artillery, who had lent most zealous assistance to his projects. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that he turned his attention for some time to other matters.

The death of Orme in January, 1801, left Bruce sole Historiographer, and raised his salary to £400 per annum. He was now about 55 years of age ; and probably he had begun to recognize that, considering his duties at the State Paper Office, it would be wise to concentrate his attention upon that section of his proposed work which was to deal with the history of the Company, full materials for which were now at his disposal. After some delay the Directors were induced (May, 1803) to allow him the use of certain rooms at the East India House and to sanction the engagement of a clerk to make extracts for him from their records. Four years later, Robert Lemon, Bruce's indefatigable assistant at the State Paper Office, was employed by the Company for the same purpose (in addition to his official duties) ; and in August, 1810, another clerk was added to the staff.

On the heavy task he had thus set himself, Bruce laboured resolutely until 1810. His work was done in his own house at

Knightsbridge ;<sup>1</sup> and there he and Lemon worked diligently evening after evening, sometimes until eleven o'clock, occasionally devoting Sunday to the same task. At a later date Bruce declared that the work entailed the perusal and abstracting of more than thirty thousand documents, besides printed works ; but probably he included in the total the letters which were examined by his India House staff but not epitomized for his use. An examination of the references given in the work shows that, as regards the Company's records, he confined himself almost entirely to the letters received from the East and the Company's replies, and that he made little use of the valuable series of Court Minutes. On the other hand, the documents at the State Paper Office bearing upon India seem to have been fully utilized.

As already mentioned, the original intention had been to carry the history down to the year 1790 ; but the desire to have at least part published in time for the renewed negotiations on the charter led Bruce to pause when he had reached the union of the two rival Companies in 1708. In June, 1810, he announced its completion to this point, and in the same year the work was published in three volumes at the Company's expense under the title of *Annals of the Honourable East India Company*. The copyrights of this and of his account of the charter negotiations of 1793 were made over to the Directors, who seem also to have received the sale proceeds. They were not ungrateful, for in August, 1812, they voted Bruce, in return for his literary labours, an honorarium of £1000.

The *Annals* became at once the standard work upon its subject, and it is still far from obsolete. That it has defects cannot be denied. For these the form adopted was partly responsible. When Lord Hailes's *Annals of Scotland* appeared, Dr. Johnson wrote to Boswell : 'It is in our language, I think, a new mode of history, which tells all that is wanted and, I suppose, all that is known, without laboured splendour of language or affected subtlety of conjecture.' Bruce would probably have been glad to hear the same remark applied to his work ; and indeed it describes very fairly what we may suppose to have been his idea in adopting the same form. However, most readers prefer a lively narrative to a dry enumeration, year by year, of what the historian judges to be the leading facts he finds in the materials before him. No doubt Bruce provides us with a painstaking analysis of the abstracts made for him by his clerks ; but the

<sup>1</sup> No. 9 Brompton Grove, now replaced by Ovington Square.

result is too obviously a mere summary of events in which (one suspects) he really felt little interest and which he deemed of no very special importance to his own generation. Nor does he make any pretence at impartiality. It goes without saying that in a work produced under such auspices he is a thoroughgoing advocate of the Company, and condemns all who came into conflict with that body;<sup>1</sup> while in his preface he hints an expectation that this survey of the past will induce Parliament to continue unchanged the exclusive privileges of the Company, instead of giving way to 'exploded, or to specious, but hazardous, theories of commerce.' In this result, at all events, he was disappointed.

The compilation of the *Annals* was not the only work undertaken for the Company at this period. About 1805 Bruce began an elaborate *Review of the Political and Military Annals of the Honourable East India Company*, which was to extend from the year 1744 to the renewal of the charter in 1793. Apparently this did not get beyond 1761, and it was never printed; but Bruce's own copy, extending to 1320 pages, is now among the India Office records.<sup>2</sup>

On the title-page of the *Annals* Bruce was able to append to his name not only F.R.S., but also M.P. He had been elected for the small Cornish borough of Mitchell in February, 1809, and he retained his seat until the summer of 1814, when he retired on the ground of ill-health. The chief events of his Parliamentary career were his brief tenure of office as Secretary to the Board of Control (March-August, 1812) and his speech in Committee on the India Bill. This was printed in 1813. According to an obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,<sup>3</sup> he held also the appointment of Latin Secretary to the Privy Council. He certainly prepared Latin versions of letters sent to the Emperor of China in 1804, 1810, and 1811, and also of a royal letter addressed to the King of Abyssinia in 1808. These will be found in the letter book already mentioned.

As we have seen, the *Annals* had been brought to a close earlier than had been intended. After the publication of the three volumes, Bruce set to work on a further instalment, which was to extend to 1748, or possibly to 1763. He did not, however, get very far. Age was beginning to tell upon him, and first a

<sup>1</sup> The corrective was supplied by Bruce's compatriot, James Mill, whose history (begun about four years before, but not finished until several years after, the *Annals*) errs in the opposite direction.

<sup>2</sup> *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. 91 A.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. xcvi. part ii. p. 87.

dislocated leg and then rheumatism laid him up for some time. Meanwhile the Company, smarting under the partial loss of its privileges, had inaugurated a campaign of retrenchment at the East India House; and in the spring of 1816 the Committee of Accounts and Warehouses turned its attention to the Historiographer's Department. Bruce had then been absent for fifteen months, and Lemon had to undertake the defence, in the course of which he admitted that the other two clerks, whose hours were only from ten till three, were practically uncontrolled, as he himself was unable, owing to his duties at the State Paper Office, to do more than look in two or three times a week. He seems, however, to have satisfied the Committee, for the only change then made was that his two colleagues were required to attend from nine till four, in consideration of which their salaries (and his) were raised to £2 per week. In the following year the matter came up again, this time before the Committee of Correspondence; and at the end of March, 1817, it was rather summarily decided to abolish the department of the Historiographer and transfer the work to the Librarian's department. Bruce, who was at Bath and had not then received a letter announcing what was proposed, wrote at once in great indignation to protest against the 'unmerited degradation' of being placed in subordination to the Librarian. The Directors, however, were inexorable; and he therefore addressed a memorial to them, applying to be pensioned, and asking at the same time for a declaration that his literary work had met with their approval. Both requests were granted: he was given a retiring allowance of two-thirds of his salary, while 'his zealous and faithful services' were acknowledged in handsome terms. Even this did not pacify him, and he made an attempt to induce the Board of Control to interfere, but in vain. A further source of annoyance was that the Directors had induced his assistant, Lemon, to resign his post at the State Paper Office in order to give his whole time to the India House records; in this case, however, Bruce had the victory, for he succeeded in persuading Lord Sidmouth to offer Lemon an increased salary, whereupon the latter withdrew his resignation.

Having so efficient a deputy at the State Paper Office, and being now well over seventy, Bruce seems to have withdrawn from all literary work. He retired to his estates in Scotland, where he spent his time in making improvements, including the repairing of the remains of the old palace of Falkland. In

such congenial pursuits the years sped rapidly away; and he died tranquilly at his seat of Nuthill on April 16, 1826, being then in his eighty-second year. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, in an anonymous obituary from which we have already drawn, gives a pleasant, if somewhat high-flown, eulogy of his attainments and character; and with a citation of this we take our leave of him: 'Mr. Bruce's intellectual powers were of the very highest order. He was equally distinguished as an accurate historian and an elegant scholar. The extent, the variety, and the correctness of his general information was astonishing. . . . In the more vigorous period of his life he was eminently distinguished by that qualification which is so rarely to be met with, in which great knowledge is combined with a shrewdness and pleasing urbanity of manners which rendered his communications agreeable to everyone. His conversational powers were captivating in the extreme, and his sallies of innocent humour and flashes of wit were irresistibly entertaining.'

W. FOSTER.

## A Secret Agent of James VI<sup>1</sup>

JAMES VI. was, after he attained to years of discretion, dominated by one absorbing purpose,—the determination to succeed Elizabeth upon the throne of England. His ambition led him into many strange and almost inexplicable actions, for the age was not one of straightforward diplomacy, and he himself was even more crooked than the majority of the men with whom he dealt. All that can be said for the king is that his dissembling was to some extent forced upon him; his case was desperate, for it was not only a question of gaining England, but also of keeping Scotland, and on both issues he faced the same foe, mighty Spain, whose Catholicism was rivalled only by her ambition.

Well did James know what would be his fate if Philip's resources were equal to his desires. According to Camden<sup>2</sup> he said to Sir Robert Sidney as early as 1588: 'I expect no other courtesie of the Spaniard, then such as Polyphemus promised to Ulysses (to wit,) that he would devoure him the last of all his fellowes.' When it is remembered that, as the king was well aware, his own nobles took Spanish money and hoped for Spanish troops, it becomes plain that James had no easy task even to maintain his position at home.

The succession to the English throne was a matter still more complicated, for there was no direct heir, and a large section of the population, still Catholic in sympathy, looked forward to reunion with the Church of Rome as soon as Elizabeth was dead. Naturally it was to crusading Spain that these English Catholics turned their eyes, and the 'enterprise of England' occupied the

<sup>1</sup> *Balcarres MSS.* vol. vi. Nos. 27, 28, 29, 30, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44.

Some of these documents were printed by Maidment in *Analecta Scotica*, vol. i. pp. 328-335.

<sup>2</sup> Camden, Book iii. p. 287 in Darcie's translation of 1625. While James was by no means so honest as he pretended in the matter of his dealings with Parma, his whole attitude during the year of the Armada evinces a sincere fear of Spain.

thoughts of Philip long after the great Armada had failed. With Spain hostile, the Scottish claimant would have had his hands full enough, but his difficulties were increased by the fact that England was only doubtfully friendly. Elizabeth gave him, it is true, a grudging pension, but James, as an alien, was not liked by the English people, nor was he, till late in the day, in touch with the dominant faction at court.<sup>1</sup>

England, it was plain, would not drop like a ripe pear into the lap of the expectant Scot; action of some sort was necessary, but the line of that action was hard to determine. Against the might of either Spain or England force was out of the question, and James fell back on craft. His policy was to make friends with the stronger party, obviously, but while the fierce conflict raged undecided it was essential to keep open both doors. As long as he received his English pension and maintained good relations with Elizabeth he preferred to appear in public as the 'Protestant successor'; but that did not prevent the cunning king from making, in private, strenuous attempts to gain the support of Catholic Europe. Begirt by intriguing nobles and the unrivalled 'Secret Service' of England, James was led to use many curious agents and undignified methods. The one quality which commands respect is an admirable persistence.

Most of James' underhand dealings were discovered in his own day by the indefatigable English spies; others have been fully revealed by the light of modern discovery; but as yet little has been written of a strange, or rather grotesque, scheme which occupied the royal mind in the autumn of 1596. It was to all appearance quite abortive, but it is both interesting and historically important. In the year 1596 everything seemed to point towards some compromise with Rome. The Octavians were in power, and they, even at the time, were suspected of Catholic tendencies; certainly they belonged to the party of the Queen, herself of doubtful religion, and most of them came of families little devoted to Protestantism. The secretary was John Lindsay of Menmure, whose brother Walter, under the name of Don Balthasar, was deep in the counsels of Philip and his priests. The state of affairs at home, then, was distinctly favourable to the old religion, and the story of 'Poury Ogilvy' may be adduced as evidence that some attempt was actually being made to gain recognition from the Catholic powers. Of this matter, however,

<sup>1</sup>At first James corresponded with Essex. It was only after that nobleman's death that he got into touch with the powerful Cecil clique.

though much has been written,<sup>1</sup> little is really known. All that is certain is that Ogilvy dealt in Flanders, Venice,<sup>2</sup> Florence, Rome and Spain, and that he claimed to have a commission from the Scottish king, which James denied on August 3rd, 1596.<sup>3</sup> About a fortnight later, however, the king's sanguine spirit was planning a fresh manœuvre, as appears from a letter<sup>4</sup> which he sent the secretary (Lindsay) on August 19th :

'Secretaire, I have sent this frenshe man unto you, that ye maye conferr with him. I trust ye shall finde maire stuffe in him nor kythis outuardlie; eftir conference with him ye maye haiste his dispatche as ye and he sall agree upon. I ame uerrie far deceived gif his hairt be not inclynd to serue me in all that he can, thairfore ye sall do weill to encourage him in his goode intention : fair ueill.

JAMES R.'

The 'frenshe man,' as appears from other documents,<sup>5</sup> was a certain M. de la Jessé, a Gascon gentleman who had occupied various posts of minor importance in the households of some of the French nobility, and the nature of his good intention appears in a document endorsed : 'Pour M. de la Jessé. Memoriall anent his Employments.'<sup>6</sup> The Frenchman is to conduct some negotiation for his majesty so as to secure '*amitie, forces, ou argent pour le secourir en l'affaire d'Angleterre,*' and it becomes apparent that the main thing is to win over the French king, who will probably be very unwilling to act on James' behalf ;

'veu le malcontentement qu'il a de sa Ma.te, le peu de moyen qu'il a de se maintenir luy mesme, la probabilité qu'il ne sou-

<sup>1</sup> Birch, in his *Memorials of Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 407-421, tells the whole story. T. Graves Law, in the *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, vol. i. pp. 1-70, gives additional documents. The *State Papers* (Scotland: Elizabeth) contain information on this subject under the dates July 13 and August 3, 1596.

<sup>2</sup> The Spanish ambassador believed Ogilvy had been there, but Sir Wm. Keith could not bring the Venetian government to admit that any Scottish envoy had dealt with them. Maidment : *Letters and Papers of the Reign of James VI. and I.* p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *State Papers* (Scotland: Elizabeth), vol. lix. 19, 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Balcarres MSS.* vol. vi. No. 27.

<sup>5</sup> *Balcarres MSS.* vol. vi. No. 29. 'Minute of Mr. de Jesse's Letters of Estate.' 'a franche gentilman of the prouince of gascayne, sumtyme gouvernor of the pages of the defunct quene of navarre, and eftir counsellor and servitour of the chambre of umq<sup>ll</sup> our maist hono<sup>le</sup> oncle the duik of Aniou . . . and presentlie counsellor and maister of requisitis of madame, the onlie sister of the king of france.'

<sup>6</sup> *Balcarres MSS.* vol. vi. No. 40.

haittera jamais l'union de ces deux Royaumes, la difficulté de l'induyre a bander contre l'angleterre non obstant que sa Mate. l'en voudroit presser, ce que sa Ma. te, ne pourroyt faire pour le present. Avec le peu de sagesse que nous seroyt de faire ligue sans necessite, avec la france et angleterre contre le roy d'espaigne.'

Here was an errand for a stray literary adventurer! It appears, however, that the secretary was by no means convinced of the advisability of entrusting so heavy a commission to an agent of whom so little was known, and riper consideration brought James into agreement with his trusty servant, for on 6th September he wrote: <sup>1</sup>

'Secretaire, I finde youre advyce agrees iuste with my awin opinion concerning our quintessencit frenche mannis dispatche; for I thinke it aneuch he haue generall lettirs in his recommendation to als manie as he plesis and yone discourse of my title <sup>2</sup> to be blawin abroad be him alwayes. Ye sall do uell to haiste als sone as ye can to meete me in Falkelande and delaye your ansoure geving him quhill our meeting. fairwell.

JAMES R.'

The reason for Lindsay's suspicion becomes at once apparent when it is discovered that M. de la Jessé demanded in return for his services not only letters of credit to most of the potentates in north-west Europe, but also a 'letter of estate' appointing him 'Historiographe' to the king. Copies of these letters of credit still survive, <sup>3</sup> for the most part in duplicate. <sup>4</sup> One set is very possibly in de la Jessé's own hand, and in this case each letter has been most drastically amended; the other group of these 'missives desyrit by M<sup>r</sup> de la Jessé' is a copy (I think by Lindsay) of the French models prior to their correction. Here no deletions have been made, but many passages, especially those which set forth the great merits of the ambassador, have been heavily underlined by the remorseless critic—not without purpose, as will appear. The extant letters are directed as follows: To the King of France, to Madame de France, to Messieurs de Guyse, to the Emperor, to several princes of the empire, to several English nobles, to the

<sup>1</sup> *Balcarres MSS.* vol. vi. No. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Tytler, vol. iv. p. 266 (ed. 1882), says this discourse was written by Elphinstone. I do not know on what authority.

<sup>3</sup> *Balcarres MSS.* vol. vi. Nos. 43 and 44.

<sup>4</sup> The letter to the Bishop of Glasgow survives only in *Balcarres MSS.* vol. vi. No. 43 (Lindsay's copy). The bishop is of course James Beaton, who represented Scotland in Paris.

Bishop of Glasgow, to the marshals of France, to Messieurs Vilars et Joyeuse, and to the Sieur du Plessis. They are all in French, though a marginal note explains that the missives to the Emperor and the princes of the empire are to be put into Latin. Of the first two letters there are no fewer than three copies,<sup>1</sup> for they were written out in a big clear hand, probably by some clerk whose French was not very strong, but there is no proof that the king signed any of them and that they were ever entrusted to M. de la Jessé.

These various missives are not of superlative interest. The general sense is to recommend M. de la Jessé very cordially, and to beg the recipient to be generous to him if he apply for help '*mesmes pour son particulier*,'<sup>2</sup> but some of the special modifications introduced suggest the most childish diplomacy. The king of France is reminded of the 'auld alliance'; the marshals of France are told that the king loves brave men, the nobles of the empire that he respects honourable allies. A special heading is provided for a letter to the Earl of Essex, congratulating him on his success at Cadiz. The Guises are appealed to on account of common blood, du Plessis on the ground of a common religion. The emendations to the letters, however, are both interesting and amusing. In some, that to the Emperor and the English nobles, for example, a laconic '*point du tout*' is written in the margin and the whole is crossed out. In every case the abundant praise of the messenger is reduced, all reference to a far-reaching negotiation is suppressed, and his mission is stated in the vaguest possible terms. In the clerkly copy of the letter to the French king<sup>3</sup> reference is made to certain definite articles of a *Mémoire*<sup>4</sup> which the ambassador has, and to which James expects a reply, but there is no proof that the letter was dispatched in this form, and no other missive contains anything nearly as definite.<sup>5</sup> Special care, too, was taken to delete any passage which asserted that the bearer occupied a post at the Scottish court, and it is very plain that although M. de la Jessé wished to be known in Europe as the Historiographer-Royal of Scotland, Secretary Lindsay was quite determined that he should enjoy no such distinction. Thus

<sup>1</sup> These clerkly copies are *Bakarres MSS.* vol. vi. Nos. 40 and 41.

<sup>2</sup> For example, in the letter to 'M<sup>rs</sup>. Vilars et Joyeuse.'

<sup>3</sup> *Bakarres MSS.* vol. vi. No. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Evidently the *Mémoire* already quoted. *Bakarres MSS.* vol. vi. No. 40.

<sup>5</sup> The corrections are in a hand very like that of the king himself, who may have looked over them before he dispatched the letter of September 6th.

the 'Minute of M<sup>r</sup> de Jessé's letters of estate,' though it exists in two copies,<sup>1</sup> contains blanks in all the important places (*e.g.* the amount of the salary and the fund from which it was to be drawn are not filled in). It was apparently never signed by the king,<sup>2</sup> and did not pass the Privy Seal.<sup>3</sup> It is therefore probable that the 'quintessencit frenche man' never obtained his reward.

On October 11th Lindsay sent the various missives, or rather fair copies of them, to the king, together with an extraordinary epistle from himself, which reveals clearly his own view of M. de la Jessé and his errand. It begins in Scots, and breaks off into a sarcastic attack upon the would-be historiographer, written in French, and composed for the most part of the self-laudatory passages which had been deleted from the ambassador's own draft of his letters of credit. The reason of the careful underlining now becomes apparent: the secretary was noting the most flamboyant phrases for his own use.

Lindsay begins<sup>4</sup> by saying that David Moisie<sup>5</sup> will give to the king M. de la Jessé's letters, amended, according to his majesty's wish, 'in sik thinges quherin they debordit anent his awin praise'; he warns James that the Frenchman is very anxious to have his own letters delivered<sup>6</sup> to the king, with intention to dispute the alterations. The secretary explains that he has drawn up the 'letters of estate' in the form of a signature<sup>7</sup> which must pass the seals, and that this too greatly annoyed de la Jessé, whose main concern was to be appointed historiographer. This, hoped Lindsay, could never happen, for no council would appoint him historian of Scotland, with a yearly pension, 'never hauing sein oni historie of his awin countrey vrytin be him,' nor would it be agreed to give him 'ane vther zearlie pension pour avoir

<sup>1</sup> *Balcarres MSS.* vol. vi. No. 29 in Scots, No. 44 in French. The Scots copy is printed in the *Analecta Scotica*, p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> Tytler, vol. iv. p. 266 (ed. 1882), states that De la Jessé was actually appointed.

<sup>3</sup> I can find no trace of the appointment in the *Register of the Privy Seal* (MS.), and naturally one looks in vain in the printed *Register of the Great Seal*.

<sup>4</sup> *Balcarres MSS.* vol. vi. No. 30. *Analecta Scotica*, p. 334.

<sup>5</sup> The author of the *Memoirs*.

<sup>6</sup> This may be held to show that de la Jessé's copies had never been seen by the king, but the alterations do not seem to me to be in Lindsay's hand, but in the king's; and if James had not seen them how could the secretary say that they were amended according to the royal command?

<sup>7</sup> On 'passing the seals,' see Livingstone, *Guide to the Public Records of Scotland*, pp. 155-156.

<sup>1</sup> fort pratiqué les Royaumes de France, Angleterre, Escosse et Denmark ensemble les potentats et seigneurs de maintes princes d'Almaigne, Pays Bas et Lorraine avec une soigneuse devotion.<sup>1</sup> Et pour ce qu'il faut user de ses mots il me semble, <sup>2</sup>aprez avoir souventefois gousté et escouté ses discours peu fructueux et de tout vulgaires, il vaudroyt mieux offencer en general la suffizance de ses pareils et signamment sa preudhomie,<sup>2</sup> sa judicieuse suffizance,<sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup>ses merites et son scavoir,<sup>4</sup> sa dexterité,<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup>sa probité et oculaire suffizance,<sup>6</sup> et <sup>7</sup>ne donner point de relasche a ses muses grandes amyces de vostre Ma<sup>te</sup>,<sup>7</sup> que de luy donner tant de pensions et l'employer en choses politiques avec le dangier de l'honte d'avoir employé un tel qui peut estre estimé estre fol et avoir les quintes.<sup>8</sup>

The writer goes on to point out that M. de la Jessé's letters are still fifteen in number, despite the fact that several have been withdrawn. He urges the king to give him these letters closed<sup>9</sup> together with 100 crowns, and let him go at once, remitting the 'letters of estate' to the council in the ordinary way. This seems to be the last known of M. de la Jessé, and in the absence of evidence it seems reasonable to conclude that the sarcasms of Lindsay took effect, and that the king's fantastical scheme, if not entirely abandoned, was at least greatly narrowed in content. The idea of sending a self-satisfied poet<sup>10</sup> round the courts of Europe to proclaim James' title is so grotesque, and the additional notion of rewarding him with the office of Historiographer so ridiculous, that one is tempted to dismiss the whole story with a laugh.

But, for all its absurdity, it has its serious side. It shows, in the first place, that the king was willing to employ the most unlikely ambassadors, and is in this way supplementary to exist-

<sup>1</sup> This passage is taken wholesale from the letter to Messieurs Vilars et Joyeuse.

<sup>2</sup> A take-off of the letter to Madame.

<sup>3</sup> From the letter to the French marshals.

<sup>4</sup> From the letter to Madame.

<sup>5</sup> From the letter to M<sup>rs</sup>. Vilars et Joyeuse.

<sup>6</sup> From the letter to the sieur du Plessis.

<sup>7</sup> A take-off of the letter to the Bishop of Glasgow.

<sup>8</sup> The king had called the Frenchman quintessencit. Quintes sometimes meant a cough. Perhaps M. de la Jessé was afflicted with a cough. It may merely mean that he was capricious.

<sup>9</sup> This seems to show that Lindsay was enclosing fair copies at this time; in that case the king's corrections must have been made earlier.

<sup>10</sup> He was a poet (see the letter to the 'Seigneurs Angloys').

ing narratives. It establishes a slight presumption in favour of agents (like Ogilvy of Poury) who stated that they had been commissioned by James to negotiate abroad, but who were utterly disowned by the Scottish sovereign. The affair of M. de la Jessé reveals the king's love of the unofficial negotiator.

It reveals, too, the great design which was at the bottom of James' heart, and to which he reverted again and again—the idea of forming a vast league to secure his succession to the English throne and to defeat Spain. This was the age of leagues, real and imaginary, and James was quite on a level with the other monarchs of his age in his belief in the value of a huge confederacy. About the time of the fall of Arran he had spoken of a great Protestant League,<sup>1</sup> and soon after his return from Denmark he had actually sent ambassadors to various German princes.<sup>2</sup> What is more, the necessity of uniting even with Roman Catholic powers against Spain was fully realised by at least one Scotsman, the Master of Gray, whose summing up of Philip's designs is a very able piece of work.<sup>3</sup>

The idea of a vast anti-Spanish league, then, is not in itself an absurdity, and it is necessary to look very closely at de la Jessé's letters. Though there is no hint of the king's changing his religion, many of these missives are directed to Catholic princes, but it will be noticed that no attempt whatever is made to deal with Spain. James probably had no great hope of *active* assistance from the powers to whom he applied, but it may not be too much to assert that his idea was to 'blaw about' his title amongst states which, however loyal to Rome,<sup>4</sup> felt a real dread of Spanish ambition; fortunately there is other evidence which gives to this interpretation of the royal design some additional weight—in Italy, too, the king was working against Spain.

In the year 1596 Sir William Keith was at Venice<sup>5</sup> on behalf of the Scottish monarch, acting, as so many of James' agents had to act, with credentials which could be used only in private.<sup>6</sup> He

<sup>1</sup> Tytler (ed. 1882), vol. iv. pp. 106-107.

<sup>2</sup> Tytler (ed. 1882), vol. iv. p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> *Papers of the Master of Gray* (Bannatyne), pp. 169-182. James, however, was more deeply involved in the Spanish plots than Gray stated.

<sup>4</sup> The king, of course, was holding out hopes of his conversion to Catholicism.

<sup>5</sup> *Balcarres MSS.* vol. vi. Nos. 17, 18, 19, 20. Printed (with a few errors) by Maidment in *Letters and Papers of the Reign of James VI. and I.* pp. 8, 13, 20, and 22.

<sup>6</sup> Maidment, p. 9; Keith to King James from Venice, Feb. 4, 1596.

was instructed to gain the good-will of the seignory, with a view to the great crisis which must follow Elizabeth's death, and when the Venetian government had given a general assurance of friendship, Keith received orders<sup>1</sup> to explain that Spain was the universal foe, and that it was the universal interest to check her ambition. The envoy, who was provided with a number of blanks, also sounded the 'Duke of Florence,'<sup>2</sup> and found that he too was weary of Spanish overweeningness. It is of importance to notice that at later dates James is still found dealing with both these states, and that there was actually a scheme for marrying James' son to the daughter of the Duke;<sup>3</sup> but these matters scarcely concern us at the moment.

For us it is possibly not without significance that the Master of Gray thought of visiting Italy at this very time. On September 17, 1596, Bowes heard that he had applied for leave to go abroad,<sup>4</sup> and there are still extant two letters of recommendation, written by the king on his behalf, and dated from Falkland on September 9th. One is to the Duke of Parma<sup>5</sup> and the other to the Duke of Florence,<sup>6</sup> and both merely explain that Patrick, Master of Gray, is going abroad for the sake of his health, and ask that he may be kindly treated in Italy. Fair copies of these two letters are still in Edinburgh, and this, coupled with the fact that the Master of Gray was certainly at Holyrood on January 6th, 1597,<sup>7</sup> makes it improbable that this journey was ever

<sup>1</sup> Maidment, p. 20 ; Keith's Instructions, Nov. 1596.

<sup>2</sup> Maidment, p. 15 ; Keith to Thomas Foulis from Padua, Aug. 15, 1596.

<sup>3</sup> These negotiations with Florence are mentioned by Lord Hailes in the *Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil*, pp. 112, 113. Sir Michael Balfour of Burlic was the agent employed, and his main object seems to have been to procure money, which the duke would not advance, as he doubted if the marriage would ever take effect. Burlic's negotiations did not escape the sharp eyes of the English intelligencers. Cf. *Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz.* cclxxi. 88 ; cclxxii. 52 ; and cclxxxii. 60. The dates are between 1599 and August, 1601. The 'Duke of Florence' is, of course, Ferdinand, Grand-Duke of Tuscany.

As for the negotiations with Venice, they appear to have progressed well, for later Sir Anthony Shirley assured James that the Venetians, to oblige him, had greatly restricted their trade with England. This, thought Shirley, was a good thing, as it would make the English discontented and weaker ; thus James would not only be more welcome as 'a means of alteration,' but he would be able to deal with England without the assistance of Spain (*Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil*, pp. 155-156).

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. S.P. (Scotland : Elizabeth)*, lix. 40.

<sup>5</sup> *Balcarres MSS.* vol. vi. No. 21.

<sup>6</sup> *Balcarres MSS.* vol. vi. No. 22.

<sup>7</sup> *Register of the Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. p. 357.

undertaken.<sup>1</sup> But whether this venture was made or not, it is incontestable that a Maitland of Lethington<sup>2</sup> was working in Italy on James' behalf in 1596, and when all the evidence is added together, it becomes plain that James laid considerable stress on this portion of his foreign policy. All these negotiations have been regarded by some<sup>3</sup> as mere examples of the king's megalomania, but the succession to the English crown was really a question of European importance, and apart from any financial advantage he might obtain, the Scottish monarch was well advised in using on his own behalf the Italian jealousy of Philip's too great authority.

The best proof that James' attack was well directed lies in the obvious disquiet of the Spaniards themselves. Ogilvy of Poury, whatever were his credentials, was known by the Duke of Sessa<sup>4</sup> to have trafficked in Venice and Florence, and the ambassador's great anxiety to persuade the soi-disant envoy that James would find no help in Italy is most marked. Sessa was at pains to hurry Ogilvy into Spain as soon as possible, and took credit for having done so. The explanation is that Spanish arrogance had alienated all Italy, including the Pope himself, who, as Sessa was fain to confess to Philip, shared the opinion of Sixtus V. 'that it can not be denied that the Spaniards are catholics, but they believe there are no other Christians in the world but themselves.' Clement VIII., in fact, was only too willing to snatch at a chance of converting Scotland without recourse to the arms of Spain, and the result was a long series of negotiations between James and himself, in the course of which

<sup>1</sup> It is true that in both letters clerical errors have required correction, but the extant copies were probably meant to be the actual ones entrusted to Gray. At a later date there is talk of Gray going to Rome (*vide Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz.* vol. cclxxiv. 97: April 7-17, 1600). This was in the spring of 1600, and in the autumn we find Gray warning Cardinal Borghese that James' negotiations at Rome have been discovered by the English government (*Papers of the Master of Gray, Bannatyne*, p. 187). But by October, 1600, Gray himself was in the pay of England, and he was so slippery a gentleman that we cannot hold James responsible for all that he did. The extant letters of credit, however, show that in 1596 he still enjoyed the royal favour.

<sup>2</sup> M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, vol. ii. p. 528 [ed. 1819].

<sup>3</sup> Maidment, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Sessa was Philip's agent at Rome. His correspondence with his royal master of January and February, 1596, was intercepted by the French and given to King James. The English government got it quickly from Scotland, if not from another source as well. The letters have been published more than once. *E.g.* Birch, *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i. pp 409 *et seq.*

he was led to believe that the Scottish king might possibly be converted, and would certainly grant toleration.<sup>1</sup>

It was, therefore, no idle policy which James pursued when he tried to separate Spain from the other Catholic powers in Italy, and what he did in that land he was willing to do all over Europe. Hence comes it that he entertained extravagant notions about the utility of de la Jessé. That particular secret agent does appear to have been somewhat of an imbecile, but the general plan itself was worthy of a statesman. The king's idea was to 'blaw about' his title, to check Spain,<sup>2</sup> and to win to his side the Roman Catholic but anti-Spanish<sup>3</sup> powers of Europe. From these allies he probably hoped for no direct assistance; they would help him well enough if, in their fear of Spain, they hindered the projects of his mighty rival. However unworthy were James' methods, his general design was not ill-devised; neither was it altogether new. For the greatest of the Roman Catholic and anti-Spanish powers was France, Scotland's friend by the tradition of centuries. In the 'Memorial' anent employing de la Jessé to deal with Henry IV. appear the glimmerings of a true policy, and it is possible that the accession to the English throne was finally determined when the wise French king decided, reluctantly perhaps, but absolutely, that the choice lay between James and a Spanish nominee, and that France must therefore give her entire support to her ancient ally.<sup>4</sup>

J. D. MACKIE.

<sup>1</sup> These negotiations between James and Clement VIII. have long been discussed. A. O. Meyer's *Clemens VIII. und Jakob I. von England*, contains ample proof of their reality.

<sup>2</sup> The title was to be 'blawn about' in opposition to the book of 'Doleman' or Parsons setting forth the Spanish claim.

<sup>3</sup> The fact that Ogilvy went to Spain at all may militate against this theory. But possibly he did not go willingly, possibly he had not the king's commission, and even according to his own story Spain was a 'pis-aller.' On August 3, 1596, James denied to Bowes that Ogilvy had from him any commission to Spain, and the 'Memorials presented to Philip' (from James) by Ogilvy are, as they stand, very suspicious. James could never have described his father as Earl of Lennox. Cf. T. G. Law in the *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> See a letter from Henry IV. to Cardinal d'Ossat, his representative at Rome, December 24th, 1601. *Lettres du Cardinal d'Ossat*, v. 390 (ed. 1732). D'Ossat had been tempted by a scheme for ousting Spain by putting in a Catholic competitor in the shape of Cardinal Farnese, who might marry Arabella Stuart. Henry said the scheme was futile.

## San Viano: A Scottish Saint

THE mountains of Carrara, which yield the famous marble, set a serried rampart between the sea-plain on the west and the high valley of the Serchio on the east, to which they give an Alpine beauty quite uncommon in Tuscany. It is in this valley—the Garfagnana—and among the crags of these wild hills, that Viano, the Scottish Saint, has his seat and cult, not far from the little mountain village of Vagli di Sopra.

Ten years ago, an Italian friend and I set out on a walking tour of a few days, which should carry us from the sea at Forte dei Marmi by a mountain pass to the Garfagnana and to Lucca. Our road led through Serravezza in its gorge, then past the quarries of the Cipollaia, to a long tunnel under the hill, beyond which we found Arni and the path to the pass of *La Sella*, at a height of some 3600 feet above the sea. The day was cloudy at first, with bursts of rain, but when we reached the pass the clouds lifted, showing the great mass of the Tamburo on the left, while in front, to the eastward, the Garfagnana valley lay broad and deep and green under a golden sun.

As we came down the first steep slopes we noticed, northward under the high cliffs of the Tamburo, a whiter spot that meant a building. In so wild a place the thing seemed strange, and I put a question to the wandering man who knew the country and had attached himself to us in the quality of a guide. 'That,' he answered, 'is the Chapel of the Scottish Saint.' From this guide, and, next morning, from the Sacristan of San Lorenzo di Vagli, I had the details which form the following

### LEGEND OF SAN VIANO

Like San Pellegrino—whose church, much frequented in summer pilgrimage, stands in full view of Vagli, but some fifteen miles away, among the hills on the east of the Garfagnana—San Viano was a man of Celtic blood, a wanderer into Italy from the North. A woman accompanied him—his wife in one account, his sister in

another—and the pair settled down at Vagli, where Viano worked on the land and his companion kept house for both.

But Viano was no common colonist ; he was holy, and a sign of this sanctity soon appeared which reminds us of Pagan days and the far-off cult practised in prehistoric Crete ; the birds gave it by perching on his plough, and the doves confirmed it when in a pair, snow-white as his soul, they came to sit on the saint's shoulders as he worked.

The woman, his companion, thought him mad, and would have driven the birds away. Thus came the crisis that led Viano to forsake the world. He renounced her, saying, 'Thou art unworthy' ; and, leaving her company and the haunts of men, took to the cliffs of the Tamburo as if his birds had lent him their wings. Here, in a cave, he spent the rest of his life, a complete hermit till his death.

Of that hidden life only the shepherds knew, seeing Viano from time to time, and from an awful distance ; so that, when at last he was seen no more, it was the shepherds who brought the news of his death to Vagli. The men of the village desired to have in their keeping so holy a body, and built, not without pains, a path by which they might reach the inaccessible cave where it lay. By this road San Viano was at length brought down to the village church, but next day the body was gone ; it had flown, as in life, to the cave in the cliff.

So they built a wall there, turning the cave into a chapel, and thus the use began which still carries the people of the district in pilgrimage thither twice a year, on the 22nd May and the 22nd September.

It is added that his own countrymen, the Scots, disputed the possession of San Viano's body with the men of Vagli, and that a compromise was come to. The body was carried back to Scotland, but the head, embalmed in spices, remained in the cave-chapel above Vagli. It is said to have been brought down in later times to San Lorenzo, the village church, where, however, it is not now to be found, nor can any one say what has become of it.

We slept at Vagli di Sopra, and, in the early morning, calling the Sacristan of San Lorenzo, we set out in his company for the chapel. For about half a mile we retraced our steps of the day before, then left the road, taking a mule-path which led up the steep slopes of the Tamburo on the right. In about an hour we had reached the sanctuary. The position it occupies is magnificent ; set under high cliffs of limestone and marble, with

a wide outlook over Vagli to the Serchio valley and its distant bounding hills, where San Pellegrino has his seat.

On the way up, the Sacristan pointed out the flowers of the mountain thistle, very silvery and abundant on these high slopes. 'These,' said he, 'were the food of the saint, and, look you, each one turns still towards San Pellegrino; it is the salutation of the one Scottish saint to the other, for San Viano and San Pellegrino were fellow-countrymen.' Here we have a pure local legend; for, in spite of pains taken, I could not find that the Sacristan had ever heard of the thistle as our national flower.

At the last turn in the path before reaching the chapel, we saw a large stone with several incised crosses, at least one *patée* and evidently ancient. In the next ravine to the right there is a spring which flows through three holes in the rock. It is said that San Viano made these with thumb and fingers, as for the first time he climbed to his cave; that the water sprang as he lifted his hand from the rock, and that this fountain furnished his only drink, as the thistles were his only meat, while he lived in the mountain.

I have called his hermitage a cave, but at our nearer view it seemed rather a shelf deeply weathered out under the cliff, at a corner where it hangs over the valley at a great height. Simple walls of rough stone have sufficed to turn part of this hollow into a chapel, where the rising floor, the roof, and one whole side are of the living rock. The altar wall lies westward, and in it is a door which leads out upon the unoccupied part of the shelf. Just here we found the very corner of the cliff, and saw how the shelf turns the angle to run some way further till it dies upon a final projection of the rock. I suppose that the oratory of San Viano lay at this end, and that the chapel enclosed the site of his dwelling.

It remains for others to pursue the matter further, and, if possible, to identify the Celtic saints in question. As to San Pellegrino, traditionally the wandering son of a 'King Richard of Scotland,' the Bollandists (August 1st) treat as spurious the ancient account of his life contained in a MS. (880.6) of the *Biblioteca Governativa* at Lucca. 'Viano' seems likely to be an Italian rendering of the Celtic Fian. Both saints probably belonged to the movement associated with the greater name of Columbanus. This, it will be remembered, had a chief seat at Bobbio, not far from the Garfagnana, and counted San Frediano, Bishop of the more closely neighbouring Lucca, as one of its most eminent representatives.

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

WHEN these matters had been settled satisfactorily, the king returned to England about the feast of S. Lawrence,<sup>2</sup> and the aforesaid justiciaries coming to Berwick, performed the duties assigned to them ; but, whereas the clergy of the town had given great offence to the king during the siege, all the clergy of Scottish birth were expelled according to his instructions, and English clergy brought in to replace them.<sup>3</sup>

Note, that when the Scottish friars had to leave the convent of Berwick and two English friars were introduced, the Scots provided them with good cheer ; and while some of them entertained them at dinner with talk, others broke open the wardrobe, collected all the books, chalices and vestments, packed them in silken and other wrappings, and carried them off, declaring that all these had been gifts from my lord Earl Patrick.<sup>4</sup>

Now it must not pass without mention how, before warlike operations were undertaken against Berwick, an offer was made to David, son of my lord Robert de Brus, whom the Scots had anointed as their king, that he might come in safety to the King of Scotland<sup>5</sup> to renounce the kingdom in his favour, whereupon he [Edward] would straightway grant him all the lands in Scotland which his father or grandfather had at any time possessed in Scotland. But he [David], being a boy of about nine years, acting on the advice of his council, utterly refused that offer, and,

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

<sup>2</sup> 10th August.

<sup>3</sup> The writs expelling the Scottish friars are printed in *Rotuli Scotiæ*, i. 258.

<sup>4</sup> Ninth Earl of Dunbar, and second or fourth Earl of March (1282-1360). During his sixty years' tenure of the earldom he changed sides very often, giving shelter to Edward II. in his flight from Bannockburn ; but the invasion of Scotland in 1334, when the English did not spare his own lands, finally sent him over to the cause of Scotland.

<sup>5</sup> Edward Balliol.

after the aforesaid battle, hearing sinister rumours about disaster to the Scots, betook himself with his people to Dunbarton castle as a secret place of safety.

Meanwhile, on the morrow of the octave of the Nativity of the Glorious Virgin,<sup>1</sup> the King of Scotland<sup>2</sup> held a parliament at S. John's town<sup>3</sup> in Scotland, wherein he utterly revoked and quashed all the deeds and grants of my lord Robert de Brus, who had forced himself treacherously and violently upon the throne, ordaining and commanding that all that he [Robert] had granted away should be restored to such of the original and true heirs who had not borne arms against him in the aforesaid wars. [To the widows of those who]<sup>4</sup> had fought and been killed he did not give their terce, but charitably and graciously granted them a fifth part only, on condition that they should not marry again except by his special license or command.

In the same year died Master John de Ross, Bishop of Carlisle, who was taken away for burial in the south of England, whereof he was a native. Sir John of Kirkby, canon regular of Carlisle, succeeded him in the bishopric.

Also in winter of the same year died my lord Louis de Beaumont, Bishop of Durham, and was buried there in the monk's choir under a great, remarkable and beautiful stone. In his place the monks of Durham elected one of their confraternity, Sir Robert of Greystanes, a man in every respect worthy of such a dignity and a doctor of sacred theology. When he came before the king and besought his grace for the baronies and lands belonging to the bishopric, the king received him graciously enough; but in the end replied that he had sent his own clerk, Master Richard de Bury,<sup>5</sup> Doctor in Theology, to the court of my lord the Pope upon certain important affairs of the realm, and that among other things he had requested him that Richard might be made Bishop of Durham; but, in the event of his not obtaining what he asked from the Pope, then he would willingly grant him [Robert] all the grace he craved.

This reply notwithstanding, that monk went before his Archbishop of York, was consecrated by him, was afterwards installed, received the submission of the clergy of the diocese, and performed other acts pertaining to the office of bishop.

<sup>1</sup> 17th September.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Balliol.

<sup>3</sup> Perth.

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

<sup>5</sup> Richard Aungerville (1281-1345), better known as Richard de Bury, a great scholar and patron of learning, author of *Philobiblon*. At the dissolution of the monasteries, some of his books went to the Bodleian and others to Balliol College.

After this, the aforesaid Master Richard returned from the Pope's court bringing with him to England a bull wherein it was set forth that the Pope had granted him the bishopric of A.D. 1334. Durham, and that he might be consecrated by any bishop whom he should choose. And consecrated he was in England, but not by the Archbishop of York. Thus were there two bishops consecrated for one bishopric; but one of them, to wit the monk, shortly after went the way of all flesh; whereby Master Richard remained as Bishop of Durham, and held a most solemn festival on the day of his installation, to wit, the fifth day of June in the year 1334. My lord the King of England was present, also the Queen, my lord King Edward of Scotland, two English earls, to wit, the king's brother the Earl of Cornwall and the Earl of Warenne, four Scottish earls, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Carlisle and a great multitude of clergy and people.

On the nineteenth day of the said month, to wit, on the feast of the Holy Martyrs Gervase and Prothasius, the King of Scotland came to Newcastle-on-Tyne, accompanied by the Earls of Atholl,<sup>1</sup> Dunbar, Mar<sup>2</sup> and Buchan, and there in presence of the two English earls aforesaid, four Scottish earls, the archbishop, the aforesaid bishops and an almost innumerable multitude of clergy and people, the same Edward de Balliol, King of Scotland, performed his homage to my lord Edward the Third, King of England, in token of holding the kingdom of Scotland from him as Lord Paramount, and so from his heirs and successors for all time. And whereas the same King of England had assisted him in reclaiming and possessing his said realm of Scotland, whence for a season he had been expelled by the Scots, and had supplied large funds [for that purpose], the King of Scotland ceded to him the five counties of Scotland which are nearest to the English March, to wit, the counties of Berwick and Roxburgh, Peebles and Dumfries, the town of Haddington, the town of Jedburgh with its castle, and the forests of Selkirk, Ettrick and Jedworth, so that all these should be separated from the crown of Scotland and annexed to the crown of England in perpetuity.<sup>3</sup> Thus there

<sup>1</sup> David of Strathbogie, 11th Celtic Earl of Atholl (1309-1335).

<sup>2</sup> Thomas, 9th Earl of Mar in the Celtic line, son of the Regent, must have been a small boy in 1332, for he was still a minor when his mother died in 1347-8 and Edward III. appointed his stepfather, William Carsewell, to be his guardian (*Rot. Scot.* i. 708).

<sup>3</sup> In the deed of surrender Dumfries and Linlithgow are included (*Fædera*, 12th June, 1334).

remained to the King of Scotland on this side of the Scottish sea <sup>1</sup> nothing but the other five counties, to wit, Ayr, Dunbarton, Lanark, Stirling, and Wigtown in Galloway beyond the Cree. All these aforesaid things were publicly confirmed by oath, script and sufficient witnesses, and after they had been duly settled, the king returned to England.

Howbeit after a short lapse of time, to wit, about the feast of S. Mary Magdalene,<sup>2</sup> the Earl of Moray newly created by the Scots, the Steward of Scotland, Lawrence of Abernethy and William de Douglas, who had been taken by the English earlier and ransomed, having gathered a great force of Scots, raised rebellion against the king,<sup>3</sup> and violently attacked the Galwegians who adhered faithfully to him. Also they attacked others of Scotland who dwelt in the aforesaid five counties subject at that time to the King of England, and levied tribute from them. Also a certain knight of Galloway, Dugald de Macdouall, who had always hitherto supported the King of Scotland's party,<sup>4</sup> was persuaded for love of his newly-wedded wife to raise the Galwegians beyond the Cree against the king and against others on this side [of the Cree],<sup>5</sup> who offered strong resistance; and thus they mutually destroyed each other.

About the same time came the Lord of Brittany to England, to render his homage to my lord the King of England for the earldom of Richmond after the death of John of Brittany, earl of the said town.

Meanwhile David, whom the Scots had formerly anointed as their king, and who had remained in the strong castle of Dunbarton, betook himself to France, and did homage to the King of France, so that he should hold his realm from him as from a Lord Paramount, on condition that he should assist him in recovering his kingdom from the aforesaid Kings of England and Scotland. Rumour of this being spread through Scotland, the number of Scots in rebellion against their king<sup>6</sup> increased daily, so much so that before the feast of S. Michael,<sup>7</sup> nearly the

<sup>1</sup> The Firth of Forth.

<sup>2</sup> 22nd July.

<sup>3</sup> Edward Balliol.

<sup>4</sup> And who soon returned to it, as appears from a deed printed in *Rotuli Scotiæ*, i. 608, showing that Macdouall had rejoined the English party in May, 1341.

<sup>5</sup> The river Cree (Gaelic, *Criche*, a boundary) divided Eastern Galloway (now the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright) from Western Galloway or Wigtownshire. The people of Eastern Galloway adhered to the Balliols, whose principal messuage was at Buittle.

<sup>6</sup> Edward Balliol.

<sup>7</sup> 29th September.

whole of Scotland rose and drove the king to Berwick, which belonged to the King of England. Even the Earl of Atholl, who had borne the chief part in bringing the King of Scotland to his kingdom, now deserted him, and the Earl of Dunbar did the same to the King of England, to whom he was bound by oath.<sup>1</sup> Then the whole of Scotland rose as one man, except the Galwegians on this side of Cree and except the Earl of Buchan, who was not of Scottish birth and whom they kept in captivity. When the King of England heard this, he called parliament together in London, arranged for an expedition against Scotland, and before the feast of All Saints<sup>2</sup> arrived with an army at Newcastle-on-Tyne, where he remained until the feast of the holy Martyr and Virgin Katharine.<sup>3</sup> Then he entered Scotland, coming to Roxburgh, where he repaired the castle, which had been dismantled, as his headquarters.

On the fourth day of December of the same year Pope John XXII. died at Avignon, to wit, in the eighth year from his creation. A certain monk Albur<sup>4</sup> succeeded him in the pontificate, and was named my lord Benedict XII. Now my lord John, his predecessor, had determined many questions during his lifetime and had affirmed certain doctrines not in accord with all the opinions of the doctors nor, apparently, consonant with the Catholic faith, especially in declaring that souls that had passed through purgatory could not behold God face to face before the day of judgment. Wherefore in presence of the cardinals before his death he publicly revoked that saying, and all those things which he had said, pronounced or determined which did not savour of the truth, and by a bull under his hand. . . .<sup>5</sup>

On the third day after Christmas next following the King of England searched the forest of Ettrick with his men; but the Scots did not dare to give him battle, keeping themselves in hiding. Wherefore my lord the King of England sent the King of Scotland, who was with him there, and the Earl of Warwick and the Earl of Oxford with their people, and certain barons and knights with all their people, to Carlisle, in order to protect that western district from the Scots. But on their march they turned

<sup>1</sup> The cession of Scottish territory was too much for the stomachs of these gentlemen.

<sup>2</sup> 1st November.

<sup>3</sup> 25th November.

<sup>4</sup> A Cistercian; sometimes called 'the White Cardinal.'

<sup>5</sup> *Nonnulla desunt*. This was the bull *Benedictus Deus*, defining the beautiful vision, declaring that the faithful departed do see God face to face before the re-union of soul and body.

aside to Peebles and those parts to hunt the Earl of Moray and other Scots who they were informed were thereabouts. Howbeit these [Scots] took to flight, so the English burnt and wasted everything on their march, and arrived thus at Carlisle.

After the Epiphany of our Lord<sup>1</sup> the forces of the counties of Lancaster, Westmorland and Cumberland assembled by command of the King of England at Carlisle under the King of Scotland<sup>2</sup> and the earls and barons of England who were there; whence they all marched together into Scotland, destroying such towns and other property as they came upon, because the inhabitants had fled, and afterwards the King of Scotland returned to Carlisle.

Meanwhile the King of England, hearing that some of his subjects were holding meetings in secret as if they were plotting rebellion against him, returned to England with a very small following disguised as traders, in order to ascertain the truth; and in a short time all matters were peacefully settled by God's help.

About the feast of S. Matthew the Apostle<sup>3</sup> the King of France's envoys came to the King of England to negotiate some treaty of peace with the Scots; but they did not fare very successfully in their mission.

[*There is inserted here an instrument in Norman French, given under the hand of Edward III., 1st March, 1335, setting forth the terms upon which Edward Balliol was to hold the kingdom of Scotland under the King of England as Lord Paramount.*]

In the same year, after the death of Pope John XXII., there were affixed to the door of the church of Minorite Friars in Avignon four placards, two greater and two less, no doubt by Friar Michael of Cesona and his adherents; which Michael the said Pope John had removed from the office of Minister-General of the Order of Minorites and had excommunicated. The title of the greater placards was—'The Appeal of Friar Michael of Cesona against James of Caturco to the Catholic Pope next to be created.' And the title of the two lesser placards was—'Declaration that Friar Gerard Odo<sup>4</sup> is not Minister-General of the Order of Minorites'; for it was the person formerly known as James of Caturco whom the Order appointed to be Minister-General, in compliance with the will of the said Pope John.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 6th January, 1334-5.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Balliol.

<sup>3</sup> 24th February, 1334-5.

<sup>4</sup> Called in French Gerard Eude.

<sup>5</sup> This bitter dispute is told at length in L. Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, ad ann. 1328-1334.

On the feast of the Ascension of the Lord<sup>1</sup> the King of England held his parliament at York, and made arrangements for his expedition against Scotland. Thus about the A.D. 1335. feast of the Nativity of S. John the Baptist,<sup>2</sup> he came with his army to Newcastle-on-Tyne, whither came to him the King of Scotland<sup>3</sup> from Carlisle with his people, and there it was arranged that the King of England, his brother the Earl of Cornwall, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Lancaster, the Earl of Lincoln, the Earl of Hereford, with all their retinues, and the Count Juliers from over the sea (who had married the sister of the Queen of England and had come to support the king with a splendid following), should march to Carlisle and there enter Scotland on the twelfth day of the month of July. But the King of Scotland,<sup>3</sup> the Earl of Warenne, the Earl of Arundel, and my lord Henry de Percy, a very wealthy baron, all being near of kin to the King of Scotland, were to remain with their retinues at Berwick and to enter Scotland in like manner on the aforesaid day. This was carried out as it had been arranged. Each king entered Scotland by a different route; nor did they find anyone so bold as to resist the force of either of them. Wherefore they freely marched through all the land on this side of the Forth and beyond it, burning, laying waste, and carrying off spoil and booty. Some of them, especially the Welsh, spared neither the clergy nor their monasteries, plundering regulars and seculars impartially. Also the seamen of Newcastle burnt a great part of the town of Dundee, with the dormitory and schools of the Minorite Friars, carrying away their great bell; and they burnt one friar who formerly had been a knight, a man of wholly pure and holy life. The bell they exposed for sale at Newcastle, where it was bought by the Preaching Friars of Newcastle for ten marks, although one party had no right to sell it and the other none to buy.

Meanwhile my lord Guy Count of Nemours beyond the sea, kinsman of my lady the Queen of England, came to England with seven or eight knights and one hundred men-at-arms, to assist the King of England against the Scots, although the king did not stand in the smallest need of his assistance. Passing through England to join the king at Berwick, which was in possession of the King of England, he took certain English guides to show him the way. But while he was on the march towards

<sup>1</sup> 25th May.<sup>2</sup> 24th June.<sup>3</sup> Edward Balliol.

Edinburgh, the Earls of Moray and Dunbar and William Douglas,<sup>1</sup> having been informed of the coming of the aforesaid count, way-laid him in ambush with a strong force, attacking him twice or thrice in the same day. But he and his party made a manful defence, and arrived at Edinburgh on the same day after a march of many miles. There, however, they surrendered, it is said, through want of provender. But when the Scots learnt that he was the Count of Nemours, through whose country they had often to pass in travelling to lands across the sea, they held neither him nor his knights nor his men-at-arms to ransom, but allowed him to return free to England with all his men, exacting, however, from him a solemn oath that neither he nor his people would ever bear arms against the Scots. But they made prisoners of all the English who were with him, and killed some of them. The Earl of Dunbar and William Douglas escorted them back to England, but the Earl of Moray and his men returned after these events.

It came to pass by chance that the English garrison of Roxburgh undertook a plundering expedition into these parts; hearing of which, the Earl of Moray, being in the neighbourhood with his force, attacked them vigorously. But they made manful defence and defeated him, taking him a prisoner to England, and so at last he was brought to Nottingham. The English cared but little for the capture of the Count of Nemours, considering it a mighty piece of presumption that he should have dared to enter Scotland in time of war with so slender a force.

While these things were happening, the King of France and the King of Bohemia had fitted out seven hundred and fifteen ships to harass the southern parts of England with armed parties in the cause of the oft-mentioned David de Brus, who had done homage for the kingdom of Scotland to the King of France, in order that the King of England, hearing that his country was invaded by foreigners in the south, should desist from molesting the Scots in the north.

The aforesaid ships appeared first off the town of Southampton, eight of them seizing the harbour, while the men in two ships invaded the dry land, burning two unimportant villages on the

<sup>1</sup> Son of Sir James Douglas of Lothian. Born about 1300, he became chiefly instrumental in recovering the ceded counties for King David. He was known as 'the Knight of Liddesdale' and 'the Flower of Chivalry,' and was killed in 1353 by William 1st Earl of Douglas, who detected him in treasonable negotiation with the English.

coast. But the people of that district, forewarned of their coming, got between them and their ships, and their seamen captured those who remained in the two ships. The other six ships took to the open sea in flight, nor was any more seen in those parts of all the aforesaid ships, save one, which, having 300 armed men on board, made the land near Portsmouth and did some burning on the shore, but of all these men not one got back to his own country.

At last the Scots, feeling themselves beaten and wholly unable to resist the kings, came in to peace about the feast of the Assumption of the Glorious Virgin ;<sup>1</sup> the Earl of Atholl<sup>2</sup> being among the first at the instance and by persuasion of the earl,<sup>3</sup> whose daughter he had married. Howbeit, Patrick of Dunbar, the Earl of Ross,<sup>4</sup> Sir Andrew de Moray (a wealthy baron), and Maurice of the same [name], William de Douglas, William de Keith,<sup>5</sup> and some other nobles of Scotland with their retainers, did not come into the peace, but, assembling many others, committed much injury upon those who had accepted peace. The Lord's day next before the feast of S. Andrew the Apostle<sup>6</sup> was appointed at their own request as the day for coming into peace, if they were willing, but very few presented themselves. Indeed, while the Earl of Atholl was occupied in besieging Kildrummie Castle beyond the Scottish sea in the cause of the King of Scotland,<sup>7</sup> the aforesaid Earls of Dunbar and Ross marched upon him with all those who adhered to their party, in order to force him to raise the aforesaid siege, and an encounter took place between them. In the end, many Scots who were with the Earl of Atholl having taken to flight, either through panic or treachery, the earl himself was killed together with a few others who remained in the field with him to the end.<sup>8</sup> William de Douglas, who was one of the chief actors in this affair, was made Earl of Atholl by the Scots.<sup>9</sup>

The King of Scotland<sup>10</sup> remained during the whole of that

<sup>1</sup> 15th August.

<sup>2</sup> David of Strathbogie, last of the Celtic Earls of Atholl.

<sup>3</sup> He married Katherine, daughter of Sir Henry de Beaumont, titular Earl of Buchan.

<sup>4</sup> William, 5th Earl of Ross and Lord of Skye, d. 1372.

<sup>5</sup> Second son of Sir Robert de Keith, who commanded the Scottish horse at Bannockburn.

<sup>6</sup> 26th November.

<sup>7</sup> Edward Balliol.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Bain's *Cal. Doc. Scot.* iii. 1221.

<sup>9</sup> Douglas, who conveyed the earldom to Robert Stewart (afterwards Robert II.) in 1341, does not seem to have ever assumed the title.

<sup>10</sup> Edward Balliol.

winter season with his people at *Elande*, in England, because he did not yet possess in Scotland any castle or town wherein he could dwell in safety. But the King of England remained in the north, and kept his Christmas at Newcastle-on-Tyne. But soon after the Epiphany of the Lord,<sup>1</sup> being much grieved because of the death of the aforesaid earl [of Atholl], he issued summons for the assembling of an army to quell the said earls and their power. But in the meantime there came to the King of England at Berwick envoys from the Pope and my lord the King of France to arrange some kind of peace or a temporary truce. The English army was assembled, when, by consent of the king and the King of Scotland,<sup>2</sup> a truce was struck between the kingdoms until the middle of Lent,<sup>3</sup> when there should be a parliament in London, certain articles and demands having been drawn up, whereby peace might be restored if the parties could come to agreement in the meantime; if not, then the war should be renewed. This truce was struck about the Purification of the Glorious Virgin;<sup>4</sup> the first and most important demand being on the part of the Scots, that there should be a fresh investigation by learned and impartial men of both realms as to who had the strongest claim to the kingdom of Scotland—to wit, Edward de Balliol or David son of Robert de Brus, or whether David should succeed Edward in the kingdom if he [Edward] should not have an heir born of his body. It had been adjudged, however, after manifold and long controversy among the people and clergy that the inheritance of the kingdom of Scotland went to Sir John de Balliol, the father of Edward, because he was descended from the elder sister (as has been explained above in the year of our Lord 1292), notwithstanding that Sir Robert de Brus was the senior in equal degree from the line as the Lady Devorguilla, mother of the aforesaid John de Balliol, and Sir Robert was male heir in that female [line], because neither in England nor Scotland doth the inheritance of the kingdom run according to the laws of the Empire.

During this parliament the aforesaid Maurice de Moray by treachery slew Sir Godfrey de Ross, a Scottish knight, the King of Scotland's<sup>5</sup> sheriff of Ayr and Lanark, because he had killed his brother in fair fight. Wherefore in the said parliament no terms of peace were arranged, owing to the pride of the Scottish partisans.

<sup>1</sup> 6th January, 1336.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Balliol.

<sup>3</sup> 10th March, 1336.

<sup>4</sup> 2nd February, 1336.

<sup>5</sup> Edward Balliol.

At Christmas in the same year, my lord Philip, son and heir of the King of Aragon, and brother of Lady Sanxia, Queen of Sicily, took the habit of a Minorite Friar in the convent of Naples, with great solemnity, my lord Robert, King of Sicily, preaching in the mass of his (Philip's) taking the habit, and the lady Queen Sanxia serving at table. Mention is made above (1292) about the admission of the King of Aragon and other kings and sons of kings to the same Order.<sup>1</sup>

Before the feast of Ascension the king sent the said King of Scotland<sup>2</sup> to Scotland, and with him sundry earls, to wit, Lancaster, Warwick, Oxford and Angus, and barons and A.D. 1336. an army; but he himself remained in the south. Meanwhile the Scottish knight, Sir John de Stirling, the King of England's governor of Edinburgh Castle, hearing that the Earls of Dunbar, Fife and Sutherland were besieging with an army the castle of Cupar in Fife (in the hands of the King of England and the King of Scotland), beyond the Scottish sea, took with him forty men-at-arms of the garrison of his castle and eighty archers and other men, crossed the firth secretly, set fire one morning to a couple of villages near the aforesaid castle, and suddenly attacked those who were besieging the castle. When they saw the neighbouring villages in flames, a body of men charging fiercely upon them, and those in the castle making a sortie, they took to instant flight, abandoning their siege engines, arms, stores, and all that they had; for they thought that the aforesaid English earls, of whose approach they had been well informed, had suddenly arrived with their army. Sir John hotly pursued them with his party, reinforced by those in the castle, killing those whom he could catch, and driving the others away. Afterwards he returned, seized their baggage, and burnt their engines. After this successful exploit, he marched back to Edinburgh.

Throughout all these transactions the King of France was fitting out warships and preparing an army of his own kingdom, besides the King of Bohemia and his mercenary troops, with stores and arms, in aid of the Scots against their true and rightful king, my lord Edward de Balliol, and against his kinsman the King of England, who was his ally and defender, supporting him in all ways, and this because David, son of the late Sir Robert de Brus, had done homage to him [King Philip] as holding his kingdom (if he could obtain it) from him as Lord Paramount. This

<sup>1</sup> No such mention is made in the chronicle as it has come to us.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Balliol.

action of the King of France was not concealed from the King of England ; wherefore, as, although young, he was able and warlike, he sent word inviting them to come freely, if they would, to land in England, and allotted to them a space of four-and-twenty miles wherein to rest their forces unmolested until the day of battle should be fixed, after which each should abide by the fortune which should befall him. But whereas the king [of England] is lord of the sea, possessing far more ships than all other Christian princes, the seamen of England undertook on peril of their heads that, if the foreigners made good a landing, they should never afterwards enjoy the use of a single one of their ships ; wherefore the king should do his best against them on land, because at sea they would never afterwards return to their own country in their ships. And the sailors most vigilantly watched all approaches by sea.

Soon after Pentecost<sup>1</sup> the King of Scotland<sup>2</sup> entered Scotland, crossed the Scottish sea to the town of S. John (which is called by another name Perth), which he found to have been burnt by the Scots, because they dared not await his coming there. But he repaired it with his troops, surrounding it with a solid mud wall and a deep ditch as the headquarters of the English.

About the feast of St. Barnabas the Apostle<sup>3</sup> the King of England, who hitherto had been waiting in the south to see whether any French ships should happen to land in those parts, came to Newcastle with a very small following, boldly entered Scotland with them, not without danger, and reached Perth. Having waited there for a short time, he took part of the army and marched beyond the Scottish mountains, burning Aberdeen and other towns, taking spoil and destroying the crops which were then nearly ripe for harvest, trampling them down with horses and troops, nor did he meet with any resistance.

About the Ad Vincula of S. Peter<sup>4</sup> the king's brother, my lord John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, came from the south with the men of Yorkshire, whom the men of Northumberland went to reinforce, and likewise Sir Antony de Lucy with the men of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and they all marched together into Carrick and the western parts of Scotland which were not in the king's peace, laying them waste as much as they could, burning and carrying away splendid spoil, but the people of the country fled before them. Howbeit William de Douglas hovered craftily on the skirts of the English army, inflicting upon it all the injury he could ; but the army quickly marched back with

<sup>1</sup> 19th May.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Balliol.

<sup>3</sup> 11th June.

<sup>4</sup> 1st August.

the plunder to its own country, the Earl of Cornwall taking his column to Perth to meet the king, who had just come back from beyond the mountains. Nevertheless the king did not remain long in Perth, but, having dismissed the King of Scotland<sup>1</sup> and his people, marched with a detachment of his army to Stirling in the west country, where in place of the ruined castle he caused a fort to be built—a pele, as it is called in English. But whereas he had spent a great deal, not only upon the army under his command, but also upon the King of Scotland's army, which he maintained entirely at his own expense, therefore he commanded a council or parliament<sup>2</sup> to be held at Nottingham in order that he might demand an aid for recovering both past and future expenditure from all the people of his realm. In which council or parliament there was granted to him the fifteenth penny from the community of the country, and a tenth from the cities, the boroughs and the clergy, during six years to come, providing that what was due by the clergy might be discharged by the payment within a year to come of one mark on every sack of wool.

Meanwhile, sad to say, the said Earl of Cornwall died at Perth within the octave of the Nativity of the Glorious Virgin,<sup>3</sup> and was carried to England for burial.

The king, taking account of what was the common opinion of experienced men, that the land of Scotland could never be conquered unless in winter, marched with his army to Bothwell Castle and those western parts about the feast of S. Luke the Evangelist.<sup>4</sup> When the men of those parts heard of his sudden and unexpected coming, not being strong enough to resist him they submitted to his peace, more through fear than for love. He received them to peace, repaired the said castle which the Scots had formerly destroyed and abandoned, and he left a garrison there. Howbeit William de Douglas, hovering about the army with his following, killed some of the king's men from time to time.

Meanwhile the Baron of Stafford, a very accomplished soldier, marching with his following to join the king, passed through Douglasdale, which had not come into peace, and carried away much spoil therefrom.

<sup>1</sup> Edward Balliol.

<sup>2</sup> The chronicler seems doubtful what was the exact nature of this assembly, whereof the proceedings were not entered in the Parliamentary Roll.

<sup>3</sup> 15th September.

<sup>4</sup> 18th October.

The King of England returned to England before Christmas, and the King of Scotland<sup>1</sup> remained throughout the winter at Perth with an extremely modest following.

At the beginning of Lent<sup>2</sup> following the king held his parliament in London, at which six new earls were created in addition to the old ones, to wit, Sir Henry, son of the Earl of Lancaster, was made Earl of Derby; Sir Hugh de Audley Earl of Gloucester; Sir William de Bohun, brother germane of the Earl of Hereford [became] Earl of Northampton; Sir William de Montagu Earl of Salisbury; Sir William de Clinton Earl of Huntingdon; Sir Robert de Ufford Earl of Suffolk; and Sir Edward,<sup>3</sup> elder son of the king, was made Duke of Cornwall, which since the time of the Britons never had been a dukedom, but only an earldom.

Now the Scots, being aware that the King of England and the nobles of the country were in distant parts, assembled and besieged Bothwell Castle which the king had lately repaired; and because the aforesaid Sir Robert de Ufford, to whom, as well as to the warden, that castle had been committed by the king, was absent at the time, the castle quickly surrendered to the Scots upon these terms, that all those therein should be secure in life, limb and all their possessions, and receive a safe-conduct to England: all which was done.

Also at that time the Scots seized several towns and fortresses in the land of Fife, and thereafter once more destroyed the wretched Galwegians on this side of Cree like beasts, because they adhered so firmly to their lord King Edward de Balliol.

It was also decided in the aforesaid parliament of London that, whereas the King of France had taken and occupied certain of the King of England's towns and castles in Gascony, especially the province of Guienne, one army should be sent to Gascony and another to Scotland, at a suitable time, and that the king should remain in England. My lord William Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, was appointed to command the expedition to Gascony, with certain earls as arranged; and my lord the Earl of Warwick was appointed to command the expedition to Scotland, representing the person of my lord the King of England, and with him marched all the nobles between Trent and Scotland.

<sup>1</sup> Edward Balliol.

<sup>2</sup> 5th March, 1337.

<sup>3</sup> The Black Prince, who was then but six years old. The Prince of Wales still bears the title of Duke of Cornwall.

After Easter,<sup>1</sup> however, the King of England sent for the King of Scotland,<sup>2</sup> who came to him in England for reasons to be explained presently.

In the same year Friar Peter, Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Pope's legate to the Holy Land to negotiate with the Sultan for restoration of the Holy Land to the Christians, reported thus—that the Sultan with the assent of all his people was prepared to restore to the Christians the whole of the Holy Land and whatsoever they had at any time possessed oversea which was known to appertain to the spiritual power, and this gratuitously and without payment of any kind, so that they [the Christians] might have possession of the Lord's sepulchre, and the stable, and all the oversea churches, with oblations, tithes, and all rights belonging to them, and that their prelates should exercise spiritual authority in them, according to the custom in churches, and that they should hold and dispose of these and all the other holy places at their will, and might solemnly celebrate the divine office in them with open doors, administer to their people the sacraments and all sacramental rites and ecclesiastical sepulture, and freely preach the Word of God in churches and cemeteries, make wills, build houses without defences round the holy places, rebuild, add to and construct afresh ruined churches in any place. But that neither prayers nor price, fear nor favour would induce him to give up the kingdom of Jerusalem—neither the city nor any town, castle, house, field, garden, gate, nor a foot of ground which he or his predecessors had hitherto taken from the Christians, so far as pertaineth to the temporality, jurisdiction, dominion, property, expenditure or revenue. But it pleaseth him that all Christians who wish to do so should come to the Holy Land and to all his dominion freely to travel and trade, to go, to stay or to return, and that pilgrims should be free from all tribute. Also he is willing reasonably to abate the tax upon traders, so that they may not be oppressed, but rather encouraged. All the aforesaid grants he offereth upon this condition, that my lord the Pope shall revoke all the sentences and writings promulgated against merchants going thither to trade. And thus he concedeth all the aforesaid [points] from his own free will and not ours.

Now about the feast of the Lord's Ascension,<sup>3</sup> the Scots, seeing that they had captured Bothwell Castle, assembled  
A.D. 1337. in great numbers and laid siege to Stirling Castle; but met there with a stout defence. The King of England, being

<sup>1</sup> 31st March, 1337.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Balliol.

<sup>3</sup> 29th May.

occupied in distant parts, when he heard of that siege, hastened at high speed by day and night to Stirling Castle, believing that the Scots would offer him battle. But when the Scots heard of this, they raised the siege and would not meet him, wherefore he returned immediately to England.

About the same time Sir Eustace de Maxwell, a knight of Galloway and lord of Carlaverock Castle, false to the faith and allegiance which he owed to my lord the King of England, went over to the Scottish side (notwithstanding that the King of England had just provided him with a large sum of money, flour and wine for the greater security of his castle) and caused the Galwegians on this side of Cree to rise against the king, using similar authority to that which he had formerly employed for the king.<sup>1</sup>

Dunbar Castle<sup>2</sup> at that time was still in the hands of Earl Patrick, having been neither besieged nor taken by the English. The whole of the surrounding district of Lothian, although it was then in the King of England's peace, paid each week one mark to those within the castle, more, it is thought, out of fear lest it should be forced from them than from love. Also Dunbarton Castle was still in the hands of the Scots, and a few small towns.

About the feast of SS. Peter and Paul<sup>3</sup> three Scottish knights who had been with the King of Scotland<sup>4</sup> came to England; to wit, Sir Geoffrey, Sir Alexander and Sir Roger de Mowbray, and were arrested and imprisoned; for they were accused of having endeavoured their utmost to persuade the King of Scotland to break faith and allegiance to the King of England, and to put his trust in the Scots, regardless of the homage he had done to the king. The King of Scotland affirmed that this was so, making this grave accusation against them, and announced it to the King of England when he came to England.

When the king heard that Sir Eustace de Maxwell had joined the Scots, he gave his castle<sup>5</sup> to the Lord of Gillesland, who, having assembled a force of English, invaded Galloway and burnt his [Maxwell's] lands, driving off cattle, wherefore the Scots

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps 'serving the king the same baseness as he had practised before.'  
*De consimili servitio servierat regi ante.*

<sup>2</sup> *Comes de Dunbar* in Stevenson's edition ought obviously to read *Castrum de Dunbar*.

<sup>3</sup> 29th June.

<sup>4</sup> Edward Balliol.

<sup>5</sup> Carlaverock, which, however, is not in Galloway, but in Nithsdale.

retaliated by invading England in force by way of Arthuret. On the third day, before the feast of S. Lawrence,<sup>1</sup> marching towards the east, they burnt about twenty villages, taking prisoners and an immense number of cattle ; but, having met with some opposition from the men-at-arms who were in Carlisle and the surrounding country, and having lost some of their men, they returned on the same day into Scotland.

About the feast of the Assumption of the Glorious Virgin,<sup>2</sup> two Scottish ships returning from France were taken at sea by the English, wherein were my lord Bishop of Glasgow, many ladies, soldiers and arms and 30,000 pounds of silver, besides charters, conventions and indentures which had been concluded between the King of France and the Scots. The men were either killed or drowned in the sea ; but my lord Bishop of Glasgow<sup>3</sup> and some of the said ladies, refusing through excessive vexation to eat or drink or accept any consolation, died at sea before reaching the land and their bodies were buried at Whitsand in England. The other things which were in the ships were preserved for disposal by my lord the king.

Now in the beginning of September, when the Scots were reaping their harvest, my lord the Earl of Warwick, representing in all respects the person of the King of England and maintaining his state, invaded Scotland by way of Berwick, with the barons, knights, esquires, and troops drawn from all places on this [north] side of Trent. At the same time the noble baron Sir Thomas Wake, lord of Liddel, my lord de Clifford, and my lord of Gillesland, invaded Scotland by way of Carlisle, together with my lord Bishop of Carlisle, taking with them the men of two counties, to wit, Westmorland and Cumberland. Within two days they formed a junction with the Earl of Warwick's army, as had been previously arranged between them ; and so they marched together into Teviotdale, Moffatdale, and Nithsdale, driving off cattle and burning houses and corn, which had then been stored in the barns ; but they killed few men, indeed they found hardly any. But Sir Antony de Lucy, taking with him a detachment of the army, turned aside into Galloway—killing, plundering, laying waste all that he could find to the best of his power, returning afterwards to the main body. And whereas, because of the excessive rain and flooded rivers, they could not advance into Douglas-

<sup>1</sup> 7th August.

<sup>2</sup> 15th August.

<sup>3</sup> John de Wischard, consecrated in 1325, not to be confounded with Bishop Robert Wischard, the strenuous supporter of Robert Bruce.

dale and to Ayr and those parts as had been intended, on the twelfth day they all returned to Carlisle.<sup>1</sup> On that occasion the King of Scotland<sup>2</sup> remained in England and was not with them.

Five days later, however, hearing that the Scots had led an expedition to the east in order to plunder Coquetdale and Redesdale, they marched together against them; but they lingered too long, for the Scots had re-entered their own land before they could overtake them. Howbeit the Scots lifted but few cattle, because the people had been forewarned of their coming, and had removed their cattle to distant parts. But they did some burning, and would have done much more had not the Earl of Angus, lord of Redesdale,<sup>3</sup> offered them bold resistance with his small force.

About the middle of October the Scots invaded England again by way of Carlisle, and on the first day marched round that town towards the east, showing off before the town in three bands, on the chance of any one or more daring to come out and engage them. But whereas there was not in the town at that time sufficient troops to oppose such a strong force, some archers and a few others went out to harass them in the field. Of these they made no account, but marched round the town, and, having burnt the hospital of S. Nicolas in the suburbs, they went off the same day to the manor of Rose, because they held my lord Bishop of Carlisle, who owned that manor, in utmost hatred through his having marched against them in war, as has been described above. Therefore they destroyed that place, and everything else on their march, with fire. But in that first night of their coming into England, Sir Antony de Lucy beat up their quarters and severely harassed them. Next day, however, the Scots burnt the villages throughout Allerdale, and detached part of their force against Copeland to lift cattle. But on the third day, to wit on the vigil of S. Luke,<sup>4</sup> the noble barons, Lord de Percy and Lord de Nevill, came to the relief of the district with their following of men-at-arms; although, as described above, they came too late, although

<sup>1</sup>The chronicler refrains from attributing the floods to the direct interposition of the Almighty in favour of the Scots, as undoubtedly he would have done if a Scottish invasion of England had been cut short in like manner.

<sup>2</sup>Edward Balliol.

<sup>3</sup>Gilbert de Umfraville, 4th Earl of Angus in the English line. He inherited the title from his great-grandfather, a powerful Northumbrian baron, who married Matilda, Countess of Angus in her own right, in 1243.

<sup>4</sup>17th October.

the leading men had written to them to move with speed, because the Scots had sent their booty and wounded men before them into Scotland, the armed troops following soon after. For they had lost a great number of their men, among whom the brother of William de Douglas<sup>1</sup> was taken alive and brought to Carlisle Castle. Howbeit it had been commonly, but secretly, reported for a long time that a certain noble in the north country was unduly favourable to the Scottish side, and that he did on that occasion, as on other occasions, inform them beforehand at what time they might safely invade England with their army, and afterwards sent them word when they should leave it. Which, if it be true, may God make known to king and country these cunning traitors.

About the feast of All Saints the Scots mustered and laid siege to Edinburgh Castle, in the absence of Sir John de Stirling, warden of that castle. Hearing this, my lord Bishop of Carlisle and Sir Rafe de Dacre, lord of Gillesland, assembled the forces of the counties Westmorland and Cumberland, to relieve that siege, and at Roxburgh there joined them my lord the King of Scotland<sup>2</sup> and Sir Antony de Lucy with their forces which they had brought from Berwick, and so they marched together to Edinburgh, broke up the siege, put the Scots to flight, and re-established Sir John de Stirling, by birth a Scot, for the safer custody of the King of England's castle. Somewhat later, however, when he went forth with his people from the castle to take some booty, he was captured by William de Douglas and taken to Dunbarton Castle, as will be shown presently.

Now after the aforesaid feast of All Saints the King of England sent ambassadors to France to arrange peace with the King of France, offering to the said king for free possession of the land of Guienne, just as he held the other parts of Gascony, that his elder son, the heir of England, should take a wife from the King of France's family, whom that king should accordingly give him in marriage, and that the King of France should possess the land of Gascony with all its revenues for seven years, and after seven years should restore it without dispute to the King of England, as formerly. Further, that the King of England should accompany the King of France, with one thousand men-at-arms, to the Holy Land against the Saracens. These, I say, were the conditions offered by the King of England to the said king, but that proud and avaricious person rejected them all, wherefore

<sup>1</sup>The Knight of Liddesdale.

<sup>2</sup>Edward Balliol.

the King of England prepared to fight him, hiring and making alliance with the following nobles oversea as his mercenaries, to wit, my lord the Emperor Louis, who was then King of Germany and Duke of Bavaria, and had married the Queen of England's sister, and was at dire enmity with the King of France; *item*, the Duke of Brabant, son of the King of England's maternal aunt; *item*, the Count of Hainault, the queen's brother-german; *item*, the Count of Guelders, who had married the King of England's sister; *item*, the Count of Julers, the Queen of England's uncle; *item*, the Archbishop of Cologne; *item*, the Count of Trèves;<sup>1</sup> *item*, the Dauphin de Vienne; *item*, my lord William de Chalons; *item*, my Lord de Faukemounde. The emperor had 50,000 helmed men under arms, the Duke of Brabant 15,000, the Count of Guelders 20,000, the Count of Hainault 15,000, the Count of Julers 5,000, the Archbishop of Cologne 4,000, the Bishop of Trèves 2,000, the Dauphin of Vienne and my lord William de Chalons 15,000, my lord de Faukemounde 3,000; in all, 129,000 helmed men.

The Count of Artois-Arras, whom the King of France had expelled from his country and of whose lands he had taken possession, was in England at that time under protection of the king, who treated him courteously in all respects.

The King of England sent to the aforesaid lords across the sea my lord William de Bohun Earl of Northampton, the Earl of Huntingdon, and the Earl of Suffolk, with 15,000 men-at-arms, archers and spearmen. Also he sent the Bishop of Lincoln with 14,000 sacks of wool to defray the wages of the troops for the meantime. Afterwards there were granted to him in the next parliament in London 20,000 sacks of wool of the English merchants for the fitting out and supporting his war. He himself purchased from the English merchants one sack out of every two sacks of prime wool for half a mark, and inferior wool at less price and value; for he was obliged to spend an almost incalculable sum for the maintenance of so great an army. Thus it was said that he spent a thousand marks a day, according to others two thousand pounds.

It so happened that my lord William aforesaid and the other earls with the army, encountered in their voyage over sea eighty French ships, which they captured and disposed of at will. The

<sup>1</sup> *Sic* in Stevenson's edition, but further on he is referred to as Bishop of Trèves. In fact he was Archbishop, and, as Chancellor of Burgundy, was one of the Electors of the Empire.

brother of the Count of Flanders was found in these ships and taken to the King of England, who received him with so much honour, setting him free, that peace was made between England and Flanders. But when they arrived in a certain town of Flanders, they found armed men who gave them battle, but were soon put to flight by the English archers. Then they raised the surrounding district to fight our people, but some of them were again put to flight, and some took shelter in a certain church; and because, trusting in the strength of the place, they refused to surrender, the English set the church afire, and they were burnt in the church.

After Christmas two cardinals came to England, sent by my lord the Pope to the King of England in order by God's grace to make peace between him and the King of France.<sup>1</sup> They had first been to the King of France and had heard all that he desired. Therefore the King of England commanded that all the archbishops, bishops and nobles of the country should be summoned to a parliament in London, which was to begin on the morrow of the Purification of the Glorious Virgin.<sup>2</sup> But meanwhile, pending whatever might happen about the said peace, he sent my lord William de Montagu Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Gloucester, the Earl of Derby, three barons, de Percy, de Nevill and de Stafford, and the Earl of Redesdale, with 20,000 men, to the King of Scotland<sup>3</sup> in Scotland, commanding them to besiege closely and effectively the castle of Dunbar—the castle of Earl Patrick, traitor alike to himself and the kingdom—because it was irksome and oppressive to the whole district of Lothian, as has been explained above.

<sup>1</sup> The bull with which they were provided is set forth in Raynaldi, A.D. 1337, § 15.

<sup>2</sup> 3rd Feb., 1338.

<sup>3</sup> Edward Balliol.

*(To be continued.)*