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THE ARCHBISHOPS OF ST ANDREWS

VOL. I.

BY

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THE history of the Archbishops of St Andrews extends over a century, from the elevation of Patrick Graham to the execution of John Hamilton. This volume covers a period for which our authorities are often meagre and unsatisfactory, and yet their evidence, though frequently discrediting the literary tradition, must be preferred. An adequate chapter on Scotland and its Church in the last generations before the Reformation could only be founded on a number of special investigations which have not yet been completed. One of these investigations must be the history of the archbishops.

In the construction of the chronological framework it has been found convenient to translate important dates into the new style, and in the text they are given in this form.

J. H.

R. K. H.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

Arbroath R. N.	=	Black Register of Arbroath.
A. P.	=	Acts of the Scottish Parliament.
Act. Fac. Art.	=	Acta Facultatis Artium (St Andrews University MS.)
Brechin R.	=	Register of Brechin.
Brady	=	Brady's Episcopal Succession.
C. D. S.	=	Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland.
E. R.	=	Exchequer Rolls.
Eubel	=	Eubel's Hierarchia Catholica Medii Ævi.
Glasg. R.	=	Register of Glasgow.
Martine	=	Martine's Reliquiæ Divi Andreae.
Morton R.	=	Register of Morton.
Paisley R.	=	Register of Paisley.
R. M. S.	=	Register of the Great Seal.
Reg. Ev.	=	Register of Evidents (St Andrews University MS.)
Raynaldus	=	Raynaldus' Annales Ecclesiastici (quoted by year and paragraph).
Robertson	=	Robertson's Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ.
Rymer	=	Rymer's Fœdera.
T. A.	=	Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer.
Theiner	=	Theiner's Vetera Monumenta.
Univ. MSS.	=	St Andrews University MSS.

THE
ARCHBISHOPS OF ST ANDREWS.

I.

PATRICK GRAHAM.

IN the first years of the tenth century the Church of St Andrews obtained a primatial rank, and witnessed to an ecclesiastical succession beginning with Iona. Through the fame of St Columba, Iona enjoyed a precedence in the devotion of the faithful scattered abroad among the Scots and Picts and the Britons of Strathclyde; but as his ritual yielded to the Roman, the glory departed from the monastery, and the popular reverence from his insular successors. His bones, however, continued to be precious in the sight of the pious, and furnished a shrine which was guarded by the monks. These watchmen, careful of their trust though they were, could not contend against the Danish

pirates of the Scottish seas ; and when Iona was no longer a safe treasure-house, the holy and precious relics must needs be removed. In 849 Kenneth MacAlpin conveyed some of the bones to Dunkeld on the banks of the Tay, where Constantin I. had founded a church. By no act of Synod or Council, but by virtue of the remains of Columba and the authority of a king, the primacy passed to Dunkeld from Iona.

Dunkeld was not allowed to enjoy its high rank for many years, if Bower, the Scottish chronicler, is to be trusted. Constantin, the second of the name and the second king who reigned after Kenneth MacAlpin, took the primacy from Dunkeld and gave it to Abernethy, one of the two churches in Scotland with the round tower which once was common in Ireland. Speaking of Abernethy, Bower narrates that "in that church there were three elections of bishops made, when there was only one bishop in Scotland. That place was now for some time the principal royal and episcopal seat of the whole kingdom of the Picts." Bower, who is no mere inventor of history, blundered when he settled the principal royal seat in Abernethy, and it may be that he erred in giving episcopal dignity to the Church. From Dunkeld or Abernethy the primacy was removed to St Andrews ; but Columba's bones were not

taken to a new resting-place in the church to which legend had given the relics of St Andrew. There could be no competition for fame between the monk of Iona and the disciple of Jesus, so Columba ceased to reign, and the Apostle ruled in the Scottish Church.

It was doubtless reverence for St Andrew which induced Constantine III. to make the Church, adorned with the Apostle's name and richly furnished by his remains, the episcopal see of the nation. Neither history nor legend has described the removal of the primacy to St Andrews, and the earliest evidence of the fact is the account of a diet held on the Mote Hill, near Scone. Constantine the king and Cellach the bishop presided over that Council in 906,¹ and legislated on the rule and discipline of the Scottish Church. The place of residence for the bishop may have been determined by the king and his advisers when assembled on the Mote Hill. As Cellach, however, is always first or among the first in the ancient lists of the Bishops of St Andrews, and as there was but one bishop in the Scotland of his period, the Church over which he presided was of necessity primatial.

Cellach's immediate successors are little more than shadows in history. When, however, we

¹ Chron. Pict. in Pinkerton, i. 495-6.

reach the reign of Alexander I. we meet Turgot, who is famous as the associate of Margaret the queen of Malcolm Canmore. Turgot's consecration is memorable, since it raised the question of the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York over the Scottish Church. In settling an ecclesiastical feud between Canterbury and York a Council of Windsor, held in 1072, sought to establish the jurisdiction of York over Britain north of the Humber "usque ad extremos Scotiæ fines."¹ The prelates of these two great provinces dealt with Scotland as if it was merely a political or ecclesiastical appendage of England, and did not even condescend to have a representative of the Scottish Church with authority to assert or perhaps to yield its independence. An English chronicler of the fourteenth century declared that King Malcolm, the Queen Margaret, and the Bishop of St Andrews formally agreed to the arrangement of the Windsor Council, and it is not impossible that under the influence of Margaret, zealous that the Scottish should conform to the practices of the English Church, the jurisdiction of York was admitted.² Alexander I., however, guarded the political independence of his realm, and lest it should be weakened would suffer no English prelate to rule within the land. The clergy, too,

¹ Wilkin's Conc., i. 324.

² Decem Scriptores, i. 1709.

were with the king. But Turgot's consecration was pressing, and who was to admit him into the episcopal order? The Archbishop of York was elected but not installed when he put forward the claims of his see; and in any case, till he entered into office he had no authority to transmit to Turgot. At last it was agreed that after his own admission to York he should consecrate Turgot, and that the rights of the two Churches should be expressly reserved.¹

For several years after the death of Turgot the see was vacant, partly through the failure of the king to nominate, and ultimately through the refusal of Eadmer to accept the royal conditions. Alexander I. turned to England in search of a prelate, and requested the Archbishop of Canterbury to send Eadmer, one of his monks, to St Andrews.² Jealousy of York, with its proximity to the lands which he held under the English king as feudal superior, explains Alexander's approach to Canterbury; but when details of the consecration come to be arranged, the king would have no English dignitary for the ceremony, and Eadmer would have the Archbishop of Canterbury, and him alone. "Not for all Scotland will I renounce

¹ *Decem Scriptores*, i. 207. *Hailes' Annals*, i. 57, 58.

² *Eadmer*, *Hist. Nov.*, lib. v.

being a monk of Canterbury," were the bold words of Eadmer, and Alexander answered saying, "Then I have made nothing by my application to Canterbury for a bishop."¹ The monk returned to England, and St Andrews saw him no more.

St Andrews, from the dignity of its legend and the fact of having been for long the sole bishopric in the country, enjoyed the primacy after other sees were established. Its prelate was known as the Bishop of the Scots.² The primacy, however, had no official recognition in Rome, and David I., who succeeded Alexander, tried to secure the archiepiscopal dignity for St Andrews; but he sought in vain, as the Archbishop of York, perhaps believing in his own story, or perhaps with intent to deceive, persuaded the pope that Scotland was simply a part of England.³ Malcolm the Maiden, grandson of David, renewed the request for the archiepiscopal dignity; and he, too, failed, though the pope, Alexander III., made the Bishop of Moray, the king's commissioner to Rome, papal legate in Scotland, and arranged that the legateship should pass to the Bishop of St Andrews, when that see,

¹ Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* Appendix, I.

² William Lamberton, as shown by his seal attached to a writing dated 1305, was the first to discard the title in favour of Bishop of St Andrews (Birch, '*Hist. of Scott. Seals*,' ii. 18).

³ *Decem Scriptores*, i. 1719.

which was then vacant, was filled.¹ Arnold, Bishop of St Andrews, acted as legate. This dignity, however, did not endure, and it was removed, most probably on representations from York.

The affairs of the Scottish Church were complicated by the ignoble action of William the Lion at the time of his captivity in Normandy. The independence of Scotland was surrendered, if the king had its disposal;² and, though he could not barter the liberty of the Church, he persuaded the Bishops of St Andrews and Dunkeld, with other ecclesiastics, to promise in name of the Scottish Church a recognition of such rights of the English Church as it ought to exercise. On August 17, 1175, an unholy day for Scotland, the Treaty of Falaise was read aloud in the great church of York, and kings, nobles, bishops, and abbots from Scotland swore fealty to the King of England and his heirs. In spite of the treaty and the solemn oath, the degradation of their land was not to be ratified by the Scots. At the Council of Northampton,³ called by a papal legate, the Scottish bishops who attended with their king were required to offer obedience to the English Church. The Scots listened to the evidence set forth by the Archbishop of York. They stoutly denied, how-

¹ Denmyln Papers (Adv. Lib.), 15. 1. 19. 2. (cf. Robertson, i. 30).

² Decem Scriptores, i. 1103.

³ Ibid., 1108.

ever, that they or their predecessors had ever yielded obedience; and the Bishop of Glasgow, with pride greater perhaps than his veracity, declared that "the Church of Glasgow is the peculiar daughter of the Church of Rome, free from all obedience to any bishop or archbishop; and if the Church of York at any time had dominion over the Church of Glasgow, it has now lost all right to such dominion." Canterbury was not forgetful of its own claims against York for ecclesiastical supremacy over Scotland, and in the jealousy of the English prelates the Scots found their salvation. They were allowed to return to their own land without paying their vows of obedience, and had cause to be thankful that Canterbury disputed with York.¹

Calixtus II. commanded the Scottish bishops to recognise the Archbishop of York as metropolitan; but as it was not necessary that a pope should bind himself by the order of a predecessor, Clement III., in 1188, determined that the Scottish Church should be subordinate to Rome alone. His successors, down to Honorius III., since it was to their own advantage, renewed or ratified his bull.²

Centuries were to pass before Scotland had a prelate who was at once an archbishop and

¹ Hoveden, Chron., ii. 92.

² Ibid., 361. Authorities in Robertson, i. 40.

a legate, but the country was not placed under the jurisdiction of England, and consecration was obtained from the pope himself or from a papal commissioner.

In 1212 the Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow were designated legates, and attended a council at Perth.¹ Their authority, however, had no reference beyond the business of a crusade. Even the first Archbishop of St Andrews did not become, in virtue of his office, a legate of the Holy See. When there was no legate in the country, a council of clerics could meet only by the order or permission of Rome; and religion and morality did not so flourish as to require no careful nurture. In 1225, however, the right of assembly without special mandate was granted to the Church. The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, held in pomp and majesty under Innocent III., the pope who justly claimed to style himself the Bishop of the Catholic Church, had demanded the frequent calling of local councils, that the religious welfare of the nations might be advanced. Scotland would have been discourteous to the memory of the great pope, and disobedient to the orders of the great council, had the churchmen not deliberated on spiritual concerns when the difficulties of meeting were removed.

¹ Wilkin's Conc., i. 532.

In the arrangements for the Scottish Church it was decreed that at the first council the Bishop of St Andrews should preach, and at successive councils the other bishops in turn. It was also settled that the council was to elect a conservator of privileges, who should continue in office till another assembly met, and who should see to the publication and enforcement of ordinances.

The Lateran Council which desired the healing of the nations passed into a memory of history without restoring Christendom; and though the conservator of privileges continued till the elevation of St Andrews to archiepiscopal rank, clerical councils were seldom convened. The conservator had limited powers, and was in no sense a metropolitan.

His office was indeed a sign that there was no primate; and St Andrews, apart from its traditions, was first among the bishoprics, mainly by its rich revenues, which attracted the most ambitious if not the ablest churchmen.

In the scheme of taxation of the Scottish bishoprics, preserved in the Register of the St Andrews Priory, St Andrews was valued at £8018, 3s., and Glasgow at £4080, 13s. 3d.¹

¹ The schemes of taxation are examined in the preface to Robertson's 'Statuta Eccl. Scot.' Martine's 'Reliquiæ Divi Andreæ' is an account of the "state of the venerable and primatial see of St Andrews."

While these sums did not represent the incomes of the prelates, they indicated the relative financial importance of the sees. The castle of St Andrews was the chief residence of the successors of Bishop Roger, in whose reign it was built; and the cathedral, consecrated in presence of Robert the Bruce, was worthy to be the church of a metropolitan.

In the last generation of the fifteenth century, and not till then, Scotland numbered an archbishop among its ecclesiastics; and when he returned from Rome with the honours of the Pall and the Cross, he was not welcomed by faithful suffragans as the papal deputy to govern the Church of their nation, but was treated as a usurper with ill-gotten power, and afterwards as a tyrant with ill-used authority. The character of Patrick Graham, who was made Archbishop of St Andrews, and his intrigues for his own advancement explain in part the opposition he provoked; but it is worthy of note that there was no demand for a metropolitan, in spite of the country's needs, and James Kennedy, an honoured churchman and a skilful statesman, was not made an archbishop.

The death of Bishop Kennedy in 1465 removed from the Councils of the realm the man who, in the last years of his life, while James III. was still a boy, governed the

country and gave it peace. He was buried in the tomb he had made in the chapel of the College of the Holy Saviour in the University of St Andrews; and that tomb, now the ruin of an elaborate and costly structure, is a significant memorial of a pre-eminent priest of a Church that has fallen into decay.¹

James Kennedy, whom Catholic and Protestant alike have praised, was a younger son of James Kennedy of Dunure and the Lady Mary Stewart, daughter of Robert III. Before her marriage with Kennedy the Lady Mary had been wedded to the Earl of Angus; and after Kennedy's death she married Sir William Graham of Kincardine, to whom she bore five sons. The eldest of these sons, afterwards known as Robert Graham of Fintry, married Janet Lovell, of whom was born Patrick, who succeeded James Kennedy in the see of St Andrews.² The dignity attaching to the greatest of the Scottish bishoprics was not beneath

¹ Appendix, II.

² Appendix, III. Modern historians have followed Buchanan in describing Graham as Kennedy's uterine brother, though Spottiswoode designated him the nephew. Graham's contemporary, the Abbot of Arbroath, wrote of him as Kennedy's brother-son (Arbroath R. N., 131). The name of Graham's father is obtained from a document, signed at Linlithgow on June 30, 1466, which is an "Indenture between Patrick, Bishop of St Andrews, Robert Graham of Fintry, his father, and David Graham, son and heir-apparent of Robert Graham, on one part, and the Earl of Morton on the other" (Morton R., ii. 213).

the envy of men of the royal line, and James Kennedy and Patrick Graham, the grandson and great-grandson of Robert III., each filled the see, and by descent, at least, were worthy of their high station.

The year of Graham's birth and incidents of his childhood are unknown, but his career as a student at St Andrews can be traced.

The University of St Andrews was founded before the ending of the Great Schism, which wrought ruin to the unity of the Roman Church; and students who obtained their training in Scotland were spared the expense and danger of foreign travel, and were freed from worry at the schools of learning where attendance involved contact with factions obeying different popes. Bishop Wardlaw, the founder of the first Scottish University, sought in the name of the young king, and in his own, a charter from Benedict XIII., to whom the country gave obedience; and ten years after the issue of the papal bull James I., returned from his English prison, was not unmindful of the University. In 1432 a royal confirmation of privileges was granted. Buchanan narrates that the king instructed the teachers of colleges to furnish the names of distinguished scholars upon whom he might confer benefices; and Drummond of Hawthorn-

den tells that James made a law that none should be appointed a canon in a cathedral church unless he was a bachelor of divinity, or at least of the canon law. Spottiswoode, perhaps to embellish his narrative, wrote that the king did "countenance professors with his presence at their lectures." Though the University had not seen many years when Patrick Graham entered it, and had not acquired the fame of sending forth men to great situations, it could give education and offer degrees to those who aspired to distinction in the Church; and the fact that James Kennedy was Bishop of St Andrews doubtless attracted his nephew to the University in the episcopal city.

Patrick Graham probably entered the University in the year 1452. We find him coming forward in the spring of 1454 as a "determinant" or candidate for the initial grade of bachelor, and the residential qualification for this grade was, according to statute, eighteen months. Having presented written testimony from his regent that he had fulfilled all necessary conditions, Graham would be "tried" by four examiners upon his books, and would then be confirmed by the Dean as Bachelor in Arts, before the examiners and all the regents or teaching masters of the Faculty.

The University records describe him at this

stage as Canon of Aberdeen and Moray.¹ On March 10, 1450, Nicholas V. had reserved prebends in Glasgow and Aberdeen for Hugh Douglas and Patrick Graham, and prebends in Dunkeld and Moray for William Forbes.² These youths were nephews of Bishop Kennedy, who assisted them by obtaining reservations in their favour. Nicholas V. worthily filled the papal chair, and was a man who could discern the strength and goodness of Kennedy's character, and would be ready to grant him favours. The officers of the papal court, however, could not always be trusted, and on January 28, 1451, confirmation of the rights of Douglas, Graham, and Forbes in the reserved benefices was obtained.³ The Faculty of Arts minute describes Graham as Canon of Aberdeen and Moray; and it is to be conjectured that the benefice in Glasgow was not vacant when he was appointed to Moray, or that the prebend in Moray was of more value than that in Glasgow.⁴

Like other youths of good birth and social influence, Graham was, as the expression went, "egregie beneficiatus," and could maintain him-

¹ Andrew Stewart, uterine brother of James II., at the early age of twelve, received prebends in Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Lincluden (Theiner, 396). Alexander Stewart, son of James IV., was Archdeacon of St Andrews while he was a child (T. A., ii. 300).

² Vatican Transcripts, Brit. Mus., 15381.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Appendix, IV.

self in some dignity of style. But it was not so with the majority of his fellow students, and it is worth noting that in these years Bishop Kennedy was anxious to counteract tendencies which threatened to injure the University. In 1451 Pope Nicholas V. revoked unions of secular benefices in the city and diocese to monasteries, on the ground that secular clerks could not, as a rule, prosecute a course of study without support of benefice.¹ Some years later, as will appear, when Graham had become master, the dearth of students was still causing anxiety; and there can be little doubt that a consideration for poor students was one of the motives which actuated Kennedy in planning his College of St Salvator. If it was an abuse that a mere boy should hold prebends in two cathedral churches, or that the fruits of a parish church should be used for the academic training of an ecclesiastic, who often gave no return in parochial service, it was, in the latter case, at all events, an abuse not unqualified.

Two years after he became bachelor, in 1456, Patrick Graham presented himself in the ordinary course for further examination with a view to the grade of master. The first result of success was the obtaining of "licence" from

¹ Theiner, 385. Cf. *The Defence of the English Bishops* (Froude, i. 3).

Kennedy, the Chancellor of the University, or his deputy, the Vice-Chancellor. It was the duty of examiners, "as far as human frailty permit," to classify candidates *secundum scientie et morum eminentiam*, without partiality to wealthy or noble students. The phrasing of the statute thereanent is the phrasing of a counsel of perfection. Graham was presented first by a board of examiners, among whom were, probably, Archibald Whitelaw, a Latinist of distinction, and John Lok, according to Buchanan, the bitter foe of the archbishop at the end; but the statute does not altogether warrant the assumption that Kennedy's nephew was the ablest man of his year.

Having obtained his licence to teach in the Faculty of Arts *hic et ubique terrarum*, and taken an oath of obedience to the Rector, the Chancellor, and the Dean of Faculty, Graham would require to proceed to the degree of master within two months. It is not certain that he was in his twentieth year, though that was the statutory age for the mastership, since dispensations could be given under a somewhat elastic clause in the regulations. A festivity "in hall" celebrated the taking of the master's degree, as it had celebrated the attainment of the bachelor's; and Graham no doubt expended more than the sum of £4 which the statutes

prescribed as the limit, and which custom had for years systematically exceeded.

Graham had no intention of lecturing in arts, and his name was entered, therefore, in the book of the "Receiver" of the Faculty for a money fine. But such fines for dispensation from *lectura* remained in very many cases unpaid, and Graham's was no exception, as he was reported among the defaulters at a Faculty congregation over which he was then presiding as Dean. It is probable that the Faculty found it hard to extract the money in a small school like St Andrews, where there could be little room for new teachers.

Each year the Faculty of Arts celebrated its festival of St John the Evangelist, and appointed two of the young masters to act as "provisors" or stewards.¹ Patrick Graham was chosen in April 1457. It would be his duty to make arrangements for the feast of the patron saint, and render account of his disbursements.

During this summer certain statutes had been drawn up by the Faculty of Arts, and Graham, among others, voted for them. There was, however, some controversy with the University in regard to their confirmation. One forbade regent masters to give a "schedule" or cer-

¹ Cf. The College of St Leonard, 38 (Herkless and Hannay).

tificate to bachelors applying for licence, if these bachelors had not fulfilled the requisite period of study or "heard" the necessary books. The Faculty was also convinced that the number of students was seriously reduced by a fear of "the exorbitant expenses" which had become usual, and therefore enacted that candidates for the degrees of bachelor and master should not expend more than £10 on entertaining, unless they were related in the third degree to his Majesty, held benefices worth more than £100, or were sons of earls, dukes, and lords of Parliament. It was to be the duty of the Dean and his assessors to see that the rich "associated" with themselves at graduation the required number of poor scholars. In the third statute the Faculty enforced strictly on its own members and by its own authority a University regulation against *ludi illiberales et periculosi*, of which football was held to be the most execrable.

The controversy regarding these statutes was proceeding when, on the 1st October, Graham was elected Dean of Faculty;¹ and it was apparently under his presidency that the new statutes were declared by the Faculty to be binding without the confirmation of the University.

¹ In the minute of the Faculty he is styled Canon of Aberdeen and Rector of Kynnek.

In the spring of 1458 Graham was chosen an examiner for the aspirants to the licence. What studies he was himself prosecuting in the meantime we do not know. He may, indeed, have obtained a degree in law or theology, though no University document records the names of those who in the fifteenth century advanced beyond arts. Higher qualifications were granted, as may be seen from the case of John, Bishop of Dunkeld, who in 1488 was designated a licentiate in decrees of St Andrews.¹

It was a regulation that a man must be a regent or a student in some faculty, under pain of losing his vote in the Faculty of Arts. At all events, on the 4th October 1458 Graham announced that he might be absent from the meeting which was to elect his successor, and asked to have a deputy nominated. From this point we lose sight of him in the University records. In 1460 an important vote was taken, and many names are enumerated of masters resident at St Andrews and masters absent at their churches; but Graham's name does not appear. This negative evidence is too slight to be the foundation of a conjecture that he had gone abroad for study; but it is important to notice

¹ Theiner, 379.

that Graham's fellow-student and his successor in the archbishopric, William Schevez, despised by tradition as insufficiently learned, remained for some years resident in the University as a regent master, and took an active part in its affairs.

At the close of his University career Graham may have taken up some of the deferred duties of the twofold canonry, or of the rectory of "Kynnek" which he continued to hold till the date of his appointment to the bishopric of Brechin.

On March 29, 1463, Pius II. granted to Richard Wyly, Vicar of Dundee, the rectory of Kynnell, which was still held by Patrick Graham, Bishop-designate of Brechin. The rectory was to become vacant by promotion and consecration, and a clause in the reservation shows that it was contemplated that the vacancy would occur through the lapse of the canonical period for consecration. The pope admitted to Wyly that his messenger, with the announcement regarding the vacancy in Brechin, was the first to arrive by eight days, and that at his instance he had committed the provision to the Cardinal of St Mark's; and he intimated that he was inhibiting Bishop Kennedy from disposing of the rectory, and was granting a mandate to induct and defend

Wyly.¹ It is evident that Wyly had been a candidate for the bishopric of Brechin, and had been in the field eight days before any rival. Acts of the Parliaments of James III. show positively that livings in the Scottish Church were sold and bought at Rome; and the conclusion is not a mere fancy that Graham, to whom the bishopric was given, was able of the candidates to offer the most convincing and substantial reasons for his election to Brechin. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Pius II., the permutations of whose character had been notable, was eager in the last years of his life to crush the Turk and avenge the insults to the Cross. If he took the gold of expectants like Graham, he did not squander it on luxuries for the papal palace, or spend it even on magnificent buildings in Rome, but devoted it with burning piety to purposes which had given Urban II. primacy in the Christian world, and which, if forlorn hopes in the fifteenth century, were still not base and ignoble.

There is no record throwing light on the

¹ Theiner, 448. Kyunell, so printed by Theiner, is Kynnell (Kinnel), according to an MS. dated March 29, 1463 (Vatican Transcripts, Brit. Mus., 15834). No place Kynnek is known, and the writer of the Faculty of Arts minute wrote the word, it may be assumed, instead of Kynnell. Wyly had a papal warrant, dated July 31, 1462, to receive the Archdeaconry of Brechin (Theiner, 444). In June, 1464, he was described as "Apostolic Nuncio specially deputed for Scotland" (Reg. Ev., 67).

circumstances of Graham's election to Brechin, but it would be promoted through Kennedy, who was in the position to administer the royal patronage. His predecessor in Brechin was George Schoriswod, who for some years was chancellor of the kingdom. The date of the payment at Rome of the common services, on Graham's behalf, is given as May 11, 1463,¹ and there must then have been delivered to the papal treasury the sum of 500 golden florins, which was the fixed tax for Brechin. Nothing is known regarding the installation, beyond the fact that a document signed at St Andrews in 1466 specifies that year as the third of the bishop's consecration.²

The oldest writing in our possession which bears on Graham's episcopal rule shows him exercising a financial zeal which did not decrease in whatsoever situation he was placed. On January 2, 1464, a royal mandate gave him power to recover alienations; and this authority was doubtless obtained through Kennedy.³ When Graham, in the course of his prelatical career, proceeded to St Andrews, he did not diminish his care for things temporal,

¹ Eubel, ii. 123.

² Arbroath R. N., 154. Another document, dated November 3, describes the year 1467 as the third year of consecration (Spalding Club Misc., iv. 6).

³ Brechin R., ii. 100.

and he and his successor in Brechin disputed regarding a piece of land which each claimed for his see.¹

On January 10, 1464, the bishop acted as a papal delegate in the case of a church in the diocese of Whithorn.² There is, however, no importance attaching to the mission, and the choice of Graham as commissioner points to the affection of Kennedy rather than to the favour of the pope. The settlement of a dispute regarding the church of Barry illustrates the bishop's administrative work. The record is that on April 7, 1464, an agreement regarding that church was made between Arbroath and Balmerino in Graham's presence; and at the same time the question of liability for a subsidy was discussed.³

The revenues of Brechin were not large, and did not meet Graham's wants or satisfy his desires. Shortly after his promotion, and most probably in connection with it, he levied a contribution from certain churches pertaining to the Abbey of Arbroath, which Malcolm Brydy, the abbot, refused at first to pay, on the ground that neither he nor any predecessor, for the space of more than a hundred and twenty

¹ Brechin R., i. 191.

² Vatican Transcripts, Brit. Mus., 15834.

³ Arbroath R. N., 133.

years, had granted a subsidy to a bishop of Brechin. Brydy protested that he would not put the abbey in thralldom; but for the sake of "my lord of Sanctandrois," his promoter, and considering the "byschop of Brechin was say der to hym hys brothir son," he promised gratitude. The bishop, thanking the abbot right heartily, declared that he took for no manner of thralldom the "supply" made to him.¹

The death of James Kennedy created a vacancy in St Andrews, and it was filled by the transference of Patrick Graham from Brechin. Buchanan, whose account is more graphic than accurate, narrates that Graham was chosen by the canons of the priory, and that being prevented by a political faction from journeying with the king's permission, he went privately to the pope. We know, however, that Graham was in Rome "at the time of his promotion,"² which was effected by Paul II., whose bull was dated November 4, 1465, and that the pope had received letters, written in the name of James III., in favour of Graham.³ The removal from Brechin involved an expense of 3300 florins of gold,⁴ the customary tax

¹ Arbroath R. N., 131. Appendix, V. ² *Vide infra*, p. 40.

³ Brady, i. 123. Cal. Venet. Papers, iii. 1463.

⁴ A florin, *auri de camera*, in 1476, was treated as the equivalent of a mark Scots (Theiner, 475).

for St Andrews, which was met on the 29th of November by Graham's proctor, Gaspar de Ricasolis.¹ Episcopal translations were profitable to Rome, and were welcomed in the days of Paul II., who, with his Venetian bias for magnificence, had no mind for costly reforms which would check the abuses of translation. The pope may have convinced himself that Graham was pre-eminently fitted for the duties of St Andrews. In any case the golden florins flowed into his treasury, and a new election to Brechin meant the payment of the tax for that see. Graham was of course responsible for the cost of his own promotion, but for the blessings to flow from the newly appointed head the churches in the diocese were required to furnish money.

It was not the Bishop of Rome alone who made profit out of changes in the Church in Scotland. After the death of Kennedy the king, according to usage, administered the lands of the vacant bishopric.² By an Act of Parliament of 1450 the Crown held the temporalities during a vacancy, and from an Act of

¹ Brady, i. 123. According to Eubel the common services were paid on December 15.

² E. R., vii. 384, 475. In the T. A., i. 197, under date 1491, there is a composition of £200 made with John Guthrie, elect of Ross, for the "anna" of the temporality; and it might be conjectured that the bishop-elect of any diocese would make a similar payment to the king. Appendix, VI.

1481 it may be concluded that a vacancy continued till the elected bishop produced his bulls.

There is nothing to show that Graham's appointment to St Andrews created, as Buchanan indicates, either political or ecclesiastical opposition. The bishop was related to the king, was not an episcopal novice, and was attacked by no disappointed rival clamouring for justice. Buchanan represents him as continuing in Rome throughout the period of the ascendancy of the Boyds, but the representation is inaccurate. Before his return from Rome¹ he was made a party in an alliance formed at Stirling, February 10, 1466, between Robert Lord Fleming, Gilbert Lord Kennedy, and Sir Walter Boyd, Governor of Edinburgh Castle and military instructor of the young king.² These three associates, pledging themselves to support one another in their quarrels, named certain men who were not to be ranked as enemies, among whom was "a reverend fadir in Crist, master patrik the graham, bishop of Sanctander." By the terms of the bond Fleming, who was to have any "large thing" falling to the Crown,

¹ On October 10, 1466, he confirmed a grant to an altar in the Trinity Church, St Andrews (MS. Black Book of St A.) He may have been in Scotland at that date.

² The text of the alliance is given in Tytler's Notes and Illustrations appended to his History.

agreed to leave the king with Kennedy and Boyd. The plot proceeded, and on July 9 James was carried off from Linlithgow to Edinburgh. Kennedy, appearing on the road, tried, or made a show of trying, to lead him back to Linlithgow, when a blow from Boyd's hunting-staff stopped him. There is a suspicion that the rescue was not designed for success, and that the incarceration of Lord Kennedy in the Castle of Stirling was not the punishment of a perjurer who had broken his bond, or of a traitor who had assailed his king. The abduction of James was the prelude to the rise of the party, whose head was the Lord Boyd of Kilmarnock. The Kennedys were now of no political importance. Their strong man, the bishop, was dead; the Lord Kennedy was in disgrace, real or arranged; and Patrick Graham, related to the king and the Kennedys, might well arouse the suspicion of the Boyds. There is, however, no chronicle of persecution driving him into exile. On the contrary, there are many proofs that he was in Scotland throughout the period of the ascendancy of the Boyds.¹ The rule or directorate of these men was rapid in growth, powerful though brief in duration, and decisive in decadence. In 1469, three years after the capture of James, they had fallen.

¹ Appendix, VII.

Their active opposition to the bishop, in spite of Buchanan, is surely to be included in the great multitude of the conjectures of history, which no man can number.

Immediately after his assumption to St Andrews, Graham received, at the hands of Paul II., the Priory of Pittenweem and the Abbey of Paisley *in commendam*.¹ The transaction, an abuse of a kind well known throughout the Western Church, would not be open to special condemnation, were it not that the beneficiary has been generally represented as "a prelate of singular and primitive virtue." James Kennedy had held Pittenweem, and the great churchman's connection with the priory was, according to John Major, the one black spot on an immaculate career.

David I. established a Benedictine monastery, to take the place of an older settlement, on the Isle of May in the Firth of Forth, and attached it to the Abbey of Reading in Yorkshire. The monks had a house at Pittenweem on the mainland, and in the course of time it became their chief seat and gave the name to their priory. In the thirteenth century Bishop Wishart of St Andrews purchased the rights of the Abbot of Reading over the monastery, and bestowed them upon the Augustinian priory

¹ Brady, i. 205. Appendix, VIII.

of his own city. The last Commendator of Pittenweem was the Lord James Stewart, who held it at the period of the Reformation.

Graham, though he succeeded in obtaining the Priory of May or Pittenweem, did not enter into possession without a contest. Walter Monypeny, Prior of Portmoak, received a mandate of provision on September 21, 1465, and bound himself for an annate to be paid within six months.¹ Already at that date, so short a time after the death of Kennedy, there was a suit in the Court of Rome concerning the priory. Graham, however, was able to secure the priory; and as in 1471 he was still in debt to the papal exchequer, he must have incurred extraordinary expenses.² Monypeny and the Prior of St Andrews obtained a safe-conduct, December 18, 1470, to pass through England; and since Rome would probably be their destination, it may be taken that they were concerned with Pittenweem, and that Graham would be required to spend money in defence of his rights.³

Not content with the bishopric and the priory, Graham was the successful bidder for the Abbey of Paisley, which was in the ecclesiastical market

¹ Bliss's Transcripts (Record Office), xxix. 16.

² *Ibid.*, General Series, 1435-1535.

³ C. D. S., iv. 1390.

at the period of his visit to Rome. The abbey, raised from a priory to an abbey by Pope Honorius III., belonged to the Cluniac Order, and its importance is seen in the circumstance that the abbot had the right to use the mitre. Historic interest attaches to the fact that the last of the abbots was John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, who in 1571 was hanged at Stirling. Henry Crichton had been provided to the abbey in August 1459, and had agreed to pay from the revenues a pension to the Cardinal of St Mark's. The abbot, however, on account of his repudiation of the condition, was deposed; and on January 10, 1466, bulls were issued in favour of Graham, who was to have the abbey along with the Church of St Andrews, the Priory of Pittenweem, and any other benefice already held *in titulum* or *in commendam*. Business was promptly done, and on the 25th of that month Graham's procurator paid into the papal treasury six hundred florins, the stated tax for the appointment.¹ In spite of the proceedings at Rome, Crichton was officially recognised in Scotland as the Abbot of Paisley,² and eventually, on February 27, 1469, was restored. Graham, according to the bull in favour of Crichton, had freely resigned the

¹ Brady, i. 205.

² R. M. S., i. 868, 906. Paisley R., 149.

commendatorship,¹ but it was not stated that an annuity was to be paid to him from the benefice.

In the Parliament of 1424 a general Act had been passed against the purchase or payment of any such pension; though in 1466 the practice was apparently recognised, as a statute of that year provided for the consent of the parties interested. If Graham observed the statute in 1469, he transgressed its spirit in 1473. Crichton had gone to Dunfermline,² and the new Abbot of Paisley would not be inclined to continue payment to a prelate who was by this time unpopular at Court. Graham did himself a doubtful service when he secured bulls enforcing the annual payment of "two hundred marks sterling of the money of those parts."³

While Graham's dealings with Pittenweem and Paisley created no novel abuses, the fact that the initial arrangements were made in Rome fostered the resentment of the Scots against the papal domination of the realm. It can scarcely have been a mere coincidence that the year 1466 saw

¹ Documents in Appendix to Lees' 'Abbey of Paisley,' 39, 41, 44. "Ven. vir D. Jacobus Inglis, procurator, &c., nomine R. P. D. Patritii, Dei gratia Episcopi St Andreæ in Scotia, et Comendatorii Mon. S. Merini de Pasleto . . . obtulit . . . 600 florenos auri, &c."

² Brady, i. 177.

³ June 2, 1473, Bliss's Transcripts. Appendix, IX.

Graham obtaining a priory and an abbey, and the Scottish Parliament forbidding the holding of livings *in commendam*. The occupant of the historic see of St Andrews, the richest in the country, had trafficked in the papal city for benefices in Scotland, and a Parliament found its revenge, if not its remedy, in making the appointment of commendators illegal. Its statute of 1466 explains the recognition of Crichton in place of Graham as Abbot of Paisley.

Graham's resignation of the abbey was declared in the papal narrative to be freely made. The grace of the action, however, loses its charm in view not only of the pension secured from the revenues, but also of the Act of November 20, 1469, which made perpetual an indult of the Holy See, giving to the Bishop of St Andrews the confirmation of abbots and priors elected within his diocese. That indult had been bestowed by Nicholas V. on James Kennedy and his successors,¹ but the popes who followed Nicholas were not forced by law or constrained by custom to recognise his grants, and it had been revoked by Paul II.² Parliament, however, was not disturbed by the action of Pope Paul, and, without asking him to continue the

¹ A. P., ii. 193. The indult was dated January 23, 1451 (Vatican Transcripts, Brit. Mus., 15382).

² *Vide infra*, p. 39, letter of Paul II. to Graham, May 4, 1471.

favour which had come from Nicholas, passed the Act which increased the authority of the Bishop of St Andrews and enriched him. Graham, though he had received papal favours, had also felt the strong hand of Rome. At the invitation of the community of Edinburgh he had confirmed the erection of St Giles' into a collegiate church by ordinary authority. The pope, however, would not recognise the bishop's action, and issued a mandate to make the erection *de novo*.¹ Cases like that of St Giles' would lead Graham to promote, directly or indirectly, the Act of the Scottish Parliament of 1469, and the date suggests that the passing of the Act was a compensation for his resignation of Paisley. In any case he did not oppose himself, on this occasion, to the patriots who found pleasure in curtailing the papal prerogative.

To the year 1469 belongs the record of a case which shows Graham trafficking in things beyond the province of the Bishop of St Andrews. Alexander Dundas of Fingask intimated an appeal, February 25, against a decision of the official of St Andrews in respect of the teind sheaves of Rinde, "belonging, as is asserted, to Patrick, Bishop of St Andrews." Claiming that the teinds did not belong to the bishop, and that no action regarding them could be brought before

¹ February, 1468, Theiner, 455.

a spiritual judge, as they had been bought and sold as secular goods by secular men, he appealed to the pope. Whatever the result was, it seems that Graham had gathered sheaves where he had not laboured; and the calling in of the pope suggests that it had not been made clear to the official that the teinds had ever been placed on the market.¹

Early in September of the same year, Graham, with consent of William, Earl Marshall, the patron; Master Robert Keith, rector; and the Chapter of St Andrews, erected the parish church of Keith into a canonry and prebend of St Salvator's. The earl was to present to the prebend, while the bishop was to dispose of the vicarate pensionary.²

Graham, if he had the primitive virtue ascribed to him by a modern historian, did not permit it to interfere with his careful watch over the goods and chattels of the Bishop of St Andrews. Kennedy, by his will, had bestowed certain silver utensils and other movables, together with sums of money, upon the College of St Salvator which he had founded, and this provision his successor contested. Graham claimed the property in dispute as the inalienable possession

¹ The Laing Charters, No. 157.

² Univ. MSS. The church was in the diocese of St Andrews. There was an ancient parish of Keith which is now included in Humber.

of the see; while the executors of Kennedy pled that he had acted legally in making a will, and that the property was his own. The law's delay was known in the fifteenth century, and the case proceeded wearily for years. At last, on March 22, 1470, in the parish church of Perth, a decision was given. John de Myrtoune, canon and official of Dunkeld, acting as judge sub-delegate, decreed that Kennedy had acted within his rights, and that Graham must pay the costs, and hand over to the executors £942, 4s. 10d. Scots, the value, evidently, of the disputed property, or the amount of the money gifted by Kennedy to his college.¹

The Bishop of St Andrews was Chancellor of the University, and Graham, in virtue of his office, was involved in the settlement of a dispute. A papal bull of February 1469 conferred on St Salvator's College the right to grant degrees,² and a quarrel ensued between the college and the University. There is evidently a trace of the dispute in the fact that, at Graham's request, a congregation was adjourned by the Faculty of Arts on April 9, 1470, after a discussion on the question of cutting off certain masters and students of St Salvator's for not observing statutes of the University.³

¹ Instrument among Univ. MSS.

² Theiner, 460.

³ Act. Fac. Art.

The quarrel, however, was not serious, and at least was not of long standing. There is extant a sentence bearing on the matter by Patrick, "Bishop of St Andrews and conservator of the privileges of the Scottish Church."¹ At a council held at Perth in the church of the Dominicans, on July 17, 1470, John Lok, doctor of theology and rector of the University of St Andrews, made an agreement with John Athilmer, provost, and Thomas Logy, canon, as representatives of St Salvator's, the former to withdraw his process of suspension, excommunication, aggravation, and re-aggravation against Athilmer, Logy, Henry Kirkaldy, and others, while St Salvator's promised to renounce the bull obtained by Athilmer when he was in Rome. Graham appended his round seal to the document which was drawn in settlement, and caused others to append their own, the chief being William, Prior of St Andrews, John, Abbot of Scone, and Walter, Prior of Lochleven.²

The year 1470 was marked in the annals of Graham's episcopate by a grave and serious charge made by Malcolm Brydy, Abbot of Arbroath, who complained that the bishop had

¹ Reg. Ev., 70. In the same year, 1470, on October 12, he granted a precept of sasine at Monimail (Fraser's 'Carnegies,' 62).

² Appendix, X.

hurt him in body, and had injured the abbey by imprisoning him (*vos fecistis nos vestris artis carceribus stricte detineri*), and that he had been released only on payment of a sum of money. He declared that in his visitations Graham had been accompanied, beyond the permission of the law, by an hundred, and even by two hundred, horsemen, and that in consequence the goods and money of the abbey had been wasted. Fearing a continuance of such expensive episcopal excursions, the injured abbot determined to seek the constraining help of the pope.

As the abbey by the Scottish Act of 1469 was included among the religious houses subjected to the authority of St Andrews, Brydy, on October 17, sought letters from Graham for purposes of an appeal to Rome.¹ A few days later, on November 3, Richard Guthrie was elected abbot *per viam Spiritus Sancti*; and it may be concluded that Brydy's deposition had been accomplished by the bishop's agency, and that in consequence the letters of appeal had been demanded. The communication to Graham made no mention of the deposition, yet Brydy's action does not suggest the penitence of a sinner or the patience of a martyr. Unfortunately historical curiosity cannot be satisfied with further revelations of the strife, which at one stage

¹ Arbroath R. N., 164.

was more than a storm on paper or a battle of words. The offence of which Brydy was accused and for which he was imprisoned was a serious one,¹ and he sought from his oppressor satisfaction for his injured pride. At an exciting moment of his career he disappears; and, as the case now stands, the bishop may have been a just or an unjust judge, and the abbot a victim of episcopal oppression or merely a slanderer.

The election of Guthrie, approved by Graham, was duly reported to Paul II., who, brushing aside the Act of the Scottish Parliament, intimated to the king that the confirmation did not lie with the bishop, and that he himself appointed Guthrie.²

To Graham the pope wrote in the commanding style useful for the reproof of bishops, and reserved in extreme cases for kings. He intimated that he had learned that Graham had presumed to confirm the Arbroath election. If he did pretend to such authority, it was entirely annulled and revoked by the Holy See; and he should have remembered that when he was with the pope, at the time of

¹ The phrase *artis carceribus* implies a more severe penalty than consignment to a monastery. The punishment was to be used, as Boniface VIII. said, after careful consideration of all circumstances, and ought to be followed by a formal conviction (Van Espen, *Jus Eccl.*, III. xi. 1).

² Theiner, 465.

his promotion, he was warned against such practices, if he wished to shun the Apostolic indignation. For the future, so ran the papal order, he must abstain from presumptuous conduct of the kind.¹

Another letter, of an earlier date in the year 1471, reveals Paul II. as the watchful guardian of his exchequer and Graham as a debtor who did not meet his liabilities. The letter states that the bishop had neglected to forward certain sums for which he was bound, chiefly "on account of annates of the Priory of Pittenweem"; and he is reminded of the constitution of Pius II. (June 1, 1462), by which debtors to the camera, not making settlement in due time, suffer excommunication and deprivation. The camera, the pope says, is in need *propter imminentissimum periculum Christiane fidei*, and Graham is to pay his debts to Ferguson, the collector; or, should he fail to obey, the penalties will be exacted without remission.² Dispatches were also forwarded to the Bishops of Glasgow and Aberdeen, and to the Prior of Coldingham, instructing them to see that the money was paid.³

The story of Graham as a worldly ecclesiastic is relieved by the incident of a generous aid

¹ Letter dated May 4, 1471, in Bliss's Transcripts.

² Ibid. Letter dated January 5, 1471.

³ Ibid.

granted to the Franciscans. Kennedy had brought the Observantines to the city of St Andrews, contributing to the foundation of their monastery; and Graham, at some period of his episcopal course, gave grants to that foundation.¹ The Observantines, of the brotherhood of St Francis, professed to keep the rule of the order in the strictness of its poverty; and while they, though in less degree than the Conventuals, had travelled away from the simplicity of their founder, who had sought to walk in the steps of Christ, they were in their professed mode of life far removed from the grandeur of the great prelates of the Church. Pius II. had befriended the Observantines, and throughout the history of the order the Franciscans were the servants and emissaries of the popes. It may therefore be that Graham, from anxiety to stand within the favour of the pope, patronised the friars; but a kindly charity suggests that remorse for their own worldliness, or the thought of a finer spiritual life than their own, inspired ecclesiastics like Kennedy and Graham to help the successors of the Poor Men of Assisi.

The circumstance of outstanding significance in the official life of Graham was the elevation of his see into an archbishopric, which was

¹ R. M. S., i. 1434.

done neither at the request of the king nor by the petition of the clergy. The Act of 1469, conferring rights of confirmation, indicates the favour in which he stood after his resignation of Paisley; but the fortunate position was not maintained. His tenure of Pittenweem had been annulled by the Act of 1466, which made the holding of livings *in commendam* illegal; and though he did not surrender the priory, his possession of it was menaced so long as that Act remained. Paul II. came to his aid and united the priory to St Andrews for his life.¹ The pope's writs, however, did not run freely in Scotland; and the opponents of Rome, who may well have been at the same time Graham's enemies, obtained an Act in 1471 which invalidated all annexations made after the accession of James III.² The Scottish Parliament had proceeded with decision, and the pope alone could help to redress the bishop's wrongs. Graham, in his need or desperation, set out for Rome;³ but the way was

¹ Theiner, 468.

² A. P., ii. 99. Appendix, XI. An Act of October 7, 1488, mentions the unions and annexations made by Patrick Graham and his successors, and orders that they be returned to their former conditions.

³ In July 1471 the Abbot of Scone was acting as Vicar-General, and also in July 1472 (*Liber de Scon.*, 194, 196). The account of the master of works of the Palace of Linlithgow shows payments made in Graham's name during his absence (*E. R.*, viii. 134).

long, and before he reached the end, Paul II. was dead, and Sixtus IV. occupied the chair of the popes.

The bishop had attended the meeting of the Parliament at which the obnoxious Act was passed; and at his departure for Rome, which of course could not be hidden, his opponents took action. On June 25 Henry, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, was appointed procurator for the king at Rome;¹ and on August 12 a confirmation of its possessions, with Pittenweem included, was granted to the Church of St Andrews. It is clear from the contents of the royal deed that the confirmation was intended for the monastery and not for the bishopric.²

When Graham arrived at Rome, Sixtus IV. was at that stage of his papal career which was marked by a vague but honourable plan for the suppression of the Turk as the enemy of the Cross, and he had not yet begun to mix in Italian politics. It was not necessary for him to continue to a suppliant the favours granted by any one of his predecessors; and in view of his crusading schemes he was not likely to alienate the sympathies of Scotland by openly disregarding the Acts of the Parliament. It is impossible to determine the motives which

¹ R. M. S., i. 1034. MSS., Adv. Lib., 35. 4. 12., No. 226.

² R. M. S.

led Graham to seek the elevation of his see to an archbishopric; but it may be supposed that, morose under the slights of outrageous fortune in Scotland, and destitute of a strong helper in Rome, he pictured himself as an archbishop with dignity to overcome, and power to crush, if need arose, the enemies who harassed him. Sixtus might hesitate before restoring benefices in dispute, and might yet be willing, for the gold that would flow to his treasury and for the benefits that would accrue to Scotland, to fulfil the desire of many centuries by establishing the archbishopric. It could be shown to him that though the Scottish Church had in one of its prelates a conservator of its privileges, it required and yet had not a primate; and also that the English claims to ecclesiastical supremacy over Scotland, if disallowed and finally set aside, would cause no breach of the peace of the two Churches and the two lands. It could further be made plain that St Andrews had become in the course of generations the most celebrated of the Scottish sees, and therefore that the Bishop of St Andrews, of the Church of "the chief and mother city of the realm," should be raised to the highest ecclesiastical position in the nation.

In the papal bull of August 17, 1472, we have the reasons set before the consistory in

favour of the erection of St Andrews into a metropolitan see.¹ Complaints against the ordinaries and appeals to Rome from their decisions involved danger and expense; and men sometimes left their rights unvindicated, or occasionally brought their cases into forbidden courts. In the security of distance ordinaries, conceiving themselves to have unusual powers of compulsion, were apt to proceed unlawfully, and the excesses which a metropolitan would restrain went for the most part unpunished. The church of St Andrews, most celebrated of all Scottish cathedrals, in a city where King James and his predecessors had usually resided with their court, was recommended for metropolitan dignity; and the recommendation was strengthened by the amenity of the place and the character of its clergy and people.

The arguments satisfied the consistory, and Sixtus accordingly subjected the cathedral churches of Scotland² to the metropolitan and archiepiscopal jurisdiction of Patrick Graham and his successors, granting to him and them

¹ Theiner, 465.

² Glasgow, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Moray, Brechin, Dunblane, Ross, Caithness, Whithorn (Galloway), Lismore (Argyll), Sodor or the Isles. Balfour (*Vitæ Pontificum*, Adv. Lib. MSS.) quotes an ordinance from the camera to the effect that Graham should act according to the customs of Canterbury.

all the privileges involved by custom and statute, and announcing to bishops, chapters, clergy, and people that sentences duly passed on recalcitrants by the archbishop would be maintained. Last of all, King James was exhorted to favour and help Graham, for which he would obtain everlasting life and the gratitude of the pope.

At the erection of the cathedral as a metropolitan church the pope granted an indulgence for the purpose of a provision for the repair of the building, and even those who condemn his action may justify his intention. He decreed that penitents who visited the church at the feast of St Michael and during the octave thereof, and gave aid for the repair or erection, should have plenary indulgence, such as might have been obtained in a year of Jubilee by a visit to the appointed churches in Rome itself. The indulgence was to hold good for seven years, and thereafter was to be valid every third year.¹

In spite of the Acts of Parliament Graham represented himself to Sixtus IV. as being in peaceful occupation of Pittenweem,² and, a few months after the archiepiscopate, he succeeded in persuading the pope to perpetuate the annexa-

¹ Bull of Innocent VIII., April 22, 1487, MS. Liber Pluscardensis, 202 (Fairfax MSS., Bodleian, 8).

² Theiner, 468.

tion, notwithstanding "the statutes and customs of the monastery or other regular place on which, it may be, the priory depends." His plea was the expense of the new dignity: the archbishop would require a suffragan whose part it would be to visit the bishops and the province *cum decenti numero servitorum*. Moreover, the additional means, which did not exceed £100 sterling, would aid in defending the mensal revenues, drawn from divers parts of the realm. It is noticeable that the pope omitted the formal step of a *commissio ad partes*, with the summoning of those interested, and held the true annual value as expressed in the presents. On August 4, 1473, "Jacobus Carpentarii, Canonicus Leonensis," papal abbreviator, bound himself in name of Archbishop Graham for an annate of the Priory of Pittenweem or May, now perpetually united to the table of St Andrews. The amount to be paid was declared to be 100 florins *auri de camera*.¹

In February 1473, on a petition of the same drift as that which related to Pittenweem, and by the same method of procedure, Sixtus annexed to the see of St Andrews the parish churches of Lasswade, Tyningham, Forteviot, Inchbrioch, Tannadice, Fettercairn, and Kynnell,² increasing the mensal revenues by something like £240

¹ Bliss's Transcripts, xxix.

² Theiner, 469.

sterling. The archbishop was to enter into possession as soon as and howsoever the rectors relinquished their tenure. Further, it was expressly provided that any Apostolic letters already granted should not extend to these churches, and it would appear, therefore, that these annexations would be likely to create annoyance. On May 31, 1473, Graham bound himself for an annate of the seven churches, payable in six months after the various unions took effect.¹

At the same date as that of the annexations another papal document was completed.² Graham represented that the Abbot of Kelso, exempt from his jurisdiction, made his liberty a cause of offence, administering to the detriment of the house, and paying his debts when it suited him; and also that similar results might follow were Holyrood to exercise the exemption obtained from Paul II. After showing that the collegiate church of St Salvator consisted of rectors of churches which pertained to the bishop's free collation, and that he himself had granted collegiate honours to St Giles', he argued that the exemption of these places should no longer be tolerated, and that a general revocation would improve discipline and put an end to the complaints of laymen forced to have

¹ Bliss's Transcripts, xxix.

² Theiner, 470.

recourse to Rome. By the papal document commissioners were appointed to carry out the revocations.

Before leaving Rome Graham was involved in a process which, placing him in direct opposition to the king, ensured no cordial welcome for him when he returned to Scotland.

Pius II. granted Coldingham *in commendam* to Patrick Home, Archdeacon of Teviotdale and protonotary; but James III. desired Sixtus to suppress the priory and devote the fruits to the Chapel-Royal of St Mary in St Andrews.¹ Home, who had been charged by Paul II. in 1471, along with the Bishops of Glasgow and Aberdeen, to see that Graham paid arrears owing at Rome, now found himself co-operating with the archbishop against the king. Objections to the proposed suppression of a conventual house led James, probably in the beginning of 1473, to petition for the erection of Coldingham into a collegiate church. The obscure document of April 3, complying with that request, reveals much intrigue;² but it is clear that Graham covenanted for an indemnity to his own table, and supported Home for the deanery of the new Chapel-Royal, an appointment not attributed to the desire of the king. In July of

¹ Vatican Transcripts, Brit. Mus., 15384. Theiner, 472.

² Theiner, 472.

the same year, it should be observed, Sixtus provided a Home as Prioress of North Berwick, though he denied the validity of the confirmation given by Graham's vicar-general, who had gone in person to the nunnery to secure her election.¹

In addition to the archiepiscopal dignity another honour with its duty was conferred on Graham. Pope Sixtus on February 17, 1473, intimated to James III. the appointment of the prelate as Apostolic Internuncio for the purpose of collecting money and levying men for a crusade against the Turks, and the king was informed that an indulgence would be granted to any one giving gold—one, two, or three *aurei*—for the support of the soldiers of the Cross. A tithe of their incomes was to be exacted from the Scottish clergy.²

The first crusades were inspired in part by shame for the triumph of the Crescent over the Cross in places sacred by the footsteps of the Lord; but as the centuries passed, the Turk, secure in the East, pressed westwards and roused terror by his progress. Mahommed II. was a menace to the peace of Europe, and Sixtus IV. announced a General Council to arrange a war, and commissioned legates to France, Spain, and Germany, who were to rouse

¹ Theiner, 471.

² Raynaldus, 1472, 16-19.

enthusiasm which more than probably they themselves did not feel. The Abbot of St Prosper's was appointed, in 1471, to raise money in Scotland, and if he ever acted as collector he had no success.¹ Sixtus, when he elevated St Andrews to metropolitan rank, did not forget his scheme of a crusade, and Graham was made papal nuncio. No money, however, was obtained through the nuncio, and the crusade was ultimately abandoned when Europe could not be roused.

In none of the existing papal bulls is there mention of any further legatine power being conferred on the archbishop. No writing shows that he was raised to the position of *legatus natus*, as his successor in St Andrews was, or, like Cardinal Beaton, to that of *legatus a latere*. There is, however, a dispensation, dated at Edinburgh, May 12, 1474, which was granted by Patrick Graham, Archbishop of St Andrews and *legate a latere*, for the marriage of William de Menteith and Euphemia Graham, related in the forbidden degrees.² The only possible explanation of the designation is that as Internuncio he was recognised as a *legate a latere*; or that apart from that position the legatine rank was conferred on him, though the papal commission has not been preserved; or, still further, that

¹ *Annal. Bzovii*, xviii. 3.

² *Hist. MSS. Rep.*, 'Mar and Kellie Papers,' p. 8.

he obtained the power to issue marriage dispensations, frequently granted to papal ambassadors and others, and that in one of these writings he styled himself a legate.¹ It is worthy of note, however, in this connection that Graham was afterwards charged with falsifying papal letters.

The erection of the archbishopric revived, as certain historians relate, the question of the jurisdiction of York. At the Council of Windsor in the eleventh century, as already noted, the English ecclesiastics established by their own arrangement the supremacy of the Archbishop of York over the Church in Scotland; but the Scots did not assent, and eventually they were specially associated by papal bulls with the Holy See. Graham, according to Bishop Lesley, represented at Rome that "thair wes oftymis wearis betuix Scotland and England, quhairthrouch thay could not haif accesse to thair metropolitane." The historian's imagination invented the representation, as the Scottish recognition of the primacy of York, if it ever existed, ceased long before the days of Graham. There was, however, a peculiarity in the case of Galloway. The bishop was a suffragan of York, even after his right to a place in the Scottish Parliament had been granted. James I.,

¹ Appendix, XII. Sixtus IV. gave the Bishop of Orkney authority to dispose of fifty dispensations (Fraser's 'Wemyss,' ii. 100).

however, in 1430, made it a Scottish diocese with full ecclesiastical status.¹ It has been declared by certain modern writers that when St Andrews received metropolitan rank George Neville, Archbishop of York, protested against an arrangement which destroyed his supremacy in Scotland and, in particular, deprived him of a suffragan. Ferrerius was the earliest Scottish historian to make the statement.² His account of the foundation of the St Andrews archbishopric is, however, inaccurate. Amongst English writers, Godwin seems to have been the first to refer to Neville's protest, and it is evident that he followed Ferrerius.³

Buchanan has attributed to the first Archbishop of St Andrews a zeal for reform, and that estimable passion may have suggested the power of a metropolitan as the means to purify the Church. There is, unfortunately, no trace of the reformer in history; and, whether Graham's motives were base or noble, his methods were certainly fatal to his own prosperity and peace. He did not obtain the consent of the king or of the leading nobles and prelates to the plan of the archiepiscopate, when

¹ The king's letter is printed in Robertson, i. 306.

² History, 389.

³ Godwin, de Præsul. Angl. Comment. On the see of Orkney, cf. Robertson, i. 114.

he set out for Rome; and if the scheme was matured at Rome, he did not enter into any communication with them before seeking the aid of the pope. For the indiscretion or blunder of working out his great policy by himself he was to pay the fullest penalty, and charity was to make no excuses for him.

The bull of erection, Buchanan states, was published in Scotland in November 1472, and created a ferment among all who were directly interested in existing ecclesiastical abuses.¹ He says, further, that Graham's enemies complained that ancient laws and recent statutes had been violated, and that the "Romanists" would soon abridge the royal authority and seize the whole power for themselves. The bishops, Lesley affirms, who were to be reduced to suffragans, "promesit ane taxacione of xii. thousand merkis to the king for his mayntenance aganis the archebischop."²

James III., still almost a boy, though the reins of government were in his hands, had not yet begun to surround himself with men of low degree, and the wisest of his advisers was Thomas Spens, Bishop of Aberdeen.³ The

¹ An MS. History of Church of Scotland (Adv. Lib., 34. 5. 21.), represents Graham's action as threatening those who sought to purchase benefices at the Court.

² "The kingis last taxt grantit be the clergy" (T. A., i. 50).

³ Myln, Vit. Episc. Dunk., 24, referring to the years before

aggrieved suffragans would have in him an advocate to plead their cause before the king, who himself had reason to object that Graham had not sought his royal sanction in the matter of the archbishopric. Indignant he might well be that a subject, great churchman though he was, had by himself alone conducted a business of vital interest for the nation; and he had the strongest reason to object when the pope arranged and Graham agreed to collect money for the crusade. Scotland, however, had suffered long from Rome's exactions, and the king was angry and sinned not when it was proposed to send gold to Rome.

The storm raised by the publication of the papal bull probably prevented the archbishop's immediate return to Scotland. On September 6, 1473, he was at Bruges, where he received a royal summons to appear before a council "twiching the archbischof"; and in November letters were issued calling the council.¹ Before September, however, James was treating the prelate as an offender. On August 6 a payment was made "to a chaplane of Sanctandros

1476, says of Spens, "curiam regiam . . . regebat." In 1474 Spens obtained from Sixtus IV. an exemption during his life from the jurisdiction of St Andrews (Theiner, 473).

¹ T. A., i. 44, 46. In a papal document of July 1473, Graham's vicars are mentioned, showing that he was absent from the country at that date (Theiner, 471).

that the king wrate for anent certane materez anent the Bischop of Sanctandros,"¹ and shortly afterwards orders were given to "Desart and that cost side" to "arrest schippis that suld haue past to the Bischop of Sanctandros." Intimation was also sent to "Dundee, Montross, Abirdene, and to the Bischop of Abirdene, for the arresting of schippis."² Buchanan, true to his conception that the archbishop was a persecuted prelate, narrates that "Graham was summoned to an assembly, and there he produced bulls to show that he had been created by the pope Archbishop of St Andrews, Primate of Scotland, and Legate for three years to order the state of the Church. The inferior clergy heard him with satisfaction, for they were glad that an office so necessary as this was had been committed to a man of character and learning; but they stood in fear of powerful personalities who had won over the king and the court, and durst not let their whispers be heard. Patrick's foes sought to weaken his popularity by interposing delays, and appealed to the pope as the only competent judge of such a cause. For himself, he was despatched by the king to his own church, and forbidden

¹ T. A., i. 67. It is worthy of note that Graham's designation was Bishop of St Andrews. The king evidently refused to recognise him as the archbishop.

² Ibid., 43.

to assume the trappings of an archbishop till the suit was decided, or to attempt the exercise of any powers beyond those customary with his predecessors."

No official report of the council has been preserved; but on February 4, 1474, a notary passed to St Andrews to intimate "the kingis appellacione frae the bishop," and, later, a payment was made for "the solicing of the kingis materis in the court of Rome."¹ Another step was taken. Letters under the Privy Seal were sent to the sheriffs of Fife, Forfar, and Aberdeen for "the recognicione of the Bischop of Sanct-andros temporalite, and to retour the names of the personis that brek the first recognicione."² Graham was being treated in the most open fashion as a traitor or breaker of the law, and the seizure of the lands by the king as feudal superior implied that judgment in some fashion had been passed against him. Prelates in the centuries before the Reformation were not wont to look on princes as their superiors, or to acknowledge the jurisdiction of civil courts; and Graham, with Rome for him, though with

¹ T. A., i. 47, 48. A payment was made to a messenger passing with letters from James to the Earl of Crawford and Sir David Guthrie regarding the bishop (*ibid.*)

² T. A., i. 47. Recognicion is defined as "the act of a feudal superior in resuming the lands of a vassal in consequence of disregard of the conditions of his tenure." The Scottish kings claimed to bestow the temporalities.

Scotland against him, did not count himself suspended from his episcopal office. An official visit to Lindores Abbey in 1474 proved that he had not forsaken the traditions of his order.¹

Martin, in his 'Reliquiæ,' includes an undated letter containing the words: "We, Patrick, by the mercie of God, Archbishop of St Andrews, Lord of the regalitie thereof, . . . have remitted, discharged, and frielie forgiven our lovett John Martine, and by the tenor hereof, remits, discharges, and friely forgives him in our sovereign Lord's name, and ours," &c. The use of the royal name apparently indicates either that the king and the prelate were friends when the letter was written, or that Graham, employing a legal style, and paying no heed to the hostility of the sovereign, exercised his rights as lord of the regality. There is, unfortunately, no indication of the pope's reply to the King's appeal; but, whatever it may have been, James dealt with the temporalities as if they had passed into his keeping.²

Buchanan asserts that James, though he had

¹ 'Book of Lindores.' In the record he is styled bishop. On March 20, 1473 (it is not stated whether it is the old or new style), an instrument of sasine relating to Kirkton of Kinneff proceeds on a precept from Chancery directed to Patrick, *Bishop* of St Andrews (*Arbuthnot Titles in Nugæ Derelictæ*).

² Appendix, XIII.

accepted the gift of the bishops, afterwards received money from Graham's friends, and that for a time there was peace between him and the prelate;¹ and that Graham, thinking himself free from trouble, retired to his seat at Monimail,² where, however, the collectors of the papal dues discovered him. He had not paid, it appears from Buchanan's narrative, and was still unable to pay these dues, which must have been levied on account of the archbishopric. Contributions were received by him when he was elevated to St Andrews; but there was not, and could not have been in Scotland, a precedent for raising subsidies when he was promoted from the bishopric to the archbishopric. Rome, however, had to be satisfied; and the papal collectors, when they could not get the sums due to the treasury, excommunicated the defaulting prelate. "Graham," says Buchanan, "was now in extreme distress for want of money. Both before and after his return the greater part of his revenues had been deposited in the treasury of the king's procurator, and any sum which his friends could raise had gone to the king and the courtiers. Officers of the Crown were

¹ The king wrote to Robert the Grahame in 1473 (T. A., i. 46).

² Martine says that Monimail, one of the houses belonging to the Bishop of St Andrews, was built by Bishop Lamberton at the beginning of the fourteenth century. At Monimail, on October 12, 1470, Graham granted a precept of sasine (Fraser's 'Carnegies,' 62).

a second time sent to take possession. Graham was to be kept in his castle by guards of royal appointment; his household servants were removed, and he was reduced to his very wits' end."

It was inevitable that amidst the troubles raised by Graham in his quest for the metropolitan rank the business of his diocese should be disordered. Complaints were forwarded to Rome from the king, the chapter, the clergy, the University, and the people of the city and province.¹ Graham was accused of "irregularity, simony, blasphemy, giving cause of offence (*scandalum*)," and of dissipating the goods of the Church and the archiepiscopal table. Sixtus, who could not refuse to notice such grave charges, nominated three cardinals to examine them and to report. For the time it was considered sufficient to appoint a coadjutor;² but the complaints became louder, and on December 5, 1476, the pope commissioned John Huseman, Doctor of Decrees, Dean of the Church of St Patroclus in the diocese of Cologne, to hasten to Scotland and to hold an inquisition. Huseman was to hear evidence and to commit the truth of the matter to writing for the benefit of the consistory. According to his instructions the commissioner, after interviews with Graham and interrogations,

¹ Theiner, 478-9.

² Appendix, XIV.

heard many witnesses. At the close of the inquisition the accused was asked if he had anything to add to his statements, and was warned that (within a certain time) he should appear personally or by proxy at Rome to hear sentence. The commissioner then closed and sealed the process. Three cardinals, when it reached Rome, were deputed to report upon its formality and its contents. The process bore that Graham had misgoverned the Church of St Andrews, and had acted tyrannically towards his subjects, lay and ecclesiastical, his tenants and rent-payers, and the members of the University. Further, he had falsified papal letters, had publicly refused to obey Apostolic mandates, and had taken no notice of censures, celebrating masses, sometimes thrice daily, in spite of interdict.¹ Besides this irregularity he had committed simony in respect of several collations to benefices. Blasphemy had been alleged against him, and the blasphemy was repeated in presence of Huseman. He was pope, he said, elect of God and crowned by the angel to reform the Church; and his legates were to go to different parts of the world. He had created prebendaries; a bishop had been provided by

¹ Buchanan states that he was excommunicated by John Lok, rector of the University. The papal document says that Graham had been subjected to repeated excommunication, suspension, and interdict. Appendix, XV.

him for the church of Ross :¹ papal indulgences, as granted for gain, he had revoked, except those given at the feast of Corpus Christi.²

In the official statement it was set forth that in respect of his guilt the archbishop ought to be punished by deposition, and handed over to a secular court. The pope received the report, and on January 9, 1478, pronounced sentence. With the advice of the consistory, and moved by pity for the unfortunate prelate, Sixtus abstained from calling in the aid of the secular magistrate. He ordained, however, that Graham, after being deprived of his orders, should be sent to a cloister, where he could spend himself in penance and be kept from "wandering as a refugee to the cities and courts of princes or stirring up tumults."³ The pope also decreed, lest the chapter, clergy, people, and vassals should plead ignorance, that the Bishops of Brechin and Orkney and the Chancellor of Aberdeen should publish the papal letters in the diocese and province.

In Buchanan's narrative it is stated that "William Schevez, his enemy in chief, was first of all given by the king to be assistant, on the

¹ The chaplain of the Lord of the Isles was promoted. The offence may have been in part political, since the Lord of the Isles was at open feud with the king. The bishopric was regularly filled in October 1477 (Brady, i. 144).

² On Corpus Christi indulgences, cf. Goodall's 'Bower,' x. 12.

³ Theiner, 479.

ground that Graham was insane, and was then approved by the pope. Shortly after, owing to the power of the faction against Graham, Schevez was chosen inquisitor concerning his life and character. Charges were levelled, many trivial, many ridiculous, some even incredible. For instance, he had sometimes said mass thrice in a day—in an age when it was hard to find a bishop ready to perform the office once in three months! Before such a court, his enemy in the judge's seat, the witnesses bought, Graham was compelled to resign his see. Schevez, who had conveyed the sentence to the pontiff, was chosen in his room. Not content with his downfall, seeing, too, that he bore all insults with a brave heart, Graham's enemies took steps to have him confined in some secluded monastery with four guards around him: Inchcolm was their choice,—rock rather than island. Thence, three years after, when war had arisen and there was fear of the English fleet, he was taken across to Dunfermline, thence again to the castle of Loch Leven. There at last he died, the victim of years and distress, a man without a crime proved, inferior to none of his time in learning and in character.”¹

¹ As Graham entered the University in 1452 he was probably at his death about forty-five years of age. The reference to the English fleet, taken with that to the courts of princes, in the account of the trial, suggests that he had sought the help of the English king.

Bishop Lesley states that Graham was committed as a prisoner to the keeping of Schevez, afterwards archbishop, and that he was first transported "to St Colmis Insche, and fra that to Dumfermling, and last to Loch levin, quhar he deit, and wes buryit in Sainct Sarffis Yle in Lochelevin."¹

Drummond of Hawthornden narrates that Graham, "prisoner in *Dumferling*, a man desolate and forgotten, as if there had not been such a man in the world," hearing that James was associating with astrologers and soothsayers, sent him a letter, declaring "that there was no other difference betwixt Necromancy and Astrology, saving that in one, men run voluntarily to the Divel, and in the other ignorantly. Humanity attains not to the secrets above, and if it did, it is not wise enough to divert the wisdom of heaven, which is not to be resisted, but submitted unto; that never any had recourse to these Arts, but they had fatal ends; that Almighty providence permitting that to befall them out of his justice of necessity, which before the Oracle was sought, was scarce contingent; that he should rest upon the Almightyes Providence, and then all things would succeed well with him, whose favors would waft him out of the surges of uncertainties." Drummond adds that "after

¹ Appendix, XVI.

this free opening of his minde, Patrick Graham was removed out of *Dumferling* to the castle of *Lockleven*, . . . where in a short time he left the miseryes of this world." The gentle reader of the pious warning against the sin of astrology will suspect that the voice was not the voice of Graham, and the hand was the hand of Drummond.

By the judgment of Rome the first Archbishop of St Andrews was a heretic, schismatic, blasphemmer, and perjurer ;¹ and the charity which would cover a multitude of sins may urge that insanity was the cause rather than the result of his troubles. Buchanan represents him as driven to distraction by debt and loss of income, and makes Schevez the coadjutor his persecutor and his judge. By the historian's account trifling, ridiculous, and even incredible charges were preferred, and witnesses were bribed. Schevez, it is represented, had a grievance which made him a bitter enemy. He was educated at Louvain under a celebrated physician and astrologer, and his reputation for astrology found him a place and secured his advancement at the Scottish Court. Obtaining the nomination to the Archdeaconry of St Andrews, he sought and was refused admission at the hands of Graham, and

¹ "Hereticum, scismaticum, falsarium, simoniacum et irregularem, blasphemum et excommunicatum, perjurum."

this rejection led him to intrigue for the ruin of the bishop. Buchanan, however, does not seem to have known that Schevez and Graham were fellow-students in St Andrews and graduated in the same year,¹ and that the prelate could not refuse to induct to the archdeaconry on the ground of the candidate's insufficient training. There is certainly no reason to doubt the good faith of the commissioners engaged in Graham's trial, and the charges found proven may one and all bear the explanation that the offender was a poor lunatic and not a depraved criminal.

Buchanan begins his narrative of Graham and his misfortunes with the assertion that he "alone stayed the declining Church." The historical evidence, from which our judgment must be formed, does not, however, suggest that Graham was worthy to be named with Kennedy as a reformer of abuses. As Bishop of Brechin he tried to gather money not his due, and while Bishop of St Andrews was Commendator of the Priory of Pittenweem and the Abbey of Paisley. If there was truth in Malcolm Brydy's allegations he was a tyrant, and a prelate given to magnificent display; and, though an obedient servant of the pope, he was an unpatriotic Scot when he agreed,

¹ Act. Fac. Art.

as Apostolic nuncio, to levy taxes for a crusade. It is a problem whether in obtaining the erection of the archbishopric he sought merely his own distinction, or, braving opposition and enduring obloquy, laboured for the better organisation and unity of the Scottish Church. He received the pall and the cross, and these marked his exalted rank; but he obtained also the metropolitan authority, which freed his countrymen from appeals to Rome, and which placed in his hands the power to check the suffragan bishops. A metropolitan was needed in the Scottish Church.¹ Clement VII., the antipope, recognised the necessity; and, after a petition addressed to him to the effect that the immediate subjection of the bishops to Rome led to a delay of justice and sometimes to appeals to the secular power, granted to Walter Trail of St Andrews, in 1386, a faculty to decide without appeal causes lodged at the Apostolic see by bishops, ordinaries, and judges-delegate, and to invoke, if need be, the secular arm.² Almost a century after Clement's privilege, when the first metropolitan appeared, the

¹ "Nulli enim hactenus Metropolitano sed ecclesiæ tantum Romanæ nullo mediante juxta tenorem rescriptorum Summorum Pontificum, subjecti fuerant; et per annos plusquam ducentos assueti munia Metropolitanæ sub titulo conservatoris . . . vicissim exercere."—T. Innes, de Synod. vet. apud Scot. in Wilkin's Conc. Mag. Brit. et Hib., I. xxxi.

² Cal. Pap. Reg., iv. 252.

Scottish bishops would not receive him. Yet they had an excuse. The man who came to reign over them had done nothing to please them, and had offered no compensation for loss of freedom or of licence enjoyed. Graham, too, had not the merit of being either a tried and honoured statesman, or a saint with soul above the treasures of earth. He was but one of themselves who had gained the advantage in the general contest for place.

The policy which secured the erection of the Scottish archbishopric, whatever generous motives may have swayed or paltry ambitions may have dazzled Graham, was akin to the plan of the Stewart kings of the fifteenth century, who, for the consolidation of the realm and its settled rule, sought to break the power of the turbulent nobles. Quietness was not the fortune of these kings, and the first archbishop lost his reason. Unification, indeed, was necessary in the Church, if Scotland was to see the reform which in the fifteenth century was clamantly demanded throughout the West, and if the institution was to be quickened which professed to guide an advancing civilisation. A forward step was taken when Graham became Archbishop of St Andrews, and that step was enough to mark with national significance his episcopal reign. But his unhappy fate, the

sentence and punishment as a heretic and blasphemer, reveals a tragedy without one scene of courtesy or charity, and without one touch of chivalry save the mass which James IV. founded for the repose of his kinsman's soul.¹

¹ Appendix, XVII.

APPENDIX.

I.

ALEXANDER, writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury, asserted that the bishops of St Andrews had been wont to be consecrated by the pope or by an archbishop of Canterbury, and he repudiated the claims of York (Eadmer, lib. v. ; Hailes' Annals, i. 60). Before sending Eadmer the archbishop wrote to Henry I. and asked permission, which was given (Eadmer, lib. v.) The Archbishop of York shortly afterwards persuaded Henry to grant an interdict, and Henry then wrote to Alexander on his behalf (ibid.) The Pope gave orders that Eadmer should be consecrated by Thurston of York, and commanded Alexander to see that the Scottish bishops should not be consecrated without a mandate from York (Wilkin's Conc., i. 480).

II.

Lesley, in his 'History of Scotland,' says that Kennedy died on May 10, 1466. He was alive on July 2, 1465, and on the 18th of that month the see was described as vacant (Arbroath R. N., 145).

The editor of the Exchequer Rolls, vii. (Introd., 56), puts Kennedy's death between July 2 and July 18, 1465; but the July 2 he founds upon is 1464, not 1465. Graye's MS. (Adv. Lib.) gives May 30, 1465, as the obit; and Graye, secretary to Schevez and his successor the Duke of Ross, had immediate access to the records of the see. It is true that the Exchequer

Accounts of 1465, rendered after Graye's date, do not speak of the "late" bishop; but the entries in the Great Seal Register are at any rate not inconsistent with the supposition that Graye is right. Law's MS. (Laing Collection, Edinb. Univ.) gives 1465 as the year of Kennedy's obit. Balfour, in his *Vitæ Pontificum* (MS. in Adv. Lib.), states that Graham was elected and consecrated in 1466.

III.

Robert Graham of Fintry was the eldest son of Sir William Graham and Mary Stewart, sister of James I., and mother of Bishop Kennedy (R. M. S.) He appears to have married twice. Janet Lovell, who, if Macfarlane is right (*Geneal. Coll.*, ii. 296: cf. Douglas, 'Peerage,' ii. 272), was cousin of Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven, and daughter of the lady who tried to protect James I., was his first wife; and his second was Matilda Scrymgeour (Douglas Book, iii. 118). Patrick, the future archbishop, was probably the second son of the first marriage; his brother David was heir-apparent in 1466, and David's daughter was to marry the heir of Morton (Morton R., ii. 213). In 1476 David was dead, and his son Robert became heir-apparent (R. M. S., i. 1559; Douglas Book, iii. 119): a younger son, David (Douglas Book, iii. 107), is confused with his father (Book of the Grahams, 618; cf. Douglas Book, *ibid.*) The archbishop's father was raising money in 1465 (R. M. S., i. 833, 1082), but there is no indication beyond the date that the sum paid by St Salvator's College was to be used for the expenses of promotion to St Andrews. By his marriage with Matilda Scrymgeour, Robert Graham had a son John (Douglas Book, iii. 118), who is important for the Claverhouse line.

IV.

According to the rule accepted by Nicholas V., fourteen was the age for holding a cathedral prebend (Ottenthal, *Reg. Canc.*, 257). The procuring of such monetary aid for young and

noble students was a recognised custom. We find, for example, that a son, aged fifteen, of the Earl of Atholl held two prebends with other benefices when he was a student at St Andrews in the early days of the University (Papal Petitions, i. 609). William Forbes, Kennedy's nephew, must have been about sixteen in 1450 (Brechin R., ii. 402).

V.

Graham and his successor, Schevez, each granted a receipt to the Abbot of Arbroath for £160 Scots, which was probably obtained for the expenses of promotion (Arbroath R. N., 154, 183). On January 24, 1486, the abbot declared to the Abbot of Cupar that the abbey had never paid a promotion subsidy, and that money must have been therefore a contribution (*ibid.*, 241). On September 24, 1490, the abbot bound himself to Schevez and Andrew Martyn, his chamberlain, for a subsidy, payable at the term of Easter, Lammas, and Martinmas (*ibid.*, 266).

On October 1, 1461, Malcolm of Arbroath obtained privileges with regard to benefices in his presentation, so that in certain cases (such as exchanges) it was not necessary for him to obtain permission to act from his ordinary (Vatican Transcripts, Brit. Mus., 15834). On March 9, 1462, he secured the privilege that vicars of his churches of whatsoever diocese should be subject only to the Bishop of St Andrews, the diocesan of the Arbroath monastery (Theiner, 435).

VI.

The king claimed the right to admit to the temporalities. On June 22, 1452, the admission of Thomas Lauder to the temporalities of Dunkeld was registered under the Great Seal: "Quia dilectus clericus noster magister Thomas de Lauder ad episcopatum ecclesie Dunkeldensis electus, sue electionis confirmationem per sedem apostolicam gratiose est assecutus, et ad spiritualitatem dicte ecclesie per eandem sedem admissus, nos

itaque ipsum ad temporalitatem . . . admisimus &c." (Haddington Collect., Adv. Lib., i. 144 ; R. M. S., i. 578). The pope, on the other hand, did not admit the right of the Crown, as Paul II. in appointing Graham's successor in Brechin (November 1465) claimed to grant temporalities (Brechin R., ii. 413).

Another claim put forward by the Crown referred to the presentation to benefices during the vacancy of a see. The question was discussed in 1450, and the right was declared to belong to the Crown (A. P., ii. 37). In 1462, after a reference to the recognition of his right by Provincial Councils, it was precisely stated that the Crown disposed, *sede vacante*, of all benefices under ecclesiastical patronage, and of elective secular benefices, such as dignities immediately subordinate to the episcopal, and of all other benefices immediately reserved, generally or specially (*ibid.*, 83).

VII.

On August 2, 1466, Paul II. appointed the Archbishop of Arles and the Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow commissioners to inquire regarding Coldingham (Vatican Transcripts, Brit. Mus., 15385). Graham attended Parliament in 1467. In February of that year he was one of the commissioners to induct William Knollys into the preceptory of Torphichen (*ibid.*) In 1468 he was at Cambuskenneth (Chart. Cambus., 293), was elected one of the Lords of the Articles, and on November 28 received with others a safe-conduct to pass through France, Brittany, Flanders, and Picardy (C. D. S. : in the Rot. Scot., ii. 420b, the date is given as November 29, 1466).

Documents in the R. M. S. (i. 975, 986, 988, 989, 991) show his attention to business in Scotland from January 24, 1469, till May 21, 1470. From the Act. Fac. Art. (March 8, 1469, and April 9, 1470) it is apparent that Graham was in Scotland. On November 3, 1467, he granted a tack of lands to John Erskine of Dun, but this transaction did not require his presence in Scotland (Spalding Misc., iv. 6). It may be stated here

that on February 13, 1469, he conferred the archdeaconry of Lothian on Nicholas Graham by ordinary authority. The pope declared the proceeding informal, and conferred it anew (Vatican Transcripts, Brit. Mus., 15385).

A History of the Church of Scotland (Adv. Lib. MSS., 34. 5. 21.) says that the Boyds and Kennedys being at variance, the Boyds would not let Graham (*i.e.*, with the king's licence) proceed to Rome, and speaks of the bishop's intention to reform abuses and of the fears of those who sought to buy benefices at Rome.

On October 1, 1467, Graham and his chapter erected the collegiate church of Dalkeith into a parochial church, distinct from Lasswade (Colleg. Churches of Midloth., Appendix).

VIII.

The custom in France of "commending" monasteries to bishops was discussed in 1464 by the cardinals (Raynaldus, 1464, 71), and there was plain speaking about the fatal effects of the custom for papal prestige in that country. Paul II. stated that there had been, he thought, some 500 cases since the time of Calixtus III. It was pointed out that the original purpose of the procedure had been to wrest from secular persons monastic property wrongfully detained, or to secure a better observance of divine service. The question of commends came up in the Scottish Parliament of 1466. Whatever were the personal factors in the situation, it was decided that all commends "of new and of old," except those for six months, which an ordinary might grant, were forbidden and rendered void, under pain of losing the temporality of the benefice already held.

IX.

In 1424 an Act of the Scottish Parliament was passed against the purchase of pensions and benefices (A. P., ii. 5): clerks were to obtain permission before passing beyond the

sea. The king in a parliament inhibited the Bishop of St Andrews from proceeding upon a papal mandate, and proposed to lay the question of purchased pensions before the Holy See (*ibid.*, 6). In 1428 it was enacted that clerks going abroad should interview their ordinary and then the Chancellor of the realm, promising to do no barratry: no supply of money was to be given to any one outside the country who was acting in the contrary (*ibid.*, 16). If purchase of pensions was illegal, the practice of dismembering benefices in this way was tacitly recognised in 1466 (*ibid.*, 85), when it was enacted that the consent of parties should be obtained. The bishops of Rome were not fettered by any Act of the Scottish Parliament, and we find that on September 3, 1466, Paul II. ordered the Bishop of Glasgow and others to carry out the directions given in previous papal letters regarding a pension (*Adv. Lib., Original Charters*, 14).

X.

In a letter dated at Rome, on the 27th January 1471, and addressed to the Bishop of St Andrews and the provost, canons, and chapter of St Salvator's, Paul II. referred to an indulgence granted by Pius II. and to be valid for ten years. It appears from Pope Paul's words that no money from the sale had been forwarded to Rome. He insisted that a third part of the money collected in the ten years should be sent to the papal treasury through Ferguson, Archdeacon of Lothian, the collector for Scotland (*Bliss's Transcripts, General Series, 1435-1535, 62*). In 1471 Pope Paul intimated to James IV. that Ferguson was appointed collector for the kingdom; and he asked the king to give assistance in the carrying out of the work, and said that, "owing to expenses in the work of faith, this is much needed" (*ibid.*)

Graham's seal appended to an instrument, 1469, in St Salvator's is thus described: "Pointed oval: in a carved gothic niche with ornamental canopy, enclosing in a canopied niche a representation of the Holy Trinity, a figure of St Andrew

crucified on a saltire cross, supported on a shield of arms: Scotland, ensigned with a crown. In the side niches, enriched with architectural canopies, a full-length figure of an angel with nimbus and long cross on the l.-h. side, and on the r.-h. side a sainted bishop or archbishop with mitre and crozier. In base, under an original four-centred arch, with crocketings, the bishop with mitre and crozier, kneeling in profile to the l.-h. side in prayer, between two shields of arms: *dex.* on a chief engrailed three escallop shells, two and one, within a royal tressure, Graham or Græme: *sin.* on a chief three escallops, Graham. Legend on a ribbon or scroll: S · patricii · dei · gracia · episcopi · s(ancti) · andree" (Catal. of Seals in Brit. Mus., iv. 14935; Laing's Catal., 872).

XI.

The Act of 1471 was obviously passed in the interests of the kingdom, and it reveals very clearly the economic motive of its framers. Scottish clerks were purchasing benefices, hitherto granted at home, and "offices of collectory": under stress of competition they betrayed statistical secrets, and enabled the Holy See to obtain a higher taxation than was entered in Bagimond's roll. To retain the "innumerable riches" which thus went out of the realm, the Parliament ordered that there should be elections to benefices, where these were customary, and that there should be no increase upon Bagimond's assessment and no unions of benefices to bishoprics, abbacies, or priories. There was concession only in respect of secular colleges which had been so frequently founded in the century, and for which lords and barons might still purchase annexations.

XII.

In December 1471 power was given to a legate to Germany to impose a tithe on ecclesiastics. Legates were also sent to France, Spain, and England (Raynaldus, 1471, 79; 1472, 4).

Graham was to impose a tax on the clergy, and may have required the authority of a *legatus a latere* to do so. Andrew Forman, at a later period, had the power of a *legate a latere*.

Raynaldus does not seem to draw a technical distinction between *internunciatus* and *legatus*.

XIII.

In 1466 and 1467 Graham confirmed mortifications for an altar and a chaplaincy in the Trinity Church, St Andrews; and similar mortifications were confirmed, not by the archbishop but by the king, in 1474 and 1476 (R. M. S.; Black Book of St Andrews). A transcript among St A. Univ. MSS. shows that on January 28, 1476, James confirmed a foundation for chaplaincies in St Salvator's.

The Exchequer Rolls furnish additional proof of unsatisfactory relations between Graham and the king. In 1461 Kennedy had appointed his own customer.¹ But from June 3, 1472, to July 1, 1474, the customers of St Andrews render account to the Exchequer of dues levied on goods coming from outside the regality.² No explanation is offered, though it is clear that the Crown claims this portion of the whole, and that there is a difficulty regarding the exact extent of the taxation. In February 1472 the ecclesiastical lords in a Parliament offered a contribution of £2000, if the king would refrain from leaving the country, and St Andrews was assessed for what would be a considerable proportion.³ Whether or not this is the key to the situation, it is clear that from July 1, 1474, to July 24, 1475, the Crown levied all the customs of St Andrews through Henry Schevez, brother of the future archbishop, and did so in view of a debt owing by Graham to the king.⁴

¹ See Martine, 83 ff.

² E. R., viii. 195, 251.

³ A. P., ii. 102: the document is mutilated.

⁴ E. R., viii. 318. See also T. A., i. 12., where there is reference to a sum of £500 belonging apparently to the account of 1472-3.

XIV.

In documents relating to the Princess Cecilia's dowry, Schevez, one of the commissioners, is variously described. In 1476 he is "archdeacon and vicar-general of St Andrews"; in 1477, "archdeacon and coadjutor and vicar-general"; while in 1478 he is "coadjutor of St Andrews," and is placed first among the commissioners (C. D. S., iv., Appendix 27, 1444, 1449). The appointment of a vicar-general shows that the prelate was absent from the country, or that the see was considered vacant.

In the charge against Graham was the statement, "litteras nostras apostolicas ausu temerario rasisse et falsificasse." It is not altogether impossible, as noted, that he may have wrongly described himself as a *legate a latere*.

In connection with the charge of simony, it may be pointed out that the fault, though grievous in the sight of Rome, may have been slight in reality. Cameron, Bishop of Glasgow, was blamed for Acts of the Scottish Parliament about collations of benefices (*i.e.*, the Acts of 1427 and 1428 against barratry), and was said to have collated simoniacally. Two cardinals reported that he was worthy of deprivation, but on the intercession of the king he was absolved, May 1430 (Papal Letters, vii. 18).

XV.

The rector of the University had a right, direct or indirect, of excommunication. There is an interesting case (Reg. Evid., 67) which illustrates his authority. In an instrument dated June 23, 1464, Richard Wyly, vicar of Dundee and "apostolic nuncio specially deputed for Scotland," commissary of the rector and supposts of the University of St Andrews, asks the Bishop of Dunblane, as a suppost, to obey the letters of John Lok, rector. The bishop promised to observe the privileges, "as if he had been prelate of St Andrews," according to the mandates

of the rector and the conservator of the privileges of the University. There was a question whether a parishioner in the diocese of Dunblane, excommunicated by the conservator, had been absolved by the bishop. The archdeacon of St Andrews appears to have been usually the conservator. Walter Stewart, the predecessor of Schevez, was archdeacon and conservator (Graye's MS.), as was also Alexander Inglis (Act. Fac. Art., February 1496). Schevez was made archdeacon in 1474, and if he held the post of conservator would be directly associated with the rector of the University. This connection with Lok, who according to Buchanan excommunicated Graham, may explain the alleged opposition of Schevez to the archbishop.

XVI.

The truth of the statement that Schevez, having the charge of Graham, sent him to Loch Leven, is borne out by the fact that Robert Douglas of Loch Leven and Schevez were afterwards intimately associated. Douglas had close financial connections with Schevez in 1489 (Act. Dom. Conc., 109), was a procurator in all his actions before the Lords Auditors (Act. Aud., 192), and was in 1490 a witness to a charter of Schevez (R. M. S., i. 2210).

XVII.

In Law's MS. it is said that Graham, the nephew of his predecessor James, was elected at Rome first Archbishop of Scotland. He is described as "Vir corporis forma pariter et scientia clarissimus," and it is added "sepulcrum etiam sancte Margarete jocale fabricari fecit. Insuper infectum pontem . . . le gardbrig sive gramis brig . . . complevit."

II.

WILLIAM SCHEVEZ.

GEORGE BUCHANAN, to whom is due the honourable reputation of Patrick Graham in the clerical annals of Scotland, is responsible for the ill-repute of the man who succeeded him in the archbishopric. William Schevez has been represented as the promoter of a mischievous intrigue against a most worthy prelate, to whose high office he aspired and attained. The virtue of that churchman, however, does not bear the tests of historical analysis, and the infamy of Schevez in like manner disappears.

The downfall of Graham was followed by the elevation of Schevez to the rank of coadjutor; and when the demented prelate died the coadjutor was raised to the full archiepiscopal dignity, and the protests against the establishment of a metropolitan over-lord ceased, as if none had ever been made. The king himself attended the ceremonies of the installation of the archbishop, and there remains the suspicion that

the royal and episcopal hostility to Graham was founded on distrust and implied hatred of the man.

Schevez, as he first appears on the printed pages of history, is a minor court official of whose family little is known;¹ but traces of his career before he entered the royal service have been found.

The minutes of the Faculty of Arts of the University of St Andrews show that William Schevez, a fellow-student with Patrick Graham, was a "determinant" in 1454, and two years later was presented fifth of the candidates for licence in Arts. On the 8th of June 1456 he was permitted *ascendere cathedram* along with two rich students, though by the statute only two such students at one time could obtain the privilege. In April 1460 he was a resident master in the University, when a question regarding the pedagogies was discussed by the Faculty; and in a minute of June 5 of the same year his name is again recorded. On February 28, 1463, he received a dispensation from the Faculty *uti vestibus suis ad suum beneplacitum*; and so late as March 9, 1470, he signed a conclusion of the Faculty.² His association with the University as a student and a member of the Faculty thus continued for many years,

¹ Appendix, I.

² Appendix, II.

and by education, at least, Archbishop Schevez was fitted for his great position.

Buchanan, who, as already noted, makes no mention of the fact that Schevez was a student and master in St Andrews, narrates that he studied for several years at Louvain under "John Spernic, a celebrated physician and astrologer"; and that on his return to Scotland he insinuated himself into the good graces of the courtiers, chiefly by his reputation for a knowledge of the celestial bodies. Spierinck, described as "medicinæ doctor et physicus," was rector of the University of Louvain in 1457, 1462, and 1479;¹ and as it is certain that Schevez practised medicine and was interested in astrology,² there is no reason to doubt his association with Spierinck.

Whatever his qualifications were, and whoever brought him to the king, Schevez was practising in 1471 as a physician at the Court. His professional services were rewarded by an annuity of £20, granted for three years; and it is recorded that in 1473 the same amount was paid

¹ Reusens, *Doc. de Louvain*, i. 256. Appendix, III.

² Jaspard Laet de Borchloen in 1491 dedicated a book on astrology to Schevez (Appendix, III.) In 1516 was published "La grant et vraye prenostication nouvelle de Louvain pour lan de grace Mil. cinq cens et xvi, faict par moy Jaspard laet, medicin et astrologue de la puychante universite de Louvain." One of the predictions is Du royaume descosse ("Secrets des Reliures" in 'Revue de Bibliothèques,' Juillet-Août, 1906).

in full discharge of the annuity. In the following year, though he had attained the position of Archdeacon of St Andrews, he received £20 by mandate of the king;¹ and that money was probably a continuation of his medical fee, since the archidiaconal functions did not prevent him from trafficking in drugs for the king. He obtained "certane potigariis" from Bruges for the royal patient, and ordered Kirkcaldy and Wille Pringill to take green ginger at divers times.² The physician extended his attention from drugs to clothing, and made payment for "the sewing of the king's sarks." Rising to higher things, he bought velvet for His Majesty, and even looked after the silver for the harness of three horses.³ More interesting still, the future Archbishop of St Andrews gave forty-eight shillings on behalf of the king to the St Nicholas bishops of the abbey and the town. The payment was made to the boy bishops of the churches of Holyrood and St Giles, who, according to a fashion of the times, played the parts of prelates, and even celebrated mass.⁴

As physician or as house-steward Schevez had certain perquisites. The king gave him oats for two horses, bought "three elne of chamlot . . .

¹ E. R., viii, 120, 190, 253. In Law's MS. he is styled *medicus*.

² T. A., i, 21, 23.

³ *Ibid.*, 18, 28.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 68.

to eke furth Maister William Sevas gowne," and bestowed two and a half "elne" of velvet for a doublet.¹ For some time in his early career Schevez held the post of master of the hospital of Brechin, and the bare fact without details of circumstance is known from a confirmation, granted in 1478 by James III., of a gift of land made *in tenera sua etate* to his clerk, William Schevez, coadjutor of St Andrews, once master of the hospital.²

Good fortune attended Schevez and favoured his rapid promotion. On or before July 1, 1474, he was elevated to the archdeaconry of St Andrews.³ Walter Stewart, whether by choice or compulsion, had resigned *apud sedem*; and on July 12 the transference of the benefice was completed by the payment of sixty-eight florins to the papal treasury.⁴ Buchanan, giving no dates for the precision of his narrative, asserts that Patrick Graham re-

¹ E. R., viii. 182. T. A., i. 56, 58.

² R. M. S., i. 1358. The phrase "*nostra tenera in etate*" was used in another document by James in connection with Schevez (*vide infra*, p. 96), and it is not therefore improbable that Schevez was at the Court before 1469, when James took the reins of government.

³ (E. R., viii. 253.) A manuscript history of the See of St Andrews (Adv. Lib., 34. 5. 10.) states that Schevez studied theology, medicine, and mathematics in Flanders, and that on his return he obtained the archdeaconry from James.

⁴ Bliss's Transcripts. Stewart was Archdeacon of Dunblane and rector of the University in 1444 (Univ. Com. Evid., iii. 176).

fused to admit Schevez,¹ who, out of revenge, united with John Lok, the rector of the University, in an intrigue for the archbishop's ruin. Spottiswoode, in a more detailed story, declares that Schevez obtained the king's recommendation, and that Graham "took exception at his studies and in the end gave him an absolute denial, as being insufficient for the charge, and otherwise not trained up in the knowledge of divinity." While there is no evidence that Schevez pursued a course of theology or law, after obtaining the Arts degree, there is the fact, alleged by Buchanan, that he prosecuted his studies at Louvain. By his training at St Andrews, however, he was better educated than many a man who, without a protest, was elevated to high clerical rank. It is not easy to accept the statements of Buchanan and Spottiswoode in view of the circumstance that Schevez, as master of the hospital of Brechin, was already in clerical orders when he was promoted to the archdeaconry; and it is to be remembered that the king, before nominating Schevez, was administering the episcopal lands, as if the bishopric was vacant. James would have contradicted

¹ The statement may be accurate. At an earlier time Graham refused "without reasonable cause" to collate on a presentation by the Abbot of Newbattle, and on April 18, 1469, the pope appointed commissaries to see that the benefice was given (Vatican Transcripts, Brit. Mus., 15385).

his own feudal action had he required Graham to confirm an appointment. Neither historian indicates how Schevez was admitted to the office; and admitted he was, since payment was duly made at Rome for his promotion, and since he was frequently designated archdeacon, and as such took his seat in the Parliaments.¹

Schevez lived in an age when there were benefices held with papal sanction by men who could not discharge the duties, and there is, therefore, no sign of gross corruption in the fact that in 1474, when he was Archdeacon of St Andrews, he was provost of the Church of Crichton, and was serving, as clerics were wont to do, as a notary public by apostolic and royal authority.²

The misfortunes which attended Graham throughout his archiepiscopal career furnished

¹ A. P., ii. 113. On March 3, 1477, he was designated archdeacon principal (R. M. S., i. 1281).

² The provostship was founded in 1449 (Colleg. Churches of Midloth., 310). The patron who succeeded to the lordship of Crichton in 1469, and who probably promoted Schevez, was afterwards involved in the Albany conspiracy (Scott, *Provinc. Antiq.*, 9). In connection with an instrument relating to the English marriage, drawn up at Edinburgh, October 24, 1474, Schevez acted as notary for Scotland (Rymer, xi. 824). Eubel (ii. 99) describes Schevez as "de Vultfalt," though the reference is unintelligible to us, and styles him Dean of Dunkeld and Canon of St Andrews. The latter title was doubtless written in place of archdeacon; and the former may possibly have been his, after the promotion in 1475 of Livingstone to the bishopric (*ibid.*, ii. 163).

Schevez with golden opportunities to render service to the see, and to foster his own advancement. In 1476 he acted as vicar-general, even while attending to the household business of the king;¹ and in the following year, after the commission to Huseman, he was recognised by the threefold designation of archdeacon, coadjutor, and vicar-general.² It was customary for the Bishop of St Andrews, if about to leave the country, to nominate his representatives, and when the see was vacant the prior of the monastery acted as vicar-general. It may be taken that Graham did not yield his cause by choosing the archdeacon as his substitute, and that it was the king who promoted Schevez.

In the year 1477 Schevez served as an auditor and as a Lord of Council, and also entered into an alliance, by a bond of manrent, with the Earl of Errol, Constable of Scotland, and agreed to support him in his just causes, saving his allegiance to the king.³ As the sole executor of a bull granted by Sixtus IV., Schevez, under the style of archdeacon, issued

¹ C. D. S., iv., appendix 27. In 1476 he granted a receipt to the moneyer for £56, 8s. 4d., collected for the king (E. R., viii. 392). On October 24, 1476, he signed a Privy Seal Document (Spalding Club Misc., iv. 134).

² C. D. S., iv. 1444.

³ E. R., viii. 401. Brechin R., i. 200, 206. Spalding Club Misc., ii. 252.

a decret regarding places of the Dominicans in St Andrews and St Monans;¹ and as coadjutor of the metropolitan see ratified an indenture between the provost, bailies, and council of St Andrews, and the chaplains of the Town Church.²

The deposition which closed the episcopal life of Graham left the See of St Andrews vacant, and opened the way for the elevation of the coadjutor.³ According to Lesley, the installation took place on "Passione Sunday in lentrene in Halyrude hous"; but that date is incorrect, since Schevez was described on June 17, 1478, as "elect and confirmed," and on July 27 as "elect confirmed."⁴ The installation, however, took place before October 16. On that day, when acting as a Lord of Council, he was officially styled archbishop.⁵ The appointment created no serious opposition, though it appears that Livingstone, Bishop

¹ Writs of the city of St Andrews, Abstract 53. The bull is dated March 18, and the decret December 14, 1477.

² *Ibid.*, Abstract 142. The charter is dated January 31, 1478.

³ Eubel (ii. 99) refers to two entries in *Obligazioni*, September 13, 1476, and February 11, 1478. The one must refer to the coadjutorship and the other to the bishopric.

⁴ E. R., viii. 476, 558. He is still "confirmed," August 18 (Fraser's 'Lennox,' ii. 117).

⁵ Act. Dom. Conc. Ferrerius says the installation took place on Passion Sunday, 1479. Balfour in his 'Vitæ Pontificum' (Adv. Lib. MSS.) gives the date as June 9, 1478. According to a writing in the Black Book of St Andrews (fol. 8), the date 15th May 1481 is in the third year of Schevez' consecration.

of Dunkeld, was desirous of promotion to St Andrews.¹

The archbishop was a man of probably forty years at his accession. He was a "determinant" in the University of St Andrews in 1454, and must have entered in 1452. Fourteen or fifteen was the customary age at which students for a first time matriculated, and it may be concluded from a rough calculation that Schevez was at or near his fortieth year when he was consecrated. His University career as a student and master, if it did not specially qualify him for archiepiscopal duty, did not certainly render him unsuited for the control and guidance of the clergy. His misfortune was, as he was to discover throughout his troubled career as a prelate and statesman, that he had neither genius nor intellectual strength to overcome the impediment of his social rank. He was not allied to any of the great families, and he had to act with and against men proud of their names. In the Church there was no law to govern promotions according to class distinctions, and the pope himself who was reigning when Schevez was appointed to St Andrews had risen from the lowest of social positions. The archbishop could not indeed be counted an

¹ Myln, Vit. Episc. Dunk., 26.

adventurer, or be classed with the humble favourites of the king, yet it was his misfortune to be called to a great position without social tradition to free him from scorn, or intellectual power to give him a command of men.

Spottiswoode, while aware that Huseman was the papal commissioner, associates the vicar-general with him in the trial of Graham, and asserts that "the sentence pronounced, Schevez posted to Rome, got the sentence approved, and was himself provided to the archbishopric." Schevez, however, did not act as a judge. Certain cardinals, as already noted, examined the evidence collected by Huseman, and reported to the pope, who, on January 9, 1478, passed sentence of deposition. It is probable that Schevez proceeded to Rome in connection with the coveted promotion. He was in Scotland on January 31¹ and June 17,² but did not attend the Parliaments held between these dates.

It was not necessary, however, that he should visit the papal Court in order to present his claims for the archbishopric. He enjoyed the favour of the king; and any candidate opposing him, since he had conducted the business of the see throughout the period of Graham's misfortunes, would have found the path to

¹ C. D. S., iv. 1449.

² E. R., viii. 476.

promotion beset with difficulties. If he did go to Rome he could have had few opportunities of conferring with Sixtus IV., who was occupied with plans for the consolidation of the papal dominions, and involved in an intrigue for the assassination of Lorenzo di Medici. The nameless youth who entered the Franciscan Order, and passed from its generalship to the papal chair as Sixtus IV., was a busy schemer and an unscrupulous plotter, who shortly after his elevation centred his interests in Italian politics, and did not concern himself to advance the welfare of the Church.

The initial business connected with the promotion may have been entrusted to Robert Blackader, who was the king's "orator" at the Court of Sixtus.¹ There is evidence that Schevez and Blackader, though afterwards opposed in the matter of the Glasgow archbishopric, were in friendly association. The Church of Lasswade had been united by a papal bull to the table of St Andrews; and yet in 1478 Blackader was able to obtain sanction at Rome for the erection of a hospital and the endowment of an attached rectory at Lasswade, and also for the establishment, from the residue of the fruits of Lasswade, of a prebend in St Salvator's Church, St

¹ Theiner, 481-4.

Andrews, which he himself was to hold. The See of St Andrews, even during the vacancy, could not have been despoiled to the amount of £150, the annual value of these fruits, had not consent been given or opposition withheld by the conservator of its privileges.¹ That officer was not likely to act merely as a disinterested benefactor; and the prebend was probably a part of the payment which he made to Blackader for his good offices in connection with the archbishopric, as was also the archdeaconry of St Andrews, vacated by Schevez on his elevation. On August 18, 1478, Blackader was archdeacon when he appointed procurators, in the archbishop's chamber in the king's palace at Edinburgh, to make notification to the Bishop of Glasgow regarding a papal provision on his behalf for the rectory of Govan.² Blackader, who was afterwards to be elevated to the diocese of Glasgow, and to be successful in raising it to an archbishopric, is an excellent example of the Scottish ecclesiastics who in the century before the Reformation ascended to famous places, and as they rose, marked their steps by intrigue and jobbery, rather than by honourable duties for the wel-

¹ Theiner, 481-4. In 1487 Schevez still claimed Lasswade as united to his table (Colleg. Churches of Midloth., 273).

² Hist. MSS. Rep., iii. 390. Fraser's 'Lennox,' ii. 117.

fare of the state or spiritual services for the Church.

The destiny which elevated and degraded Patrick Graham produced rapid changes in the career of his successor. Within four years Schevez passed from the humble work of a keeper of the king's wardrobe, and the more honourable functions of a Court physician, to the duties of an archdeacon and the dignity of an archbishop.

In the first years after his elevation Schevez was in intimate association with the king, as his signature to royal charters shows.¹ He was more than a courtier, however, and, though never a great statesman, employed himself in the public business.² From time to time he was a member of the Standing Committee or Commission of Parliament, was one of the Lords of Council, and was also one of the auditors.³

A warrant was issued, August 18, 1479, in the king's name and in that of Schevez, to collect money from the lands in the county of Edinburgh, probably towards the payment of the subsidy voted by Parliament for the

¹ R. M. S., various dates in February, April, July, August, &c., 1479; also in January, May, December, &c., 1480.

² Balfour (*Vitæ Pontif.*, Adv. Lib. MS.) gives him credit for being a clerical reformer.

³ A. P., ii. 122. Act. Dom. Conc. E. R., viii.

Princess Margaret's marriage.¹ In the sphere of the archbishop's official interests there is a note of William Elphinstone, afterwards famous as the Bishop of Aberdeen, appearing on his behalf before the Lords of Council in the matter of the letting of certain lands.² There is, too, the note of a mortification made in Perth *pro salute animarum Wil. Schives, S. And., &c.*, which may have been no more than a token of courtesy, and may not have implied a special concern for the prelate's eternal welfare on the part of a pious well-wisher.³

As occupant of the See of St Andrews, Schevez was Chancellor of the University. While he has left no mark on the University, as his predecessors Wardlaw and Kennedy and his successors James and David Beaton have done, he was not unmindful of its interests. On June 2, 1479, he freed from taxation, to which as holders of benefices they were subject, certain rectors and vicars resident in the University, and acted in pursuance of exemptions granted by James I. and James II.⁴ The archbishop, doubtless, intended by his generosity to foster learning among his clergy. In the transaction, too, he

¹ Bannatyne Misc., iii. 427.

² Act. Dom. Conc., 21. There is a record that Elphinstone, "elect and confirmed" of Ross, was commissary-general of Schevez and official of Lothian ('The Melvilles,' iii. 49).

³ R. M. S., i. 1435.

⁴ Univ. Com. Evid., iii. 179.

was courteous to the memory of kings, even though they had interfered in financial regulations of the Church.

The history of the Scottish Church was singularly uneventful in the years after that in which Schevez began to rule as metropolitan within its boundaries and to guard its privileges. There is no memorial of his zeal for religion, and no statute speaks of his endeavours for reform; but the archbishop is seen as the vigilant caretaker of the privileges of his office. A parliament ratified on March 9, 1479, the Act of 1469 which gave the bishops of St Andrews the confirmation of appointments of abbots and priors within the diocese; and on October 7 the king, with consent of the three estates, confirmed, ratified, and approved all gifts and grants from his predecessors to the See of St Andrews. Schevez in obtaining this Golden Charter, as Martine names it, gave an assurance to Davidson, the Prior of Pittenweem, that "for their times" the rights of holders of annexed benefices would not be prejudiced.¹ In the following year, on July 9, the king renewed the charter of James II. ratifying gifts to the Church of St Andrews, and also confirmed to Schevez and his successors the privileges he and former bishops had obtained. The royal

¹ Davidson was still prior in 1489 (Fraser's 'Wemyss,' ii. 115).

document was granted under the Great Seal and, apparently to enhance its authority, under the seals of prelates, barons, and freeholders.¹ Legal requirements were not satisfied with the one document, and on the same day James confirmed all grants and annexations, and also all indults made in favour of the see, notably that of Nicholas V. to Kennedy, and all other liberties granted by Sixtus IV. to Schevez.² The king's words indicated his most gracious favour, and whatever exaggeration was due to the formal style of a royal document, they showed him in friendly association with the prelate. James wrote in these terms: "Pro singulari favore, zelo, et dilectione, quos gerimus erga reverendissimum in Christo patrem, Willielmum Schevez, archiepiscopum sedis metropolitanæ Sti Andreae, nostrum conciliarium intime dilectum, propter sua merita servitia gratuita atque fidelia nobis nostra tenera in ætate et longo tempore impensa ratificavimus, approbavimus," &c.³

The Golden Charter secured the rights and privileges of the See of St Andrews, and recognised, though not for the first time, the occupant as archbishop. Schevez, even with the papal sanction for his metropolitan rank and office,

¹ R. M. S., i. 1444.

² Ibid., 1443.

³ Quoted in full in Martine. Appendix, IV.

would welcome the assent of the king and of a Parliament which Patrick Graham knew not how to obtain. When the document had been received the friendly association with the king continued, and was marked on the part of James by a grant of lands in Fife to John, son and heir - apparent of Henry Schevez of Gilquhas who was the brother of the archbishop.¹

The years passed, and beyond the labour and trouble of obtaining the Golden Charter, the archbishop was singularly free from worry and turmoil, while he attended parliaments, served as an auditor, witnessed charters, confirmed a mortification for a chaplaincy in the Trinity Church, St Andrews,² and obtained numerous small payments on account of the Priory of Restenot.³

Archbishop though he was, with a power to convene the clergy for religious or ecclesiastical purposes such as had been given to, and on occasion been exercised by, the conservator of the privileges of the Church, Schevez did not call assemblies in the hope of quickening the spiritual life of the people, checking abuses, and promoting reforms. The bishops of Rome, by use and wont in at least the latter half of

¹ R. M. S., i. 1467, cf. No. 2210.

² Black Book of St Andrews, f. 5.

³ E. R., ix. 133, &c.

the fifteenth century, were not watchful over religion within the bounds of Christendom, and there was no one, therefore, to incite prelates like Schevez to pursue a holy life. It is a miserable plea that the Archbishop of St Andrews was not worse in character and more heedless of pious duties than almost all the dignitaries of his time, and that he was a churchman rather than a priest, and a statesman rather than a churchman. The Church was an organisation for the advancement of religion, and the man who had the foremost place in the Church in Scotland did little or nothing for religion.

The commonplace and quiet life of the prelate was to be roughly disturbed by the tragedies which disgraced the royal house and ruined the national peace. The king was a recluse when, with lawless nobles rampant in their parts of Scotland, he should have been the first statesman in the land; and he was gazing at the stars, with their secrets of the future, when he should have been the leader of an armed host. His associates were not those who bore the great names in Scotland, and the nobles saw an architect, a musician, and a tailor among the favourites of their king. James had two brothers who, despising the ways of a recluse, loved fighting, as Scotsmen had ever done. The Duke of

Albany, the elder of the two, was afterwards recognised in France, according to Bishop Lesley, as the "father of chivalry." Lindsay of Pit-scottie declares that Albany "loved nothing so well as able men and good horse," and that the Earl of Mar, the younger of the brothers, "knew nothing but nobility." James quarrelled with the princes, and, believing that they were conspiring against him, cast them into prison. Mar died, and the death was remembered against the king. Albany escaped to France, and Louis XI., who did nothing from sheer goodwill, befriended him and then made use of him. A messenger was sent to Scotland to bring about a reconciliation of the brothers; and the King of France endeavoured, through Albany, to incite the Scots to war against the English, as his peace was being threatened by an alliance of Edward of England with Maximilian of Austria. The plotting of Louis was successful, and the Scots, in 1480, without cause of strife, but willing as ever to fight their old enemies, crossed the Border.¹ The battle was no more than one of the petty feuds in which the two countries had often engaged. Edward, however, did not forget his

¹ On April 28, 1480, the nephew of Sixtus IV. received a commission as legate to Scotland, and also to France, England, and Maximilian's dominions, "to make the crooked straight and the rough places plain," and to secure peace. He did not, however, reach Scotland (Raynaldus, 1480, 36).

troublesome neighbours, and in 1481 sent a fleet into Scottish waters, which, after many repulses, captured no fewer than eight vessels. The Scots were eager for revenge, and made ready an army which James was to lead. A papal nuncio, however, who was in England, forbade the combatants to go further; and while the Scots obeyed, the English pursued the attack.¹ Balfour, in his 'Annales,' presents an account of the nuncio which, doubtless, repeats what was told in tradition. Edward IV., he says, uses a very cunning trick: "he trimns up a knawishe mounke in the habit of the pope's legat, sends him to the Scott's campe, and ther, in the pope's name, thunders out excommunicationes and curses against the king and his haill armye, if they should at this tyme proceid aney further in hostile maner aganist England, and hinder so religiouss and pious a worke as the invasione of the enemies of the crosse of Christ, Turkes and Mores. . . . The facile king tooke all this trumprey for good coyne, and presently, without more enquiry, licentiats his armye."

In 1482 Scotland made preparations for renewing the war, and again it was resolved that James should lead the army. Albany at this

¹ In 1483 a payment was allowed which had been made "cuidam Gelicane, nuncio apostolico" (E. R., ix. 218).

juncture appears once more in the chronicle of his nation. On June 10 he entered into treaty with Edward, and styled himself "Alexander, King of Scotland by the gift of the King of England." Balliol's treachery lived again in the prince of the house of Stewart. Promising homage to the English king, Albany pledged himself to hand over territories in Scotland, and to break the treaty with France.¹ In company with the Duke of Gloucester, and a fit companion for him, he marched to the Border. Nothing was done to stay the progress of the English troops, and their approach simply quickened a revolt of some of the Scottish nobles. Angus, afterwards known as "Bell the Cat," entered the presence of his king, scolding and menacing him; and then proceeded with his companions in rebellion to hang certain of the royal favourites at Lauder Bridge, and to lead James himself to a prison in the castle of Edinburgh. The death of the favourites was a political reform and a social purification in the eyes of Angus and his friends. It was a strange act, however, to get rid of the architect and the tailor when their master was needed for the command of the army, and a still stranger act to disband that army when the English were at the Border. Gloucester and Albany

¹ Rymer, xii. 156.

occupied Berwick, and then marched to Restalrig, where they encamped.¹ The English, however, were not strong enough to subdue Scotland and to give Albany the crown. Inactive though the Scots were, through their divisions, they would not have set aside James in favour of his brother, who was openly showing himself in the company of the enemies of the land.

The duke found, indeed, that the hour of his triumph had not yet come, and that he must still trust to intrigue. Overtures were accordingly made to the representatives of the royal prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh; and on August 2, 1482, Schevez, James of Dunkeld, Lord Avondale the Chancellor, and the Earl of Argyll, obliged themselves to provide a safe-conduct for the duke, and to obtain remission for him and his adherents, with restoration to lands and offices, if they would pledge their allegiance to the king and his successors.² These men, who acted as a council of regency, recognised their power when they undertook to cause "James to restore him"; and they knew, and probably the Scottish people did not know, that they were treating with a rebel who had been "in England aspiring and tending to the throne of Scotland."

¹ Drummond of Hawthornden. Pope Sixtus congratulated Edward of England on Gloucester's victory over the Scots, and urged peace (Raynaldus, 1482, 43).

² C. D. S., iv. 1479.

The king's enemies were to be pardoned, but his favourites had been hanged.

Schevez and those acting with him in name of the king were undoubtedly trafficking with a traitor when they made terms with Albany. There is nothing in their conduct, however, to suggest that they themselves were unfaithful to James. There was no strong party in the country to fight the king's battle, and he himself was a prisoner, while Albany had his English associates with him near Edinburgh. The archbishop and the Chancellor were powerless to punish the duke, and were, doubtless, satisfied to ignore his treachery and to obtain from him a pledge of allegiance.

Albany gave the pledge and obtained his freedom. From some motive, which was certainly not brotherly affection, he secured the release of the king, who was in the keeping of his uncle, the Earl of Atholl.¹ It may have been that the imprisonment, for no national policy, was recognised by Albany as injurious to his own popularity, and that he trusted to rule the king, if he had him by his side. James, on obtaining his freedom, rewarded his brother with the Earldom of Mar.²

Towards the close of the eventful year, on

¹ Drummond of Hawthornden, *History*, 101.

² R. M. S., i. 1541.

December 11, a Parliament appointed Albany Lieutenant-General of the realm;¹ and James, fickle as ever in character, agreed to bestow power and honour on the man who had consorted with Scotland's enemies and had intrigued for the crown.

Schevez, it is to be noted, was not present when the Parliament gave Albany his place and authority, and it is to be counted to his credit that he did not forsake his king to help an unscrupulous usurper. Bishop Lesley states that Albany, with Avondale and other nobles, governed the country in the later period of the king's imprisonment, and tells that they, along with Schevez and Argyll, passed to Stirling to visit the queen and her son, and that by her advice Albany went secretly to Edinburgh for the king's release. After narrating that Argyll, Schevez, and Avondale fled in great fear to their own countries, when they heard of that release, Lesley adds, "quhairthrow the said archebischop of St Androis, at the request of the king and the duik, resignit the bischoprik of St Androis in favouris of Maister Andro Stewart, Provest of Glentclowden, and wes content with the bischoprik of Murey for the same."²

A few weeks after the meeting of the Par-

¹ A. P., ii. 143.

² See also Ferrerius, 396.

liament which had elevated him to his place of dominion, the Lieutenant-General of Scotland renewed his plotting, and, on February 11, 1483, made a compact with Edward of England, who covenanted to help him to the crown.¹ Edward required that he himself should be acknowledged as the sovereign lord of the Scottish king and nation, and was pleased to get, through treachery, the mastery which an English king had not obtained at Bannockburn. Albany's scheme was soon made known to James, who, still infirm of purpose, pardoned when he should have punished. A concordat was arranged between the brothers, and the Indenture, as it is generally called, was signed by Albany on March 19, 1483.² James undertook to receive his brother into favour, and to grant under the Great Seal a full remission of his treasons; while Albany agreed to discharge certain persons in England and Scotland, among whom was Andrew, Bishop-elect of Moray, from treasonable obligations into which they had entered with him. The duke also promised to befriend Schevez, and to abstain from abetting the Bishop-elect of Moray in taking advantage of a pretended resignation which the archbishop had been compelled to tender through force and fear. The Indenture in this con-

¹ Rymer, xii. 173.

² A. P., Index vol., p. 31.

nection made mention of pretended procurators of resignation.

James, careful that justice should be done to the man who had been beside him in his tender youth, and whom he had promoted to the archbishopric, required Albany to yield any advantage he had gained over Schevez. The archbishop, as is evident from a signature to a document dated January 22,¹ had been received once more into the friendly association with the king which no disloyalty of his had interrupted. Our older historians, however, have represented him as unfaithful.² Lesley wrote as if he believed that Schevez, by his own action, lost the royal favour and resigned the archbishopric, while Drummond of Hawthornden pictured him as involved with Albany. Balfour, in his 'Annales,' went so far as to say that Andrew Stewart was "solely consecrat" archbishop. Schevez undoubtedly resigned, or made a pretended resignation, and the incident is in itself a proof that he had not given his allegiance to Albany. The honourable mention, too, of his name in the Indenture is to be in-

¹ R. M. S.

² On August 2, 1482, Edinburgh bound itself for the completion of the marriage with the Princess Cecilia or for repayment of money. The bond was made in presence of Gloucester, Albany, James of Dunkeld, Northumberland, Argyll, Stanley, and Alexander Inglis, Archdeacon of St Andrews. Schevez was not associated with these men (Rymer, xii. 161).

terpreted as a token of the king's courtesy to one who had suffered in his cause.

Stewart, the son of the Black Knight of Lorn by Jane Beaufort, was uterine brother of James II. As a boy of twelve years he obtained benefices from Pope Calixtus, and in August 1482, when he was "a man a little under forty," was provided to the see of Moray.¹ Drummond of Hawthornden narrates that the Scottish nobles opposed to James sent the "elected Bishop of Moray" with Lord Darnley to the Duke of Gloucester to arrange a peace; and the mission, if it took place, indicates that the prelate-elect was without loyalty to his king, even if the love of country constrained him. Ambitious of a greater see than that of Moray, he was ready to ally himself with Albany. It is plain, however, that, valuable though Andrew Stewart's influence and power might have been, Albany would have refused him at the price of alienating the support of Schevez. The archbishop did not consent to make himself the tool of a traitor, and the pretended resignation is to be accepted as a sign that Albany, unable to secure him, tried to force a partisan of his own into his place.

There is direct proof that Stewart was active

¹ Theiner, 395.

in the scheme for his own promotion. Along with the Earls of Atholl and Buchan and the Dean of Glasgow, on November 8, 1482, he granted relief to the burgh of Edinburgh, inasmuch as the burgh had bound itself through procurators for 6000 golden ducats of the camera, in case of his promotion to the archbishopric of St Andrews or other benefice, dignity, or privilege.¹ In the writing Stewart was named "elect and confirmed of Moray"; and his designation was "elect of Moray" and "Privy Seal" on November 16, when he witnessed a grant of privileges to Edinburgh for the part it had taken in the king's release.² Schevez was not one of the witnesses, and could not have been associated with Stewart, who was Albany's partisan, and was aspiring to and intriguing for the dignity of St Andrews. It is certain that in the last months of 1482 James and Schevez were cut off from each other, and it is possible that under Albany's influence the king favoured the promotion of his kinsman Stewart. When, however, the double dealing of the duke revealed itself anew, and the Indenture was signed, the interests of the archbishop were protected.

¹ Charters and Documents relating to Edinb., 154.

² *Ibid.*, 157.

Schevez cannot be accused of forsaking his king for the service of a self-seeking and unpatriotic prince; but the resignation of his high office lays him open to the charge of contemptible weakness. The Archbishop of St Andrews, at the bidding of an unstable king, or at the threat of a scheming prince, resigned his great position in the Church. There had been prelates in England who, with the courage of Hildebrand, withstood kings and rulers; and the Scottish people, not altogether ignorant of the name and fame of these men who had guarded their own rights and the privileges of their order, beheld the first cleric in their land consenting to his own disgrace. Schevez, though he had no powerful kinsman to aid him in a time of trouble, enjoyed in the Catholic Church, under the headship of the Bishop of Rome, a rank and dignity which no king could take away. The circumstances of the pretended resignation are almost unknown, and there is no record of menaces or persuasions; but the resignation itself tells that the man who gained the archiepiscopal chair of St Andrews had not the mind of Anselm or Becket, but had the heart of a menial who had been the domestic servant of the king.

Throughout the period of Albany's domination

the machinations of statesmen did not prevent the plottings of churchmen within their own domain. Blackader, who had been elected to Aberdeen in 1480, after the death of Spens,¹ was transferred to Glasgow on March 19, 1483, by Sixtus IV. The Pope asserted that in the lifetime of Bishop John Laing, who died on January 11, 1483,² he had reserved the see of Glasgow; but the chapter, in ignorance or defiance, elected George Carmichael. Blackader did not obtain the royal support, though he had received it when, acting as James's emissary in Rome, he was promoted to Aberdeen.³ The claims of Carmichael were pressed by George Brown, the king's orator in the papal court.⁴ The orator, however, was probably inspired by Albany, as the man whose elevation he urged was the follower of Angus who belled the cat.⁵ Schevez was somehow involved in the Glasgow contest. In his opposition to the papal nominee he was associated with Albany,—was probably coerced by him; and Sixtus, writing on April 13, 1483, threatened all who hindered Blackader's elevation with excommunication,

¹ Lesley says that Spens, on account of the troubles between England and Scotland, "deceisset of Malancolie."

² Keith's Calendar, 253.

³ Boethius, Vit. Episc. Aberd., 55.

⁴ Myln, Vit. Episc. Dunk., 27.

⁵ Douglas Book, iii. 436.

interdict, and deprivation, "etiam si archiepiscopali, abbatiali, ducali dignitate præfulgeant."¹ The pope, it may be noted, made no mention of the king. The threats from Rome were effective, and Blackader was promoted, though on July 9, 1483, Carmichael was still described as "elect of Glasgow."²

Throughout the year 1484 Schevez witnessed documents and attended uneventful meetings;³ and on one occasion, where the case had a family interest for himself, acted as an arbiter. Henry Schevez and Walter Heriot, disputing regarding the lands of Kemback, submitted themselves to his judgment;⁴ and the result was seen in the fact that the lands continued in the family of Henry Schevez, who, as early as November 2, 1484, was designated steward of regality to his brother.⁵ Martine states that "the office of marescall to the Lord Archbishop of St Andrews his house is annexed to the lands of Kembak in Fife, and was first bestowed on the Schevezes, heritors thereof, by William Schevez, archbishop, who was a brother of the house." The office held by Henry Schevez was one of many in the archiepiscopal court, and the names of Andrew Martin, the chamberlain,

¹ Theiner, 488.

² Douglas Book, iii. 436.

³ Appendix, V.

⁴ Act. Dom. Conc., 92*.

⁵ Fraser's 'Wemyss,' ii. 109; 'The Melvilles,' iii. 79; R. M. S., i. 2210.

and Andrew Purves, the chaplain, have come down to us.¹

The clemency of James, revealed in the Indenture, did not make an honourable man of Albany, who renewed his alliance with Edward of England. The castle of Dunbar was occupied by English soldiers; and shortly after the event Edward died, and his throne was taken by Gloucester, who reigned as Richard III. The compact which Edward had made with Albany was maintained for a time; but when the Scottish Parliament pronounced the duke a traitor,² Richard, himself a usurper, prudently left the rebel and entered into terms with the king.³

The settlement of peace between England and Scotland was followed by a renewal of the league between Scotland and France. Charles VIII., successor of Louis XI., sent ambassadors to James, who in due time commissioned representatives to proceed to France. Among these representatives, we are told by Crawford in his

¹ Macfarlane's *Geneal. Coll.*, ii. 183. On January 25, 1492, Henry Schevez styled himself one of the stewards of regality (*Hist. MSS. Rep.*, xii. 8, 155). In instruments dated May 14 and 24, 1488, he is designated procurator for the archbishop (*Univ. MSS.*)

² 27th June 1483. Even as late as July 2 the king, with Schevez as a witness, confirmed a charter of lands granted by Albany to Alex. Hume of Hume for faithful service (*Hist. MSS. Rep.*, xii. 8, 155).

³ Rymer, xii. 207.

'Officers of State' was "Archbishop Schevez of St Andrews." Crawford narrates that "the League was sealed and sworn to by Charles VIII. at Paris, the 9th of July 1484, in the same manner and with the same solemnities used by King James in presence of the French ambassador at Edinburgh." The chief Scottish cleric might well be the servant of his king in renewing a bond of peace, which according to tradition was first arranged in the days of Charlemain. Schevez, however, if the Register of the Great Seal could be trusted, was in Edinburgh witnessing a charter on the day when the treaty was signed,¹ and Crawford's narrative is only less doubtful than Balfour's statement that in 1483 "James sent the Archbishope of St Andrewes to Rome, anent the procuring of some particular dispensations and preuiledges to him, which were granted." The king and the Parliament determined that the French alliance and also one with Denmark should be submitted for papal confirmation; and it was arranged that Schevez should be the commissioner, since he was "willing to go at his own expense." Other matters were to be set before the pope. Among these were the erection of Coldingham as a Chapel-Royal, the promotion of Inglis, Archdeacon of St

¹ On June 14 he acted as an auditor (E. R., ix. 232), and on July 9, 25, August 4, 5, 12, &c., he witnessed charters (R. M. S.)

Andrews, to the Bishopric of Dunkeld, a request for support for Blackader, Elphinstone, and John Hepburn, described as "thankful persons," and a petition that the pope should wait six months before disposing of "prelacies or dignities elective," in order to hear the king's will, seeing that "all the prelates of his realm has the first vote in his parliament and of his secret council." Further, confirmation of indulgences to St Andrews, with new privileges for it and other sees, was to be sought; and there was to be a special appeal about "the great trouble that has been made to the kirk of St Andrews and the great debt" that Schevez had paid or was still owing "through the said trouble," and the pope was to be asked to "show favour to him in the said debts," and to grant the privileges the archbishop might ask. The Lords of the Articles agreed to write to the pope in support of the king's requests.¹

Privileges were to be sought at Rome by Schevez, with the king's approval, and among these may be counted the legatine power which was afterwards obtained. Sixtus IV. had died on August 12, 1484, and on the 29th of the same month Cardinal Giovanni Battista Cibo had been elected pope, and had taken the name of Innocent VIII. It was said of him by the General of the Augustinians that "he was

¹ A. P., ii. 170. Appendix, VI.

elected in darkness, he lives in darkness, and in darkness he will die"; and some years after the election, Trivulzio, the Milanese soldier, declared, "The pope is full of greed, cowardice, and baseness, like a common knave: were there not men about him with some spirit he would crawl away like a rabbit, and grovel like any dastard."

Innocent VIII., whatever he was in manners and morals, was pope; and James and the archbishop found it expedient to establish cordial relations with him, and doubtless hoped to obtain favours which Sixtus did not confer. Schevez desired his see to be made primatial, and himself to be elevated to the dignity of *legatus natus*. The king, as will afterwards be shown, had sought the help of Rome, asking Sixtus IV. to intervene in the plottings and rebellions which were constantly menacing the peace of Scotland. Sixtus IV. was now dead; and James, in need of a helper, was careful to offer the proper courtesies to Innocent. The archbishop by his high position was worthy to be the bearer of a nation's obedience to a pope, and by his loyalty, tested in a time of political strain, to be the orator in the papal court for a king in distress.

The great trouble to the see of St Andrews, which was to be made known to the pope, may have been due to the trial of Patrick

Graham and his detention in his last years. It may have arisen, however, in the distracted period of Albany's power, when expenses would be incurred on account of the resignation of the archbishop and its revocation. Whatever the original circumstances of the debt were, it is known that money due to the papal treasury was not forwarded by Schevez; and while the transactions, as they show themselves to us, suggest dishonourable dealing, there may have been the plea that the Church's cause was more pressing in Scotland than in Rome. Before the meeting of the Parliament, at which the representations to Rome were decided, James sent word to Innocent that Schevez was to seek his presence.¹ The archbishop, however, did not at once set out for Italy, though there was pressing need for him to make financial explanations to the guardians of the papal exchequer.

In February 1485, in the first year of his reign, Innocent VIII. renewed the constitution of Pius II. regarding unpaid annates, and made deprivation the penalty for offenders.² The constitution, while affecting the whole Church, threatened special danger to the Archbishop of St Andrews. For some years before his appointment as commissioner to Rome, Scotland

¹ A. P., ii. 170.

² Bullarium Romanum, v. 311.

had not forwarded the taxes due to the Camera, with the tithes and payments from the sale of indulgences. Schevez and John of Litster, a Franciscan, and Simon Finlay, a priest, were the papal collectors in Scotland,¹ and no accounts were rendered by them to Rome. A commission was appointed, September 11, 1483, to protect the rights of the Camera. There is no record of the commission's proceedings, and it is not likely that any inquisition was made in Scotland in the unsettled state of the country. Two years afterwards, however, a report was made to Rome regarding certain nefarious transactions between the collectors. Schevez, in accordance with an arrangement which came to light, gave his assistants £500 of Flanders groschens, and retained 2500 Scottish marks, together with the right to any money to be collected by him. The pope was not slow to take action. On August 24, 1485, he appointed as commissioner with powers James, Bishop of Imola, who was already delegated to Scotland on other business, and from whom he

¹ On April 30, 1482, Robert Arbuthnot and his wife, for a contribution to the crusade, obtained an indulgence from Litster, a Minorite ('Scots Peerage' (Balfour Paul), i. 283). In a necrology of the Franciscans of Aberdeen, Friar John Lytstar, guardian and provincial, is described as "vir columbine simplicitatis" (Spalding Club Misc., i. 63). The Donibristle MS. of the Scotichronicon was written for Simon Finlay, a chaplain of St Giles' (Murray, Black Book of Paisley, 14).

had most probably obtained the report regarding the archbishop's financial dealings.¹

In a notarial instrument, preserved among the Drumlanrig papers, and dated June 29, 1485, Imola, who is styled *legate a latere*, is described as having been in Scotland for three months.² We are ignorant of his business in these months. It may have been connected with the financial rights of the Camera or the political wrongs of the king; but whatever it was, he would be able to make the investigation which revealed the compact between Schevez and his assistants.

Imola, by his commission of August 24, had power to demand the money due to the papal treasury, and to interdict and suspend, and, where necessary, to call in the aid of the secular arm. The private nature of the inquiry explains the silence of our chronicles, and we are left to wonder whether Schevez paid his debt, or whether, supported by the king, he was able to persuade the bishop that the money due to Rome was properly expended in Scotland. The fact that no punishment was meted

¹ Gottlob, *Aus der Camera Apostol. des 15 Jahrhunderts*, 212, 213. James Caesenas was appointed Bishop of Imola in November 1479. He had been a papal secretary, as his successor, James Volaterranus, stated in his *Diarium Romanum* (Muratori, xxiii. 101).

² *Hist. MSS. Rep.*, xv. 8, 59.

out to him suggests that if the debt was not discharged his transactions as papal collector were not reckoned as frauds for personal gain, and that the king was equally responsible with him for not transmitting the money to Rome.

The Parliament which met on May 26 referred, as has been shown, to the debt of Schevez, and the need to make explanations would be a motive for the visit to Rome which he was willing to make at his own expense. His intention to set out for Italy is shown by the safe-conduct, obtained on May 24, which allowed him to pass through England.¹ It was not used, however, and it is not wonderful that he did not try to pass through England in the troubled months before Richard III. died on Bosworth field. The intention to go to Rome was not abandoned, and on September 23, at the request of James, Henry VII. granted a safe-conduct for three years to Schevez and Dr Ireland with fifty-two persons.² It may have been the preparations for his departure from the country which led the archbishop to make use of the services of the Bishop of Dromore, who, between the 23rd and the 26th of August,

¹ Rymer, xii. 270.

² Materials for Hist. of Henry VII., i. 44. Rymer places this document under 1487.

consecrated chapels and dedicated altars in connection with the Abbey of Arbroath.¹ Once more, however, the safe-conduct was not used. Scotsmen were not safe to pass through England, where the political troubles did not immediately cease on the death of Richard III. It became known that certain rebels against Henry VII. were confederating with men in Scotland, who could only have been found among the enemies of James.² The danger of travel, it is true, may have detained Schevez, though, on the other hand, the explanation of the deferred visit may be connected with the commissions given to Imola.

Imola, as has been shown, was in Scotland in the spring of 1485, and on August 5, before the remit regarding finance, he received instruction from Innocent to establish order in the Scottish Church;³ and shortly afterwards, by another writing, he was appointed papal collector in Scotland.⁴

The bishop's steps are not easy to trace. He was in Mayence on October 20, 1485,⁵ and shortly afterwards was engaged in important affairs in England. The English Parliament requested Henry VII. to marry Elizabeth, daughter

¹ Arbroath R. N., 226.

² Paston Letters, iii. 887.

³ Raynaldus, 1485, 46. Theiner, 496. ⁴ Theiner, 507.

⁵ Cal. Venet. Papers, i. 156.

of Edward IV.,¹ and the ceremony took place in January 1486, after a dispensation by Imola.² The pope sent a legate to celebrate the nuptials, and presumably it was Imola who attended.³

Armed with commissions he reached Scotland some time after the English wedding, and set himself to regulate the Church, and had before him the hopeless task of establishing political peace. There is nothing to show, as has been noted, the action taken in regard to Schevez, and what we know is that in due time the archbishop entered the papal presence and obtained favours for himself and his country. In the commission to Imola, Innocent stated that before he was pope he had noticed the disastrous quarrelling about Scottish sees, and had seen that candidates each claimed to have the royal support, and also that there were divisions due to the creation of factions and the attempts of individuals to exercise regal power. He declared that James had overcome his enemies with Christian forbearance, and he charged the people to cease from conspiracy, and threatened any city, town, burgh, or corporation, disobeying his order, with interdict and forfeiture of privileges, and the ringleaders, even an archbishop, bishop, or abbot

¹ Materials for History of Henry VII., i. 209.

² Rymer, xii. 313.

³ Letters, Richard III. and Henry VII., i. 421.

with excommunication and deprivation.¹ The reference to an archbishop suggests a political plot with Schevez involved therein. Whatever the words of the pope implied, and they may have been but parts of a general phrase or style, the king and the Parliament were friendly to Schevez and he was no conspirator.

Ferrerius narrates that the pope, to satisfy the English, commissioned the Bishop of Imola to go to Britain for the purpose of reconciling the kings of England and Scotland, and that a peace was signed at Nottingham.² James did ratify a treaty concluded at Nottingham;³ but in none of the official statements is the bishop named. Balfour in his 'Annales,' under 1484, states that "Pope Innocent the 8 sent James, Bish. of Imola, his legat to Scotland, to mediat a peace betuix James, king of Scotland, and Richard k. of England, wich he effectuat to endure for 3 zeires." Balfour's date, however, cannot be verified.

Innocent was friendly to the king, and must have sent the legate on his invitation. It is certain, indeed, that James invoked the aid of Pope Sixtus, who in 1483 issued bulls commanding the Scottish nobles and prelates to obey their

¹ Theiner, 496.

² History, 398. Cf. Lesley, Hist. of Scot., 52.

³ C. D. S., iv. 1505, 1508.

king.¹ It is also certain that Imola did not proceed to Scotland merely by Innocent's order. Legates were not always welcomed, even though they came from the Roman bishop, and Scottish independence was illustrated in 1488 when the Lords of the Articles advised that an emissary from the pope should not be permitted to cross the Border till he had notified his business.² It may be taken, then, that Innocent was asked by the king to intervene in Scottish affairs, and that in consequence he appointed Imola his commissioner. The King of Scotland had not learned to rule nor the nobles to obey. There was, too, on the one hand, the remembrance of the dishonoured favourites and the imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle, as there was, on the other, the fear of punishment for rebellion. In the time of trouble the king turned to the pope as to a saviour of distressed monarchs.

Few details of Imola's mission have been preserved. There is recorded, however, a payment for a puncheon of wine of Gascony, sent to him by the king;³ while he, for his part, had a very different gift to bestow. By the grace of Innocent the golden rose, blessed by

¹ Raynaldus, 1484, 6. The letter of Sixtus, dated May 5, 1483, shows a friendly spirit.

² A. P., ii. 183. The legate was Adrian Castellesi of Corneto (Cal. Venet. Papers, i. 538).

³ E. R., ix. 451.

papal hands and coveted by princes, was awarded to James; and the bishop was appointed to make the presentation in token of the favour of him who claimed to be the vicar of Christ.¹

Boece, in his 'Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen,' tells a story which gives us a glimpse into the characters of Imola and William Elphinstone, the Bishop of Aberdeen. "The Bishop of Imola," he says, "the pope's legate, came, as is usual, with great splendour to King James for the purpose of bestowing several privileges on the nobles and commons. The king gave the legate a welcome equal to his rank, and presented him with royal gifts. He took him with him wherever he went. . . . It happened that the king was going on pilgrimage to Restalrig (?), when he met a certain nobleman who had been condemned for murder, going to execution. The unfortunate man, on seeing his sovereign, threw himself at his feet, . . . and besought the king to remit his punishment. . . . Then the king . . . turned to the legate . . . and said, 'What do you advise?' The legate replied, 'Let justice be carried out.' Then the king, addressing William [Elphinstone], whose countenance he observed had fallen at the

¹ Raynaldus, 1486, 49. Innocent stated in his letter, dated March 12, 1486, that he had enlisted the services of Charles of France to reconcile Albany and James.

legate's remark, and who was far from approving the answer given, said, 'Is this the compassion of Italian churchmen? You used to give me far different advice.' And protesting against the legate's ruthless sentence, . . . he said, 'Let mercy prevail.' So he discharges the criminal."¹

While no account of Imola's mission has been preserved, we are not altogether ignorant of results. The legate empowered to deal with turbulent persons made use of the methods of ecclesiasticism, and Innocent himself was afterwards asked to remove sentences passed by his servant. Robert Lauder of the Bass, and twenty-one other persons in the St Andrews diocese, with one in Glasgow, sought absolution from censures; and in their petition described a papal letter to Imola as "*ad instantiam Regis Scotorum contra conspiratores sive rebelles in ipsum Regem Scotorum.*" By a reference to the "conflict at Stirling," they showed that they were writing after the tragic fate of James; and the direct mention of Imola, it is plain, pointed to him as having inflicted the censures from which they were suffering.²

¹ Boethius, Vit. Episc. Aberd., 76, 77.

² Hist. MSS. Rep. (Milne Home), 263. See also the bull of June 27, 1491 (Wilkin's Conc., iii. 634; Lindsay's 'Lives of the Lindsays,' i. 459). In connection with the commission to deal with turbulent persons, it may be noted that the see of Moray, held by Andrew Stewart, was said to be vacant on 22nd December 1485 (Arbroath R.N., 238).

Further indication of Imola's drastic methods is obtained from a favour shown to the king by the pope. In a letter from Innocent to James, dated April 20, 1487, reference was made to a petition which may have been preferred through Schevez when he was at Rome; and in response, it was decreed that if the Scottish king, his wife, or his sons, should visit places under interdict, mass could be celebrated for the household, bells rung, and doors opened, and, further, that their presence should for the time be held as removing the interdict.

These privileges were to be extended to the king's successors, if they were faithful to Rome.¹ James, in asking favours, may have had a prudent regard for contingencies which might arise after Imola's interdicts had been removed, or he may have sought redress when these interdicts were impeding his pious exercises.

Imola's name has been preserved in connection with a transaction altogether outside the sphere of politics. By the favour of Sixtus IV. an indulgence was granted to the Cathedral Church of St Andrews, and Imola, under Innocent's direction, suspended it. It afterwards appeared that the suspension was due to a general revocation by Innocent of grants made by his

¹ MS. Liber Pluscardensis (Fairfax MSS., Bodleian Lib., viii. 201). Appendix, VIII.

predecessors, and was not intended to be a punishment for the financial faults of the Archbishop of St Andrews. The indulgence, in fact, was restored, and Schevez reaped the benefit of it.¹

The departure of Imola from Scotland left the archbishop free to set out on the visit to the papal court, and on July 7 a safe-conduct was obtained, at the request of James, for Schevez, Blackader, and others to pass through England.² There is a record, dated October 12, 1486, of a payment to an usher of the English king's chamber who conducted Schevez from London to Dover.³

The commissioners when they reached Rome offered the obedience of their nation to Pope Innocent, and the archbishop, in virtue of his official pre-eminence, served as the king's orator. There was other business, however, to be transacted besides the conveyance of a country's obedience to the chief bishop and overseer of the Church. In answer to an appeal of the Scotsmen, though not till March 31, 1487, Innocent confirmed the treaty, made with Norway when Margaret was married to James,

¹ MS. Liber Pluscardensis (Fairfax MSS., Bodleian Lib., viii. 202).

² C. D. S., iv. 1522. Rymer places this document under the year 1488. Appendix, IX.

³ Materials for History of Henry VII., ii. 98.

whereby certain lands were annexed to Scotland; and he made the Archbishop of St Andrews and the Bishops of Glasgow and Aberdeen executors of the bull.¹

In pursuance of the interests of the king, Schevez and Blackader obtained a concession which gave him and his successors increased control over episcopal promotions. Innocent wrote, April 20, 1487, intimating to James that his predecessors in the papacy were wont to provide for cathedral churches and churches of greater value than 200 florins, *auri de camera*, and that occasionally they delayed provision till kings or temporal lords had time to indicate a preference for a candidate. In view of the tried devotion of the Scottish kings, he himself had determined to grant as a privilege, already conceded *viva voce* to Schevez and Blackader, that in the case of a vacancy in a church or monastery of the value stated, provision should be delayed for eight months, so that there might be time for communications from James, or, as might be, from his successors showing a like obedience.²

Most excellent of all the bulls of the period, so far as Schevez himself was concerned, was that which conferred on him and on his see

¹ MS. Liber Pluscardensis, 201.

² Ibid. Appendix, VIII.

the high rank and status he had solicited when standing in the papal presence. On March 27, 1487, Innocent erected St Andrews into a primatial church, and made the archbishop a *legatus natus*, giving him the rights and privileges enjoyed in England by the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹

Patrick Graham, whatever be the explanation of his action as a *legate a latere*, did not obtain for his see the primatial dignity, and for himself the distinction of a *legatus natus*. Schevez, however, so served his king that he commanded the royal support in his clerical ambitions; and Innocent was politic enough to strengthen the obedience of the Scottish nation by pleasing the king, and to attach to himself the chief priest in the Scottish Church by loading him with benefits. And the last step to ecclesiastical independence in Scotland was taken when the Archbishop of St Andrews obtained the rank and authority possessed in his own land by the prelate of Canterbury.

There was one man in Scotland, however, who could not suffer himself to be overshadowed. Schevez and Blackader quarrelled over the elevation of the see of Glasgow to an archbishopric.

¹ Raynaldus, 1487, 32, cf. Robertson, i. 119. As legate Schevez granted, September 4, 1488, a matrimonial dispensation (Macfarlane's *General Collect.*, ii. 545).

Their dispute began as they journeyed home from the city of the Apostles, and word of the priestly strife reached the ears of the pope. An exemption of Glasgow from the authority of the primate, given *vive vocis oraculo*, irritated the temper of the archbishop and pleased the vanity of the bishop; and a battle was begun which in the end left neither episcopal combatant satisfied.¹ On May 25, 1488, the exemption which had been granted by word of mouth was formally ratified for the period of Blackader's tenure of the see of Glasgow.² Before that date, however, Innocent renewed, evidently in the way of compensation for the injury to the archiepiscopal dignity, the indulgence to St Andrews which he himself had suspended. The pope stated that in view of the fact that St Andrews was the chief Church in Scotland, and out of regard for the merits of Archbishop Schevez, he had constituted him primate and *legatus natus*; and he proceeded to state that he renewed, on the same terms, the indulgence which Sixtus IV. had granted for seven years, and which after the expiry of these years was to be triennial.³ Indulgences, with their spiritual consolations and financial

¹ Theiner, 502.

² Ibid. The bull is printed in Robertson, i. 120.

³ MS. Liber Pluscardensis, 202.

uses, were not despised in Scotland. The good Bishop Kennedy was granted the sale of an indulgence as a subsidy for the erection of the chapel of his college; and Patrick Graham obtained a like privilege, now renewed to Schevez, for the maintenance of the Cathedral Church.

Among the duties entrusted to Schevez and Blackader, as royal commissioners to Rome, was the presentation of a petition for the canonisation of the Queen Margaret who died in 1486.¹ On June 2, 1487, before their quarrel was known at Rome, the two prelates were appointed to report to the consistory on the life of the queen, who had been revered in Scotland, and who had lingered for months in the affection of her husband, James III.² There is no evidence that the canonisation was ever accomplished, though, unless the standard of saintship was exceptionally high in her generation, the commissioners would be compelled, if only in the hope of favours from the king, who sought the honour for his dead wife, to give a laudation of the virtues of the deceased.

The year 1487, which witnessed the issue of so many bulls affecting Scotland, saw Schevez and also James involved in litigation regarding a church. The revenues, much more than the

¹ The death probably took place on July 29 (T. A., i. 64, note).

² Theiner, 449.

religious uses of churches, interested clerics of the character of the archbishop, whose piety has left no mark that we should remember it. It appears from a document, dated November 7, that John Frissel and Schevez disputed regarding the church of Lasswade or the prebend erected out of it in St Salvator's, and sought the aid of the law. The archbishop claimed that the church had been perpetually united to the table of St Andrews, and Frissel asserted a papal sanction for the foundation of the prebend. While the case was still pending Schevez, by his procurator, agreed to the separation of the church from the archiepiscopal table, not indeed to please his opponent, but to satisfy the king. James desired that Restalrig should be made a collegiate church, and the pope, at his request, with which Frissel was associated, suppressed the prebend and annexed Lasswade to Restalrig.¹

The king's dealings with another of the Scottish churches helped to intensify the political opposition which was manifest at Lauder, and which ended only at Sauchieburn. Whatever may have been the result of the bull of Sixtus IV. for the erection of Coldingham into a collegiate church,² Innocent VIII., in 1487, acted on the request of James and suppressed

¹ Cf. *Colleg. Churches of Midloth.*, 273.

² *Theiner*, 472.

the priory, allocating half of the revenues for the endowment of the Chapel-Royal at Stirling.¹ The Humes claimed a hereditary right over these revenues, and made such opposition to the king's schemes that the Parliament, in October 1487, prohibited any action contrary to the union of the priory to the Chapel-Royal under pain of treason and forfeiture. The threat of penalties did not deter the king's enemies, and the Parliament resorted to severer measures. On January 29, 1488, it was determined that temporal persons who had contravened the Act passed in October should be cited to appear, and that a commission should be empowered to deal with guilty and disobedient persons. Schevez, though not present when the commission was formed, was appointed a member.

The Parliament, however, was not destined to settle the dispute regarding Coldingham, and the country had to face graver issues. The political opposition to James organised itself into a rebellion; and on the 11th of June of the year 1488 the dead body of the king of Scotland was lying near Sauchieburn, in a spot not far from the field of Bannockburn. The rebels were conquerors, and their victim's fate added a fresh tragedy to the story of the Stewart kings.

Before the eventful day of Sauchieburn the in-

¹ Cf. Chalmers' *Caledonia*, iii. 331.

surgents, according to Buchanan, demanded the king's abdication, and James, through his ambassadors, communicated his answer "to England and France, and earnestly entreated them to assist him by their authority or, if necessary, by their arms. . . . He sent also to Pope Eugenius VIII., beseeching him by his paternal love for Scotland to send a legate to oblige his refractory subjects, under pain of ecclesiastical censures, to lay down their arms and obey their king. The pope in consequence wrote to Hadrian of Castile, . . . at that time his legate in England, to use his endeavours for restoring tranquillity to Scotland."¹

The blunder in the name of the pope is not enough to condemn Buchanan's narrative as untrustworthy, and a minute of the Parliament of January 29, 1488, shows that a papal legate was expected.²

Schevez was absent from the country in the earlier part of the year 1488,³ and that fact

¹ See also Ferrerius, 399.

² Raynaldus, 1488, 3, on the authority of Polydore Virgil, says the pope sent Hadrian at the request of James. The death of the king was announced to the legate immediately after his arrival in England. Polydore Virgil (lib. xxvi.) says that Hadrian was collector in England.

³ In a document written by the Abbot of Arbroath, on February 9, 1488, Schevez was described as "in remotis" (Arbroath R. N., 257). Schevez was thrice at Arbroath Abbey in 1488, so the visits must have been made in a later part of the year (ibid., 263).

explains the prominence of Elphinstone in the arrangements for peace with the insurgents. Elphinstone, who was Chancellor of the realm, was worthy to be a king's counsellor, but the chief negotiator for peace might well have been the man who was primate of the Scottish Church, and legate of the Bishop of Rome. The arrangements for peace came to nought, and James was defeated by the faction which had the heir of Scotland to lend it an appearance of constitutional authority, and the Bishop of Glasgow to give it the cast of pious respectability.¹

The death of James III., though it could not affect the ecclesiastical status of the primate, left him without a patron and protector; and the attitude of the new sovereign towards him was made plain in the case of Dr Ireland. James III., for some unknown reason, had obtained for Ireland a papal exemption from the authority of the archbishop, even though the archbishop himself had opposed the favour. James IV., soon after his accession, wrote to the pope concerning Ireland. Speaking of him as his ambassador abroad and his counsellor at home, and describing him as a Doctor of Theology of Paris, he stated that owing to the vexatious action of Schevez he had been exempted from

¹ Appendix, X.

his authority. James now asked the pope, since there was litigation at Rome regarding the exemption, to defend Ireland against "the powerful archbishop."¹ The king showed in other ways his opposition to the primate, and testified indirectly to the loyalty of Schevez to the sovereign who had promoted him. The Parliament which met on October 7, 1488, was attended by the archbishop, but he was not appointed one of the Lords of Articles.² In this Parliament the Act of 1471 was restated, with special reference to the unions and annexations made by Graham and his successors, and also of the pretended annexation of Lincluden to his see by Andrew of Moray.³ The archbishop who had been faithful to his royal master, and the bishop who had sided with the treacherous Albany, were strangely associated and seriously affected by this Act of the Parliament of James IV. A very deliberate slight was put upon Schevez on June 4, 1489, when a body of councillors was chosen to serve in constant attendance on the king.⁴ Blackader, Elphinstone, the Prior of Coldingham, and the Archdeacon of St Andrews were named, but the primate was not.

¹ Cal. Venet. Papers, i. 199. See also Robertson, i. 118. The king's letter was dated September 26, 1490.

² A. P., ii. 199.

³ Ibid., 209.

⁴ Ibid., 215.

The party which controlled the government of the country were prodigal in favours to themselves, but certain persons, unsatisfied with their rewards, expressed their feelings by revolt. Lord Lyle and the Earl of Lennox were the chief insurgents; and the country was further agitated by a formidable rising in the North of enemies of the young king, who bore as their standard the blood-stained shirt of the murdered James. In the West the Castle of Dumbarton was garrisoned and attacked; and when its holders would not surrender, a courier was sent in the king's name to the "Westlande with letteris to the lordis to cum to the ost," and on a later day, in April 1489, a messenger was despatched to the "Bisschoppis of Sancttandros, Breyching, Dunblane, the Abot of Arbroytth, Dunfermeling, Lundoris, and Sewne, to cum to Dumbertan."¹ There was need for Schevez, not surely that he might offer military advice, but that he might help to quiet the disaffected. James IV. may not have had the wisdom to attract the archbishop to his side; but there were men in his faction, without Blackader's hatred of Schevez, who could calculate the advantage of gaining the primate whom James III. had promoted and from whom he had received faithful and unbroken allegiance. No record tells of the archbishop's

¹ T. A., i. 109, 110.

deeds at Dumbarton, but it was not to his own advantage to refuse the royal summons, and he certainly had not the courage to disobey. He was not, however, to be freed from persecution. His enemies, among whom Blackader was the leader, were eager to discredit him and destroy his power, and their schemes were to be made plain to the king. In the autumn certain disappointed men lodged a formal complaint with James regarding the control exercised by Blackader, George of Galloway, John, Prior of St Andrews, the Lords Hailes, Gray, Drummond, and others, who had arrogated to themselves the authority of the realm, and had attempted to oust barons loyal to the late king "lik as thai have schapin now of late without tytill or colour of richt to depryve and distroy the Archibishop of Sanctandris."¹

The complaint was made, and it fell on almost deaf ears. The young king had no wish to cut himself off from the men who through rebellion and murder had raised him to the throne; and he did not forsake Blackader to cleave unto Schevez. Friendship was never cemented between the two prelates, but Schevez, in spite of all his enemy could do, gradually passed into the royal favour.

In the Parliament of February 4, 1490, the

¹ Fraser's 'Lennox,' ii. 128.

men who had been nominated to attend the king were constituted a permanent council; and the position of Schevez was improved by his appointment as one of the Lords of Articles.¹ Apart from any clerical duty his attention was given to the work of a Lord Auditor,² and to such details as a deposition in a controversy between the city and the Archdeacon of St Andrews.³

The routine of commonplace business was broken by a call from Rome, and the Scottish primate was reminded that he was a prelate in the great Catholic Church. On January 2, 1490, he was summoned to the papal city, with the spiritual leaders of other realms, on affairs of Christendom.⁴ The matter of outstanding importance was a crusade against the Turks. Innocent VIII., well paid by the reigning Sultan, had the Prince Djem a prisoner in the papal palace, and no immediate danger threatened Europe from the East. The later popes of the fifteenth century had as a public and avowed policy an attack upon the Turks, and while Pius II. was in earnest, Innocent VIII. was not. It pleased Innocent, however, to obtain a reputation as the ruler of the Church by talking of warfare, and it suited him to gather

¹ A. P., ii. 217, 220.

² Act. Dom. Aud., 122.

³ *Ibid.*, 117. Appendix, XI.

⁴ Theiner, 504.

subsidies for a crusade which never took place. The council of prelates to which Schevez was called did not meet, though the pope had sought to show himself in earnest against the Turk by collecting money. James wrote, May 21, 1490, informing the pope that the letters in reference to a tax had been brought at the end of March by Blackader, "after long delay"; and his answer was that he had no gold for Innocent's use.¹ It was not for the first time that a bishop of Rome, demanding money, met with a refusal from a king of Scotland.

Schevez intended to obey the papal summons, as on April 17 he obtained a safe-conduct for a year to visit the dominions of Henry VII. and return.² The journey to Rome, for which the safe-conduct was secured, was meant to serve the archbishop's private interests as well as those of Christendom. Blackader had been with the pope in connection, it cannot be doubted, with the elevation of Glasgow into an archbishopric;³ and Schevez must have recognised, since the matter was of vital importance to him, the necessity to assert the claims of St Andrews.

¹ Cal. Venet. Papers, i. 188.

² C. D. S., iv. 1561.

³ Blackader received a safe-conduct from Henry VII. on March 30, 1489 (C. D. S., iv. 1458). The safe-conduct to Schevez was given in April 1490. He may not have been in Scotland when he granted, in September, a charter of lands to his nephew (R. M. S., i. 2210), but he was in Linlithgow on November 27 (Act. Dom. Conc.)

Whatever courses he pursued, Schevez did not prevent the erection of Glasgow to the archiepiscopal rank. The king, writing on December 1 to the Roman court, referred to many previous letters touching the metropolitan, primatial, and legatine power which was asked for Glasgow; and he warned Innocent not to listen to the Archbishop of St Andrews, since a Scottish Parliament had decided in favour of the elevation of Glasgow, and had sent a communication to Rome from the Chancellor of the kingdom.¹ The minute of the Parliament to which James referred shows that the king and the Estates, for the honour and good of the realm, decreed that Glasgow should be erected into an archiepiscopate after the fashion of York, and that details should be arranged between the Bishop of Glasgow and certain prelates and barons advising the king.² Many and urgent letters were sent to Rome, as if the elevation of Glasgow was as fondly desired by the king who signed as by the prelate who dictated them. At one time James declared that there might be danger to him and his successors, were there only one primate in Scotland;³ and at another he wrote, "Should my prayers be contemned and

¹ Cal. Venet. Papers, i. 199.

² January 26, 1489, A. P., ii. 213.

³ Cal. Venet. Papers, i. 203.

despised like former ones, I shall infer that the disobedience of others avails them more than my devotedness.”¹

In spite of the royal confidence in Blackader, the Dean and Chapter of Glasgow, not approving his pretensions and claims, drew up on May 21, 1491, a statement of the evils they feared were the see made metropolitan and legatine with primatial powers.² Blackader could not despise the opposition, and he promised to leave the dean and canons free from subsidy, visitation, or procuration ;³ and an instrument was prepared which contained not only his formal promise but also the undertaking of the king to guard the rights of the chapter.⁴

Whatever objections had been offered, Glasgow was erected, January 9, 1492, into an archiepiscopal and metropolitan see, and the prelate obtained the right to carry the cross. Innocent, however, did not bestow the pall, nor did he confer the primatial and legatine rank.⁵ He stated that the bull of erection was granted, notwithstanding any privileges conceded to Glasgow, at the urgent request of the king, and

¹ Cal. Venet. Papers, i. 204, 206.

² Glasg. R., 475.

³ Ibid., 478.

⁴ Ibid., 481. Appendix, XII. In the Register the papers are placed as if the bishop had presented the papal bulls before the chapter took action.

⁵ Glasg. R., 470. Cal. Venet. Papers, i. 210.

at the same time he named as suffragans the Bishops of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway, and Argyll.¹ Innocent expressly exempted the archbishop-elect from the jurisdiction of St Andrews, and also the suffragans and their successors during their terms.²

Blackader thus obtained the dignity of an archbishop, but the primatial and legatine rank was wanting. Schevez, on the other hand, as Archbishop of St Andrews, Primate of Scotland, and *legatus natus* of the Holy See, had no ecclesiastical equal in the metropolitan of the West, even though there was need for him to address that prelate as an archbishop.

In his pride he caused a medal to be struck, showing his bust on the one side, and on the other his cross and his arms, with the words: "Wilhelmvs Schevez sancti andree archiepiscopus legatus natus et totius regni scotie primas. 1491."³ The medal is said to be of Flemish workmanship; and he may have superintended its preparation, as there is no trace of his presence in Scotland in the latter part of 1491, and in 1492 he was absent from the country.⁴

¹ Cf. Grub's 'Ecl. Hist. of Scot.,' i. 388, on the reannexation of Dunkeld and Dunblane to St Andrews and the union of the Isles with Glasgow.

² Theiner, 505.

³ Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot., ii. 345, vi. 237. Appendix, XIII.

⁴ He was not in the Parliament of May 2, 1491, and of Feb. 7, 1492. On January 25, 1492, Elphinstone was vicar-general,

Lesley, describing the controversy between the prelates, says it "drew the nobill men in diverse factions; and thairfoir the king comandit the same to ceise, and the mater to be decidit in the law befoir thair judge competent." Martine is still more explicit. The business, he says, "begat hate, and came to some height, for both the clergie and nobilitie went into factions." He adds, "It is certaine that hereby both sees were put to loss, . . . for many lands were given off to the respective abettors. Among the rest it is reported that Muckartshyre was then fewed out by Schevez to the Earle of Argyle for siding with him."

The controversy between St Andrews and Glasgow did not cease, even when Blackader was made an archbishop, but was continued in the Roman courts. The unholy spectacle of the fighting prelates roused the Scottish Parliament, and on June 26, 1493, the king was advised to command them to cease from strife, and to announce that their tenants would be ordered not to pay any money which could be used for legal expenses at Rome.¹ The archbishops in-

as Schevez was abroad. Elphinstone was still vicar-general on July 13 (Act. Dom. Conc., 252), and also on December 7, when Schevez was described as "in remotis" (Arbroath R. N., p. 271).

¹ A. P., ii. 232. Schevez was in Scotland on September 30, 1493, as on that day he was present in the king's chambers in St Andrews, where a resignation of lands took place (Fraser's 'Grandtully,' i. 171).

deed might have disputed in Scotland and litigated in Rome, had not their quarrels required good Scots money to be sent to a foreign land. But the king and the Estates were in earnest and would not suffer their gold to be taken away, and the lawsuits of Schevez and Blackader came to an end. Blackader's ambition, however, was not quenched. Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain were somehow enlisted in his favour, and sought the rank of cardinal for the man who had failed to obtain certain high dignities for himself and his Scottish see.¹ The prelate's schemes and the royal solicitations were of no use, and Schevez had not the pain of beholding his rival attired in the gorgeous raiment of a prince of the Church. By the irony of fate, however, he had the pleasure of acting, on the nomination of Pope Alexander VI., as a conservator of the liberties of the Chapter of Glasgow.²

When the contest with Blackader was ended, Schevez took part in no important business which concerned either Church or State. He continued, however, to serve as an auditor, and to witness royal deeds and charters; and innumerable notices testify to his zeal for such tasks.³ In one of these charters James styled

¹ Cal. of State Papers (Spanish), i. 69.

² Glasg. R., 483, 484. Appendix, XIV.

³ Appendix, XV.

him "our well-beloved counsellor" and "primate of the whole realm,"¹ and it is plain that he and the archbishop had turned their enmity into friendship. Schevez died on January 28, 1497. No contemporary has preserved for us an account of the last days and hours of the man who began his public career as a servitor in the household of a king, and closed it as the first churchman in the land.

Spottiswoode concludes his notice of the archbishop with the words, "Of Schevez I find nothing said all this time, only that he departed this life at St Andrews in the year 1496, and was buried in the cathedral church before the high altar."² Schevez had been at Rome, and it is not improbable that he was copying an Italian fashion when he gave orders for a tombstone. The stone which was prepared in Bruges was of course intended to mark his burial-place in St Andrews.³

By a mortification of Robert de Fontibus, Archdeacon of St Andrews, prayers were appointed to be said at the altar of St John

¹ Charters of Holyrood, 234.

² The year 1496 is according to the old reckoning.

³ Halyburton's Ledger, 7. Lyon (Hist. of St A., i. 243), quoting from some unknown writer, says the monument was of brass. In Law's MS. the statement is—"sepultus in pavimento ante magnum altare sub decenti tumba."

the Evangelist in the Metropolitan Church for the soul of William Schevez, late archbishop.¹ Amidst the fragments of his biography there is no tale of gross sin to mark his name with disgrace; though, on the other hand, there is no story of pious deeds save the record that he enclosed the relics of St Palladius in a silver casket.² Tradition tells that Palladius was buried at Fordun, and the archbishop's reverence for the saint is to be associated with his interest in the famous Chronicle. There is evidence that the Cottonian, Harleian, and Glasgow University MSS. of Fordun's Chronicle belonged to Schevez.³ We have further proof, however, of his fondness for books. In the dedication prefixed to the treatise on astrology, it is stated that he founded a library in the University of St Andrews, and there is a record of a payment of 500 crowns in gold to James Watsonne "for the redyn of my lordis buikis."⁴ A modern antiquarian⁵ makes the assertion that Schevez was the first to introduce the use of book-stamps into Scotland. In the library of

¹ Univ. Com. Evid., iii. 354.

² Boethius, Hist., vii. 18. Appendix, XVI.

³ Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot., viii. 244.

⁴ Halyburton's Ledger, 6. In Law's MS. it is stated, "maxime libros diligebat."

⁵ Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot., v. 140.

the University of Edinburgh there is a MS. treatise on medicine which had been the archbishop's; while in St Andrews there are richly bound volumes bearing the signature in bold writing of William Schevez.¹

The love of books is almost the one noble feature in the portrait of the prelate, though with it may be named his loyalty in a faithless generation. He did not forget the man who raised him from low estate, even though that man had not the greatness but only the authority of a king. In the conduct of Schevez, a priest in the Church of Christ, there was no trace of deep religion or of glowing piety; and he cannot be remembered as the author of a progressive and reforming policy. In his unspiritual era, it may be admitted, he was fit to be a prelate, but he was not the man to stay the ruin of his falling Church. When we note his love of books, his loyalty to his king, his freedom from the scandals of impurity, and add to these his watchful care of the privileges of his high office, we exhaust the meagre catalogue of his virtues and graces.

On the page of a manuscript, which was one of his possessions, Schevez seems to have inscribed verses which give us our only glimpse into the mind of the man himself—

¹ Appendix, XVII.

“O felix mortale genus si semper haberet
Eternum præ mente bonum finemque timeret
Qui tam nobilibus media quam plebe creatis
Improvisus adest animi discrimine magno.”

Men strive after honour and wealth: they
cross the Alpine heights to visit “greedy Rome.”
And then—

“Si cursu forte beato
Ad natale solum patriamque revertimur urbem,
Ecce repentine modiceque occasio febris
Dissolvit toto quodcumque paravimus evo.”¹

¹ Cotton. MS. of Fordun, f. 114.

APPENDIX.

I.

THE name of Schevez is found in connection with St Andrews throughout the fifteenth century. "John Sheves" went to Oxford in 1393 (C. D. S., iv. 455). A person of the name taught law in the early years of the University; and we meet with him, if he be the same individual, as Official of St Andrews in 1454 (Hist. MSS. Rep., viii. 305). A John "Scheves" or "de Shives" was Clerk Register in 1426 (E. R., iv. 400) and in 1455 (*ibid.*, vi. 1). It is clear at any rate that "John de Scheves" was both Official of St Andrews and Clerk Register in 1445 (Hist. MSS. Rep., xv. 8, 46). There is a mortification by a John Schevez for the altar of St Andrew in the Town Church in May 1456 (Abstract of Writs of the City of St Andrews, No. 127). An Alexander Schevez studied in St Andrews about the time when the future archbishop was a student, and in 1457 was dispensed for two years from the "lectura" (Act. Fac. Art.): a person of the name was syndic of the monastery (Fraser's 'Wemyss,' ii. 96), and in 1482 there was "ane worschipfull clerk," Alexander Schevez (Reg. Ev., 64). In 1461, Henry Schevez was a bailie of St Andrews, and Thomas Schevez a citizen (*ibid.*, 61). Henry Schevez—known to be the archbishop's brother (R. M. S., i. 2210)—acquired Gilquhas before October 1475, was provost of St Andrews in that year (Pitt. Writ, 120, Univ. MSS.), and acted as "custumar" (E. R., viii. 318): he was also steward of regality in 1484

(Fraser's 'Wemyss,' ii. 109.) His son and heir-apparent, John, obtained the feu-farm of Kemback from his uncle the archbishop in 1490 (R. M. S., i. 2210). Another John is mentioned in Halyburton's Ledger, where the archbishop is charged with expenses on his behalf. The editor hints, without sufficient ground, that he was William's son. This is probably the John Schevez who appears in the Holyrood Charters, 255, and Hist. MSS. Rep., viii. 306. Finally, a "Rob. Scheves" is mentioned in the Treasurer's account as about the king's person when William was promoted: he is known to have been of illegitimate birth, and to have died somewhere about 1483 (E. R., ix. 512): in 1476, a Robert Schevez held a tenement in St Andrews (Abstract of Writs of the City of St Andrews, No. 152).

II.

There are two references to the action of Schevez as Chancellor of the University, derived from the Act. Fac. Art. On March 26, 1480, Master Alexander Livingston obtained a dispensation from the Faculty, at the special request of the king and the archbishop. In 1485 William Lowry, Archdeacon of Brechin, obtained commission from Schevez for the licence in Arts under circumstances which were in some way unsatisfactory to the Faculty. It would appear from the almost unintelligible minute that the informality occurred through action by the Chancellor under royal influence. After Lowry had conformed to the demands of the Faculty, the masters were thanked "pro erga eum beneficio" in a letter from James.

III.

Joannes Spierinck, Physicus seu Medicus Ducis, & Academiæ tertium Rector. Fuit in praxi admirandus, rejectisque exoticis ac Turcicis, & plerumque in odium Christianorum corruptis, fucatis, infectisque herbis, maluit uti nostratibus.

Domus, quam inhabitare solet, hodie Collegium est Driutianum, & platea, quæ eo ducit, etiamnum ab hoc Spiringo nomen retinet. Legitur Epitaphium ejus in Ecclesia D. Petri, ad Chori introitum, laminæ lapidis sepulcralis inscriptum, litteris pæne fugientibus :

JOANNES SPIERINCK, huius Ecclesiæ Canonicus,
Philippi Ducis Burgundiæ & Brabantiæ
Physicus, substantiam suam sacris
ædibus, egenis & fidis famu-
lis reliquit :
mortuus an. CIO.CCCC.XCIX. die VII. Octobris.

Hæredes enim in testamento scripserat ex triente uno Ecclesiæ Collegiatis quattuor, Lovaniensem, Bruxellensem, Machliensem & Liranam ; ex altero triente pauperes, ex tertio autem utrumque famulum (Fasti Academici Studii Generalis Lovaniensis, 1650, pp. 227-8).

It is to be noted that Jaspar Laet claimed to be a physician as well as an astrologer. Spierinck from his position in the University was evidently a man of distinction. The scientific study of medicine was making progress in the last generation of the fifteenth century, and in 1477 the first German pharmacopeia appeared (Von Meyer, Hist. of Chem., 48, note.) It is interesting to observe that at Louvain a case of heresy was tried, and the thesis that propositions "de futuris contingentibus" are neither true nor false was condemned as an impious attempt to "explode the sacred prophecies" (Raynaldus, 1470, 51 ; 1473, 25).

Lyon (Hist. of St A., ii. 343) gives a translation of Laet's dedication : "To the most reverend father and lord in Christ, William, Archbishop of St Andrews, primate of the whole kingdom of Scotland, and legate of the Apostolic see, Jasper Laet de Borchloen, the humble pupil of astronomers (*astrologorum*) commends himself. The singular kindness which you have recently shown me, though unworthy, emboldens me, most reverend archbishop, to dedicate to you the sentiments of

the astronomers concerning the eclipse of the sun on the 8th of May in this current year, 1491. This, I trust, will prove agreeable to you, since I know you are endowed, in an uncommon degree, with virtue and learning; that you possess a complete knowledge both of human and divine things; and are known by all to be a proficient in every kind of literature. Since, then, no one is ignorant of this, why should I dwell upon it? Such knowledge is honourable to you; and it is moreover necessary, seeing you are primate of all Scotland. In a word, all philosophy is familiar to you. The four sciences have brought you glory and honour. Who has not admired your profound learning? In the city of St Andrews, where there is an illustrious University, and an influx of many learned men, you have instituted, at great expense, a valuable library which is filled with books of every kind. But especially have you brought from the darkness of obscurity into the light of day the mathematical sciences, which, through the negligence of the Scotch, had become nearly forgotten; and you have collected numerous volumes for the restoration of the sidereal science. On this account, most noble prelate, and not because I would be guilty of flattery, I present to you this little work, the fruit of my poor genius, and dedicate it to your infallible wisdom, earnestly entreating that, with your accustomed kindness, you would deign to receive it, however unworthy of your acceptance."

The second Lord Setoun, in the time of James III., was given to music, theology, and astrology. He was a student in St Andrews, and afterwards in Paris (House of Setoun, 30).

IV.

The Acts of 1479 (A. P., ii. 123, 128, 193) were clearly affected by favour for William Schevez: they were a renewal of privileges granted to Graham in 1469, and even a confirmation of proceedings on the part of that prelate in conjunction with the pope which had been stoutly contested by the Crown.

In 1481 (*ibid.*, 140) the interests of Schevez under the papal indult granting power to confirm were again conserved by statute. The energy of the Crown was directed at this time towards securing its right of advowson in the vacancy of a see (*ibid.*, 133), and threats were directed against persons acting in Rome in the contrary or supplying money from Scotland to ambitious and disobedient ecclesiastics (*ibid.*, 141).

A renewal of the Act against purchase of pensions falls to be noted in 1482 (*ibid.*, 144); but the Crown was exercised chiefly about the right of advowson in a vacancy, and in 1484 (*ibid.*, 166) the Chancellor was directed to communicate with the pope in defence of the right. Most interesting, however, is the provision of this year that any prelate or clerk, going or sending to Rome for promotion or litigation, should prove before the Auditors of Exchequer that his "finance" made in merchandise of the realm was "avale" of the sum he would spend in the court of Rome. Careful precautions were to be taken in order to prevent more money going out than was allowed by statute.

V.

On July 29, 1484, after the death of Abbot William of Arbroath, the sub-prior asked advice of Schevez who was present at the meeting of the chapter. Schevez, having spoken of the "tribulations" which the Church in Scotland had suffered, advised that the quickest method of choosing an abbot should be followed, and recommended the way of compromise. Alexander Mason, chosen "compromissarius," nominated David Lichton, clerk of the king's treasury and Archdeacon of Ross. Schevez was probably carrying out the royal nomination (Arbroath R. N., 208).

The Lords of Council on February 7, 1485, ordered Gilbert Kennedy to restore a letter of tack, granted by Schevez to the captain of the castle of St Andrews, which he had taken out of a "caget" (Act. Dom. Conc., 110*).

VI.

When Schevez was asked to lead the embassy making obedience to Innocent VIII. on his accession (A. P., ii. 170), he was directed to secure indults for other sees, as well as the renewal of those affecting his own; but it was to be clearly understood that the Parliament would not tolerate annexations, pensions, or commends in contravention of its Acts. The support of Innocent was to be enlisted against "barrators" and persons who contested in the courts the rights of royal nominees like Blackader, Elphinstone, and John Hepburn. It was a matter of importance to the Crown and to the nation, considering the position which prelates occupied in the Parliament and Council. The nature of the indults to be secured for the various sees may perhaps be inferred from the resolution (*ibid.*, 172) to ask Innocent to permit the confirmation of elective benefices by the ordinaries,—apparently an attempt to extend over the whole realm rights which had been secured as favours for themselves by Kennedy, Graham, and Schevez. The bishops would approve such a policy; but the special interest of the Crown is revealed in the argument that all other princes already enjoy the privilege. At the same time it was decided (*ibid.*, 173) that strong penal action should be taken against contraveners of the Act of 1462 anent the right of advowson, and the ordinaries were to "dispone upon their other benefices for the inhability of their persons"—an expression which clearly indicates how, in the vacancy of a see, royal control was apt to be loosened and papal influence asserted at the expense of the king.

In 1487 James III. was still fighting against "impetrators" at Rome, who were threatened with the pains of treason (*ibid.*, 179, 182, 183). A Parliament of 1488 (*ibid.*, 209) re-enacted the statute of 1471 against annexations, with a special view to Schevez and Andrew Stewart, Bishop of Moray, the latter having secured the retention of the provostry of Lincluden which he had enjoyed while resident in the University of St Andrews (Act. Fac. Art.), and the former

having been specially favoured in 1479, after his accession to the archbishopric.

VII.

In the Arbroath R. N. (p. 254), there is a statement that on April 19, 1487, the abbot constituted procurators to appear in all cases touching Arbroath at the synod to be held on April 24, in the Metropolitan Church of St Andrews before Schevez, his vicar-general, likewise all other judges, ecclesiastical or secular, in Scotland. The mention of the vicar-general shows that Schevez was not in the country, and was not therefore to be in attendance at the synod.

Lesley says that "the king send the Archebischop of St Androis with the saidis Papes legat Bisshop of Imola to Rome for certaine privilegis, quhillkis wer obtenit."

In the Brit. Mus. Cat. of Seals, iv. 14982, there is a reference, under the year 1486, to the seal of Elphinstone as vicar-general of a place not deciphered. The place could be St Andrews from the date, and from the fact that at other times he was vicar-general of the see. In Graye's MS. (Adv. Lib., fol. 28) there are three documents relating to a diocesan synod held by Schevez probably in or about the year 1479 :—

(1) The clergy are forbidden to leave the synod without satisfying Schevez with regard to procurations, the remainder of the "subsidium caritativum," any sums or victuals owed to him, and the king's tax "vetus et nova." No priests ministering "in curis" are to go without satisfying the archbishop's officials of their fitness, and receiving a testimonial thereof, under penalty of suspension.

(2) All licences granted in time past to hear confessions, choose confessors, have divine service celebrated in oratories, chapels, or profane places, are annulled.

(3) Rectors, vicars, etc., in the archdeaconry of St Andrews who owe sums to the archdeacon by reason of visitation, must satisfy him before leaving the synod, under pain of suspension.

There is a fourth document (quoted by Robertson, 'Statuta,' Append., notes) which relates that while Schevez was in the court of Rome the pope gave him a bull to reconcile any churches in the province. In virtue of this power Schevez gives commission to reconcile Roslin ("ecclesia sive collegium") polluted by the violent effusion of blood.

Grave has gathered a number of styles to illustrate the practice in the period from Kennedy to the Duke of Ross: among these there are documents belonging to the time of Schevez.

VIII.

¹ BULL OF INNOCENT VIII. TO JAMES III. (AP. 20, 1487).

Consueverunt Romani pontifices predecessores nostri Catholicorum regum petitiones illas presertim per quas eorum et aliorum animarum saluti consulitur ad exauditionem gratam libenter admittere et (in) provisionibus ecclesiarum omnium cathedralium, et quorum fructus redditus et proventus ducentorum florenorum auri de camera secundum communem estimationem valorem annum transcendunt monasteriorum, de suffragiis suorum sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalium magna cum maturitate procedere et, ad statum sincere obsequentium regum et temporalium dominorum regnorum et dominiorum in quibus ecclesie et monasteria ipsa consistunt debitum respectum habentes, nonnunquam de sedis apostolice benignitate et singulari ac precipua gratia in provisionibus ipsis faciendis supersedere ad tempus intra quod ipsi reges et temporales domini possent, si vellent, eosdem pontifices de ecclesiarum et monasteriorum hujusmodi prosperis successibus (per) statuum suorum conservatores quod illis magis de persona unius quam alterius provideatur certificare et pro (provisionibus) illorum quos ad eorum regimina idoneos et eis gratos et fidos esse cognoverint humiliter supplicare; et ea propter ad summe devotionis affectum et fidei sinceritatem quibus te et predecessores tuos Scotie reges Romanam ecclesiam

Places
under in-
terdict.

¹ From a careless transcript in MS. Liber Pluscardensis.

venerari dubiis etiam temporibus ostendistis debitum respectum habentes, tuis supplicationibus inclinati *tibi tuisque successoribus Scotie regibus qui pro tempore erunt et in simili devotione prefate ecclesie permanserint tueque et illorum conjugibus et filiis ut dum te vel eos ad loca ecclesiastico interdicto supposita declinare contigerit* quam diu ibidem tu vel successores conjuges et filii permanserint in illis et locis circumvicinis loco in quo te et illos esse continget *infra familiam propinquis misse et alia divina officia solempniter, etiam campanis pulsatis januis apertis, possint libere et licite celebrari* et alia in illis fieri sine alicujus irregularitatis aut pene incursu vel ullo conscientie scrupulo *proinde ac si non essent interdicto supposita* censeaturque interdictum ipsum tua et successorum tuorum conjugum et filiorum predictorum inibi presentia eo ipso summotum pro eo tempore quo te tuosque successores conjuges et filios predictos ibidem esse continget, apostolica auctoritate concedimus; *et eorundem predecessorum vestigiis inherendo contentamur et volumus* prout etiam venerabilibus fratribus nostris Willelmo Archiepiscopo Sancti Andree et Roberto episcopo Glasguensi oratoribus tuis ad nos pro prestanda solita dicte sedi obedientia destinatis verbo diximus, *occurrentibus vacationibus ecclesiarum et monasteriorum hujusmodi regni et dominiorum tuorum, in providendo . . . ad minus per octo menses supersedere tuasque et . . . successorum tuorum regum Scotie in simili fide et devotione perseverantium interim desuper literas et humiles supplicationes durante dicto tempore octo mensium expectare* ut illis intellectis salubrius possimus ad provisiones ipsas prout expedire cognoverimus procedere, successoribus nostris suadentes ut in provisionibus hujusmodi hoc idem studeant parifirmiter observare.

Provi-
sions.

IX.

The editor of the Treasurer's Accounts (i. 74, 75) says that in order to justify and explain the revolution which placed James IV. on the throne, "an influential embassy, headed

by the Archbishop of St Andrews and the Bishops of Glasgow and Aberdeen, was appointed to proceed to the English Court." The authority for this statement is a safe-conduct, granted according to Rymer (xii. 343) in 1488. Bain (C. D. S.) gives the year as 1486. It is surely quite plain that James IV. would not have sent Schevez to justify the revolution, and that Schevez and Blackader would not have gone together.

X.

The revolution in its earlier stage was known at Rome. In a bull of June 27, 1491, Innocent referred to his letters against rebels desiring to dethrone James III. Some of these rebels, fearing that they had incurred the threatened censures, intimated their sorrow and their desire to do penance. The pope appointed commissioners to absolve them (Wilkin's Conc., iii. 634).

XI.

The Acts of the Lords of Council refer to a tack of the teinds of Restenot given by Schevez (92); and they show that Robert Douglas of Loch Leven was required to pay John Inglis of Langlandhill 475 marks Scots for £95 in gold in Flanders, delivered to Robert Abernethy, procurator for Schevez, for which sum Douglas had bound himself (109). These Acts also tell (384) of a case between George Brown, parson of Kynnell, and Robert Kynman. Brown had a provision from the pope for the benefice made vacant "apud sedem," while Kynman alleged that the benefice was united to St Andrews, and that he had a provision from Schevez. Decree was granted in favour of Brown. From the Acts of the Lords Auditors (135) it appears that Schevez on one occasion was required to produce his rental in a case about lands. There is mention (164) of a tack of lands for five years granted by him.

XII.

The trouble between Blackader and the chapter had begun at an earlier date. By his translation to Glasgow he had incurred heavy expenses, and to discharge these the pope, March 31, 1487, authorised him to raise a "caritativum subsidium" from the chapter, collegiate churches, monasteries, priories, and beneficed persons, and, if necessary, to exact a second subsidy, under threat of censure. There was added a grant of half of the first year's fruits of all vacant benefices in the diocese (Theiner, 499). Blackader himself was either (April 18, 1487) to appear personally or by proxy at Rome in regard to the first year's fruits, which, according to the Dean and chapter, belonged by custom of Scotland half to executors of the deceased and half to the successor (Glasg. R., 456). Blackader was absent from Scotland on May 31 (Hist. MSS. Rep., x. 66).

XIII.

Impressions of the seals used by Schevez have been preserved. The large seal, as in 1480, is thus described: "Pointed oval: an elaborate architectural design, consisting of three gothic niches; the centre one contains a figure of St Andrew holding his book and saltire cross; that on the l. Michael the Archangel, with long cross and scales of judgment; that on the r. a sainted bishop. Overhead, in a small niche with super-canopy, a representation of the Holy Trinity; between the two canopies of the larger side niches on the super-canopy is a shield of arms: Scotland. In base, under three round-headed arches, a figure of the archbishop with mitre and crozier, between two saints, that in the r.-h. niche being probably St Giles with his customary emblem, a fawn. Outside the design, on each side a wavy sprig of foliage and flowers. S. . . . wilelmi . . . archiepi sei

andree" (Catal. of Seals in Brit. Mus., iv. 14936; Laing's Catal., 873).

The round seal, as in 1494, is thus described: "In a canopied niche, with tabernacle work at the sides, a representation of St Andrew with saltire cross and book. In base, a shield of arms: 1, 4, three mountain cats passant in pale, Schivez of Mureton; 2, 3, a cross voided in the centre, therein a mullet. Outside the design, at each side a sprig of foliage and flowers. Legend: S. . . . ro · wil · archiepi · s̄ci · andree · legati · primat · regni · scoecie" (Catal. Brit. Mus., iv. 14937; Laing, 874).

XIV.

By 1493 (A. P., ii. 232) Glasgow had obtained a right of confirmation similar to that granted to St Andrews in Kennedy's day. In the course of their quarrels either Schevez or Blackader had endeavoured to secure papal favour by a renunciation: possibly it was Blackader, and Schevez may have come into better relations with James IV., as he did, just for this reason. The litigation of these two prelates produced the striking enactment that all ecclesiastics having suits at Rome should refer to their ordinaries, and, if they could not get justice, should have recourse to judges appointed by the king and Council. While the act of advowson was still honoured in the breach, Schevez had gained a material advantage for James III. in the promise of Innocent to await letters from the king for eight months, in the case of elective benefices, and it was now stated that benefices which had been disposed at home in the time of James I. should be kept out of the Romish traffic. The same Parliament found it necessary to reaffirm the Acts of 1471 and 1488 against bidding for promotion by offering higher taxations to the papal exchequer. Spiritual offenders were to incur complete disability; while temporal persons involved were threatened with loss of life and goods. The king also took occasion to recall any gifts of advowsons pertaining to the Crown (*ibid.*, 236).

In 1496 (*ibid.*, 237) the complaint that the realm suffered impoverishment and the king a detriment of privilege was reiterated, and churchmen going abroad must now procure a written permit defining the limits of their action.

XV.

Schevez was "in remotis" on December 7, 1492 (Arbroath R. N., 271). On October 14, 1493, he was present at a meeting of the Lords of Council (Act. Dom. Conc.) On July 18, 1494, he confirmed a chaplaincy in the Metropolitan Church (Univ. Com. Evid., iii. 354), and another in the Trinity Church on September 5 (Black Book of St A., f. 4). On December 9, he appointed certain men his procurators in all his actions before the Lords Auditors (Act. Dom. Aud., 192). A chaplaincy was confirmed in the Trinity Church, March 16, 1495 (Black Book of St A., 5). By the king's order Sir Walter Swost, chaplain, was summoned before Schevez for certain sums of money (Act. Dom. Conc., 382). Another chaplaincy was confirmed on October 14 (Black Book, 10). An agreement was made on October 22 between Schevez and certain persons regarding lands in Aberdeen belonging, as was claimed by him, to the Church of St Andrews (Act. Dom. Conc., 399). In 1496 he provided a prebend in St Salvator's, St Andrews, from the endowments of Forteviot (*cf.* Lyon, *Hist. of St A.*, i. 243). On May 7, he acted as papal commissary in connection with certain lands granted by Brown of Dunkeld (Theiner, 509).

The king gave evidence of his goodwill towards Schevez by confirming, April 28, 1494, a charter of lands, granted in 1490 to John Schevez (R. M. S., i. 2210).

XVI.

Boethius says, "Has (reliquias) Wilhelmus Schevves, Sancti Andreae olim archiepiscopus, vir undiquaque eruditus, effossas humo multis piis precationibus solennique apparatu in capsulam

argenteam honorifice locavit." The date is given as 1494. Camerarius embellishes the story: "Capsæ . . . auro argentoque et gemmis ditissimæ sunt reparatæ a Guilielmo Scheuves, Sancti Andreae archiepiscopo." Butler in his 'Lives of the Saints,' under July 6, refers to Boethius and Camden as authorities for the work of Palladius, but he follows Camerarius and says, "In the year 1409 (*sic*) William Schenes, Archbishop of St Andrews and Primate of Scotland enclosed them (the relics of St Palladius) in a new shrine enriched with gold and precious stones." The Black Book of St Andrews (fol. 3) refers to a mortification to the altar of Palladius in the Town Church.

XVII.

Three of the four volumes from the library of Schevez which are in the possession of the University of St Andrews are beautifully bound in leather: the titles are indicated by neat labels under mica, framed in brass and let in to the covers. The books are:—

(1) The text of Peter Lombard's Sentences printed by Antony Koburger at Nuremburg in 1481, with marginal notes in what appears to be the archbishop's hand. The book passed into the possession of John Duncanson, Principal of St Leonard's, who seems to have added notes.

(2) Peter de Alliaco (Cardinal, ob. 1420) on the Sentences, printed at Strassburg in 1490, and annotated on the margin by Schevez and others. This volume was presented to St Leonard's by Thomas Cunningham, another Principal.

(3) A number of tracts bound together. The first, Albertus de Ferraria, *De Horis Canonicis*, was printed at Louvain in 1485: then follow certain tracts of St Augustine and St Bernard: last comes a criticism of a Parisian doctor by Egidius Bailluel, theologian of Louvain, where it was printed. Schevez had paged and indexed the volume, which became the property of Duncanson.

(4) The 'Tractatus et Sermones' of Peter de Alliaco has been rebound, but the name-plate is preserved. It was printed in Strassburg, 1490. Like (2) it was presented to St Leonard's by Thomas Cunningham: it is not much annotated.

The binding of the first three volumes has the two-headed eagle which appears on Halyburton's Ledger (v., Introduction); and we know that Halyburton acted for Schevez in the purchase of books.

Some other books from the archbishop's library are still in existence:—

(1) Latin translations (MS.) of four medical tracts written in Greek (Brit. Mus. Cat., Add. MSS., ii. 26622). On fol. 4 are medical receipts in a "contemporary" hand. The binding is evidently similar to that of the St Andrews volumes.

(2) Treatise (MS.) on Medicine with the archbishop's autograph, in Edin. Univ. Library (Halyburton's Ledger, pref. 56).

(3) Work of John de Turre Cremata, inscribed "Codex communitatis fratrum predicatorum de Edinburgh ex dono Reverendi in Christo Patris D.D. W. Scheves Sancti Andree Archiepiscopi," in Edin. Univ. Library (ibid.)

(4) Harleian MS. of the Scotichronicon (dated Oct. 10, 1483, at the beginning of Bk. III.), with inscription to the effect that the copy was done at Edinburgh and finished Oct. 7, 1484, for the use of Schevez by his clerk, Magnus Mackulloch (Skene's Fordun, I. xvii.)

(5) Glasgow University MS. of the Scotichronicon, written probably by a Frenchman at Dunfermline under the direction of the sacrist (ibid., xxi.; cf. Liber Pluscardensis, I. x.)

(6) Cotton. MS. of the Scotichronicon (ibid., xxvii.)

III.

JAMES STEWART.

ST ANDREWS numbered among her churchmen in the tenth century one who, putting off the trappings of a king, entered the monastery "by the margin of the waves." Five hundred years later she saw in Kennedy the last of her bishops, and Graham the first of her archbishops, men of royal descent. William Schevez was of lower origin than his immediate predecessors; but when he died a successor of high birth was found in the Duke of Ross, a prince of the reigning house. There were periods in Scotland's tragic history when royal dukes harassed the sovereigns and disturbed the national peace, and the prudence of James IV. may have compelled his brother towards the Church. James III. had bestowed the rank of a duke upon his younger son, at a time when his own enemies were trying to cast him down from the throne, and were using his elder son as their tool. After his accession, as was shown by pilgrim-

ages to the shrines of favourite saints, James IV. was not at peace. He could not forget that he had joined the plotters against his father and king, and that there were men in Scotland who, remembering Sauchieburn, might gather round the younger son and favourite of the last days of the royal victim. Amidst the troubles of conscience and the political uncertainties of the State, James may have fostered piety or ecclesiastical ambition in the young duke, hoping that the Church would be an asylum where there could be no intrigue for the crown. Scotland most certainly would have no priest as king; and even Pope Alexander VI., who created his own son a cardinal and then converted him into a layman, could not have transformed a cleric into an acceptable ruler for the Scots. The Duke of Ross, were he a prelate, could never supplant his brother, and the king perhaps thought of the removal of a rival. It may be, on the other hand, that affection rather than policy prompted James to bestow, under papal sanction, the high position of archbishop and primate and the great riches of the see of St Andrews on a member of his own family, even though the appointment of a youth would violate the canons of the Church. No scandal, however, could arise through a traffic in holy things in the base days of Alex-

ander VI., and money could secure the elevation of a commendator too young to be a bishop. For Ross himself it is to be said that, while he was promoted to the highest place in the Church in Scotland, his choice of the clerical life meant the sacrifice of aims dear to princes, and his decision was not made only when profligacy had ceased to please.

“What it was,” says Crawford in his ‘Officers of State,’ “that induced this illustrious prince to turn his thoughts towards the Church afterwards, especially that the royal family was so weak, I cannot tell; doubtless, from very strong motives of religion and conscience, since he was to renounce the pleasures and alluring vanities of the world, and that in the very blossom of his youth, the season of age that mankind are most prone and bent upon the gratifying of their passions.”

In evil times youths, and even a boy of twelve, had been raised to the Roman bishopric, and the College of Cardinals had seen mere lads within its princely circle. Abuses were flagrant throughout the Catholic Church in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and in Scotland, when James IV. was on the throne, it was no novelty to see benefices conferred on boys. The Archbishopric of St Andrews, however, was a new creation; and, till the elevation of the

Duke of Ross, it had not been associated with the grave scandal of the appointment of a prelate too young for any duty save the collection of the rents. More than one Scottish ecclesiastic, and Blackader certainly, must have been keenly disappointed in not being elevated to the metropolitan position when Schevez died; but there was no outcry that a fresh dishonour had been done to religion, and a new shame heaped on the Church, when James Stewart, clerk of St Andrews diocese, was made administrator of St Andrews till he reached the *etas legitima*.

James Stewart was the second son of James III. and his queen, Margaret of Denmark. His Christian name was also borne by his elder brother, and the explanation suggested by the historian, Crawford, is feasible. "The reason, I humbly conceive," he says, "why he was christened James seems to be, the name of James was thought to be auspicious to the nation, and the king himself resolved to have a son of his own name to succeed him in the throne, in the event of his elder brother the prince's death, who in his infancy was a child but of a weak and sickly constitution." The exact date of the birth of James, the king's second son, is unknown; and even the year of it can be determined only from the statement

in a papal document that he was in his nineteenth year at the beginning of his administration of St Andrews.¹ In the first record in which he is named, he is designated Marquis of Ormond, and his right to the title of Ormond tells of the breaking up of the great house of Douglas.² After the ruin of another house, a gift was made to the boy, on January 23, 1481, of the territories of Ross and the Castle of Dingwall, forfeited by the Lord of the Isles.³ With the lands was granted the Earldom of Ross.⁴ A Parliament had vested in the king the right to these lands, and he was able also to transfer to his son the territories of Brechin, Nevar, and Ardmanach.⁵

Queen Margaret, whose case for canonisation was to be promoted by her husband and officially investigated by Schevez and Blackader, lived for

¹ Eubel, ii. 99. Brady (i. 124) quotes from another document the words "in xviii. anno constitutum," but his figure may be an error in writing or in printing. In the T. A., i. 64, the editor states that Ross was born in March 1475-6. No authority for the statement is given or can be found.

² R. M. S., i. 1457. The Douglasses were forfeited in 1455 (A. P., ii. 76). On Ormond Hill, see Macfarlane's Geograph. Collect., i. 208.

³ R. M. S., i. 1457.

⁴ Rymer, xii. 328.

⁵ R. M. S., i. 1470. Among the annexations to the Crown, ratified by the Parliament of 1455, were the house and lordship of Brechin, and Ardmanach with the lordship of Ross. In the record of the Parliament of January 29, 1488, the statement is, "Dominus rex creavit filium suum Jacobum secundo genitum Ducem Rossie Marchionem de Ormond Comitem de Edirdale alias nuncupat Ardmanach Dominum de Brechin and Nevare, &c."

some years after the birth of her second son, and was able to watch over his infancy. Mariot Young acted as his nurse, and in due time her services were rewarded with a pension.¹ From the nurse's hands the boy was transferred to those of George Shaw, Abbot of Paisley, in whom we see his first schoolmaster. He, too, was not forgotten for his work, and in the year of the coronation James IV. granted him certain privileges.² The education of the boy could not, and certainly should not, have been completed under the Abbot of Paisley, and we may take it that it was continued when he passed to the keeping of Lord Hailes, captain of the Castle of Edinburgh. James III., while he lived, was of course the official guardian of his son;³ and after he died his place was taken by James IV., who from his association with men like William Dunbar and Sir David Lindsay, may be credited with taking care that his brother's first schoolmaster was not his last.⁴

In 1487 the good Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen, with the Lord Bothwell of the time, acting on behalf of James III., endeavoured to arrange a marriage between the Earl of Ross and Catherine, third daughter of Edward IV. ;

¹ E. R., x. 33 ; xi. 2.

² Paisley R., 84, 263. R. M. S., i. 1767.

³ R. M. S., i. 1694. MS. Adv. Lib., 35. 41. 12., No. 121.

⁴ R. M. S., i. 1978.

and though the marriage, proposed for political ends, did not take place, there is no reason to conclude that either of the youthful parties refused the other, or that the boy with precocious piety rejected wedlock that he might enter the priesthood, and through it pass to the St Andrews archbishopric.¹ The same matrimonial agents tried to negotiate an alliance between the heir to the Scottish throne and another of the English princesses, and it, too, did not take place. When, at last, the union was accomplished which was celebrated in Dunbar's poem of "The Thistle and the Rose," it was the Duke of Rothesay, or James IV. as he was, and not the Earl of Ross, who was the Scottish bridegroom.

In the year of his father's death the earl was created Duke of Ross,² and some have seen in this favour a sign of the king's purpose to secure for the younger son the succession to the throne. In the revolutionary times, which closed with the murder at Sauchieburn, James beheld his enemies beguiling his first-born into the way of rebellion; and it may be that he sought to punish that son and to frustrate his enemies' plans by giving to another the rank

¹ Rymer, xii. 328. In *Acta Scotica* (Adv. Lib. MS.) there is an undated commission by the king to negotiate regarding Berwick, and also the marriage of Ross with Catherine.

² A. P., ii. 181.

which belonged to the heir-apparent by customary right.

There is no doubt that James followed an unusual course when he created his second son a duke, though there was no violation of the constitution.¹ He must have intended, however, to show by his favours to Ross his censure and condemnation of the rebellion and treachery of the prince, and he may have hoped in his distress to triumph over his foes by changing the line of succession. The Scots, however, did not readily tamper with the principle of heredity; and, apart from the formal consent of the Parliament, the support of the people would have been required for the revolutionary change. Yet it is almost impossible not to believe that James III. did mean, through the Duke of Ross, to meet the daring plot of his opponents; and in the title of duke bestowed on his younger son, we may see an outward and visible sign of a revolution which was begun in the mind of the king, and did not find a place in the history of the nation only because the king was slain.

By the death of James III. Ross was deprived of his father's protection, and at the same time was left without an official guardian. James IV. was himself a minor when he succeeded to the

¹ Appendix, I.

throne, and in 1488 the Parliament enacted that Lord Hailes should have "rule and governance" of Ross. Two years afterwards the king was said to have the "governance and keeping," but the public Accounts show that in 1492 Lord Hailes was in receipt of money for his services to the duke.¹ In 1490 a Parliament declared that the revenue from the duke's estates was sufficient for his honourable maintenance, and resolved that the rents should be collected as they were in the case of the king's properties.² The Accounts contain the payments made to the duke when he was under tutors, and prove that he was not stinted in luxuries, and was certainly not starved. There is a note of an offering of eleven shillings and sixpence at a mass for his mother's soul; and we read that between St Barnabas' Day 1488, and March 1490, the sum of £413, 9s. 6d. was paid for the "stuf deleverit to my Lorde of Rosse." Cords and cushions were supplied for his comfort; gloves were not forgotten; and the king ordered for him thirty "payre of schone," and thirty "pair of pantonis." The sum spent for clothes in 1490 and 1491 amounted to £354, 10s. 1d. For his bed a "covering of arress" was procured, and the boy was doubtless happy when

¹ A. P., ii. 211, 219. E. R., x. 357. Appendix, II.

² A. P., ii. 219.

he received "a sadil, a brydil, girthis, stirrop ledderis, and irnis."

The Accounts of 1492 tell us how a young prince was dressed in that far-off year. He had short and long gowns of scarlet lined with black damask and satin, doublets of red and green satin, a "pryn of gold" for his belt, a black velvet saddle-cover; and in his wardrobe there were also a jacket, a bonnet, a tippet, a hat and ribands. We read further of purchases of camlet for a mantle to be lined with buckram, French black for a night-gown, and black holland for a shirt. A signet-ring, the gift of the king, cost £2, 14s.; and the same amount was given him "to bordour a spune about."¹ In the days of his youth Ross did not of course require a separate household and retinue. Thomas Young, however, acted as chaplain and steward, and in 1492 Ormond was his pursuivant. Probably the pursuivant, who after 1494 was paid directly by the duke,² continued in his service till the elevation to the commendatorship of St Andrews.

It is interesting to find that Ross was a trader in salmon and other merchandise, and that he had his agent in the Netherlands.³ It may be taken, however, that business connected with his estates, such as the export of salmon, was

¹ T. A., i. 90-201.

² E. R., x. 90, 339, 414.

³ Halyburton's Ledger, 87.

done in his name and not under his supervision ; though on one occasion he showed his appreciation of one of his bankers, Cornelius Altonitz, by giving him six goblets of silver for the "gentrys he did to my Lord in the laying out of his money." ¹

In the attempted settlement of Scotland after the accession of James IV. there were men to be rewarded for their services to the party of the young sovereign, as there were men to be punished for their devotion to the murdered king. Ramsay, one of the favourites of James III., the worthless youth spared by the royal entreaty at Lauder Bridge, obtained from his master the Lordship of Bothwell. He was forfeited, however, by James IV., and was prepared for revenge through any intrigue. In 1491 he made a bargain with Henry VII. of England, which showed the treachery in his character, and pointed to revenge as the motive of his conduct. By a document written at Greenwich, and dated April 16, 1491, he and Sir Thomas Todd of Sereschaw entered into an agreement that the Earl of Buchan and Todd would deliver King James and the Duke of Ross into the hands of Henry VII. The English king gave the conspirators the sum of £266, 13s. 4d., which was to be returned

¹ Halyburton's Ledger, 59.

on a certain day, and which, it is safe to say, was not; and he accepted Todd's son as a hostage.¹ Fortunately for the peace of Scotland, James and Ross were not entrapped and sent to an English prison; and the whole incident might be explained as a silly plot on paper, were it not for the money which Henry gave in what was called a loan. Yet the loan was surely a ridiculous price to pay for the capture of a king and his brother. Either parsimony triumphed, or Henry paid according to his faith in the success of the scheme. The incident, however, is to be catalogued among the unsolved mysteries of Scottish history, since Ramsay himself was not to be a leader; and certain men, notably the Earl of Buchan, were named, who may not have been parties to the agreement. Buchan, a son of the widow of James I. by her second husband, the Black Knight of Lorn, was the grand-uncle of James IV., who had pardoned him for his adherence to James III. It is possible that he lent his name to the intrigue which Ramsay was engineering, seeing that the two had been attached to James III., and that in a later plot he was again mentioned by Ramsay.² It is difficult to understand, how-

¹ Rymer, xii. 440.

² Ellis, Orig. Letters, First Series, i. 22.

ever, why Buchan should play into the hands of Henry and betray the king and people alike of Scotland; and it is still more difficult to understand why the servant of James III. should be false to Ross, the favourite son of that master. There is no evidence to prove that Buchan was a traitor to his country; and the mystery of the intrigue, seemingly a madman's device, is heightened by the fact that the conspirators who signed the agreement were men of no political position, and were powerless to work out their suggested mischief.

Ramsay continued his plotting, even though the king had pardoned him for his offences and permitted him to reside in Scotland. James, however, did not restore the title which he had taken from him, and Ramsay would consider himself a political martyr. In his estimate of his own character he did not judge himself too honourable to be a spy; and for English gold he gave secret information to Henry VII., who did not scorn to accept it though it came from such a source. In the days when Perkin Warbeck was posing as a prince, Ramsay informed his paymaster that James was preparing to make war on England; and when the Scots had crossed the Border in the autumn of 1496, Ramsay sought credit from Henry, on the ground of having prevented the Duke

of Ross from joining the expedition. In his letter to the English king he wrote: "I past to Santandr and commonit at lenght with ye kings broder, and gaff him ye cros bow. He commends his servis humbly to 3our Graice, and sayes he intendis to do 3our Grace serves, and will not, for ought ye king can do, cum to yis ost (host) aganis 3our Graice. And now my lord of Mrray pass' or to him gyff ye king cummis to yis Jornay, as I dout not he will, in contrar his barronr' willis and all his hail peplen, and my Lord will solist yis 3oung Prince to cum to 3our Graice."¹ The Lord of Moray appears once more as a plotter, but it is to be noted that it is in one of Ramsay's letters that he is named. A plotter, however, does not easily forsake his ways; and the bishop's willingness to engage in a fresh intrigue may be admitted, unless we credit him with honesty and Ramsay with making a lie. It is difficult, on the other hand, to believe that the Duke of Ross could have had any reason for turning away from his brother and becoming a traitor. He was

¹ Ellis, *Orig. Letters*, First Series, i. 23. On July 5, 1497, Henry VII. requested that Andrew of Moray should be sent, among others, to treat about Perkin Warbeck (*C. D. S.*, iv. 1635). If the people opposed the war they were against peace, according to Don Pedro de Ayala (*Bergenroth, Simancas Papers*, vol. i.), when it was arranged at Ayton.

heir to the crown, it is true, and if he was ambitious of royal power his hope of attaining it would lie mainly in the king's death. James, of course, might be killed if he engaged in a battle, and any unscrupulous counsellor might advise him to wage war with England. Ramsay, however, did not say that the duke wished the king to attack Henry. He declared, on the contrary, that Scotland was not for war, and that should the king proceed with it, the bishop was to solicit Ross to take the side of England. Ramsay's statements, without prejudice to his reputation as a spy, may be taken as fictions prepared for the purpose of proving to Henry that his money was being well spent.

Fortunately for Ross's good name in history, there is evidence which suggests, though it does not prove, that he was not a traitor. James himself, before setting out for England to wage war against Henry, took care to find protectors for his brother. Letters were sent to the Bishop of Dunkeld, to Lord Glamis and other nobles, who were asked to remain in Edinburgh with the duke in the king's absence.¹ It does not appear that Ross, who was but a youth, intended or was expected to join the expedition. A payment was made to the king in 1497 by the duke or on his behalf, and that payment was probably

¹ T. A., i. 269.

a contribution towards the expenses of the war.¹ In the same year he was in correspondence with the Duchess of Burgundy, who in her opposition to Henry VII. was willing to be thought the aunt of Perkin Warbeck, who went about with a prince's name. The accounts show that David Rattray proceeded to Venice to "my lady of Burgundy" on his errand, and that a payment was made to Rattray when he passed "with the quhit ros lettrys to my Lady."²

History gives but scanty notices of Ross's youthful days, and indeed of his whole career. The account of 1502 records a payment in full to Lord Bothwell as guardian of Ross and keeper of Edinburgh Castle, and also one for the expenses of the duke.³ It is not unworthy of observation that the administrator of the diocese of St Andrews for several years required the care of a guardian; and it may be noted that in these years he resided mainly at Edinburgh Castle. There is little interest in the fact that in July, 1492, he rode to Doune Castle,⁴ or that he

¹ T. A., i. 313.

² Halyburton's Ledger, 153, 315.

³ E. R., xii. 18.

⁴ T. A., i. 203. Don Pedro de Ayala (Bergenroth, Simancas Papers, i.), writing of the days of James IV., says, "if lords . . . die and leave children under twenty-two years of age, the king is the guardian of them." If that statement is correct, and if Ross was eighteen in 1497 (*vide infra*), he would be twenty-two in 1501; and the last payment to Bothwell might well be in the 1502 accounts.

remained for some time, in 1495, in the castle with Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreith.¹ There is significance, however, in his association with Schevez which gave him, as was probably intended, a training in episcopal work. Schevez was not old, as we now estimate age, when he and the duke were together; but at the end of the fifteenth century the standard was different from ours, and he may have thought it prudent and not premature to train his successor.

Schevez, as archbishop, was conservator of the privileges of the Chapter of Glasgow; and we find that in 1493 he fulminated against the invaders of these privileges, and that Ross was a witness.² In the following year Ross witnessed a confirmation by the archbishop of a mortification for a chaplain in the Trinity Church, St Andrews;³ and from time to time he was named with him, when they attended the meetings of the Lords of Council.⁴

The death of Schevez did not leave the Scottish Church in unusual disorder, and no whisper

¹ E. R., x. 501.

² Glasg. R., 484.

³ Black Book of St Andrews, f. 4.

⁴ On October 17, 1493, Ross left the Council with Schevez during the afternoon sitting. On the 19th and 21st of the same month they entered the Council together. On June 10, 1494, he was present at the Council with Schevez (Act. Dom. Conc.); on June 23, 1496, they were together in the meeting of the Parliament (A. P. Suppl., 35, Chart. Cambusk., 174). Appendix, III.

was yet heard in the West of the Lutheran reformation. But Scotland, as much as any country in Christendom, required the purification of her Church. Dunbar's poems are an unholy revelation of the scandals which disgraced the officials of religion; and if the friars were worse than the priests, the priests were, many of them, ignorant and worldly and not always decent. Dunbar was of course a satirist, and to wit he added irony as he told his tales. These tales, however, brought no formal censure on their author, and the silence of the great ecclesiastics shows that he was not to be crushed as an ill-natured slanderer or unholy blasphemer of the Church. The evil stories told of the Vatican and its occupants,—stories of the open shame of Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI.,—could have been repeated concerning other places and other priests; and the very degradation of the papal court gave boldness to satirists like Dunbar, as they attacked meaner men than the popes and yet secured their own safety. The Church in Scotland in the generations before the Reformation has been very generally pictured as the blackest spot in Christendom; and many things, such as the influence on learning and morals of the three Universities, have been passed over. If an apology cannot be written for the Church in Scotland, a picture in colours not all sombre could

be painted, and it could be shown that there were efforts, not altogether vain, to educate the clergy and to make reservations of livings according to scales of learning among expectants.¹ It is true, however, that the Archbishops Graham and Schevez were in no degree devout and pious ecclesiastics or reformers; and Blackader was one of the numerous order of able but worldly churchmen. Had the king himself been more in his religion than a victim of superstition,—the superstition which often drove him to the shrines of parochial saints,—and had he been one of the true worshippers who come at sundry times, he would have minded the righteousness which raises a nation, and would have chosen for the metropolitan see a man of business, morals, and piety. But James sinned like his fathers; and urged, perhaps, by brotherly love, or prudent in removing a useful weapon from an opposing political faction, did not attempt to set ecclesiastical affairs in order, but continued in the old paths, and secured the elevation of the Duke of Ross to the highest place in the Scottish Church.

Schevez died in January 1497, and John Hepburn, Prior of St Andrews, was appointed vicar-general of the see, and continued in office

¹ Cf. Ottenthal, *Reg. Canc. Ap.*, 135. *Papal Petitions*, i. *Papal Letters*, vii. Appendix, IV.

even after the election of Ross as commendator.¹ The succession to the archbishopric was speedily arranged, and by May of that year Ross, as "postulate confirmed commendator," was in a position to consent to the annexation of Arbuthnot Church to King's College, Aberdeen.² In a papal document of September 20 of the same year it is stated that James Stewart, Clerk of St Andrews diocese, was made administrator of St Andrews till he reached the *etas legitima*.³ The Third Lateran Council, held in 1179 under Pope Alexander III., decreed that a bishop must have completed his thirtieth year before entering into office. Leo X., in the Fifth Lateran Council, referred to Alexander's enactment and desired that it should be observed, adding "et si de minoribus ætate triginta annorum . . . contigerit provideri, non dispensetur cum eisdem ut ecclesiis citra vigesimum septimum ætatis annum, monasteriis vero citra vigesimum secundum præesse valeant."⁴ The name of Pope Alexander VI. is associated with scandals, yet he could not altogether have forsaken tradi-

¹ Arbroath R. N., 303, March 22, 1497. Hist. MSS. Rep., viii. 305, October 1497. In a document dated August 21, 1498, Ross is styled archbishop, but Hepburn is not named vicar-general (Reg. Aberd., ii. 306). On September 13, 1498, Hepburn was described as vicar-general (Holyrood Charters, 253).

² Fasti Aberd., 15. See also R. M. S., i. 2358. E. R., xi. 66.

³ Brady, i. 124. Eubel, ii. 99.

⁴ Mansi, xxii. 218 ; xxxii. 875.

tions in order to elevate a youth in his nineteenth year to the Scottish primacy. While there is indication in Ross's case that the limitation of thirty years, and even of twenty-seven, was removed, it may be noted that there was no need for him, so far as his interests were concerned, to seek the archbishopric, when as administrator he could draw the revenues and at the legal age could be consecrated. It remains, however, that neither the king nor the pope was troubled with the fact that the Church required a primate and the province a bishop, and that a dual control of a commendator and a vicar-general could not secure the religious and ecclesiastical efficiency of the see. But James was able to provide for his brother, and Alexander VI. knew that money would flow into his treasury. The memory of Alexander is not defamed when it is said that he did not burden himself with the cares of the Scottish Church, and that for gold he was willing to gratify a king. The tax was certainly paid for the archbishopric, and a new tax would be levied, if the *atas legitima* was set aside and consecration secured.

The king, in securing the appointment of an administrator of St Andrews, was violating the principle if not the terms of the Act of the Scottish Parliament of 1466, which was doubt-

less aimed at the first archbishop of St Andrews, but which would be interpreted at Rome as an infringement of the papal prerogative. Whatever the purpose of the Act may have been, it stood on the Statute Book; and it was shamefully infringed when the king arranged for the election of a commendator to the most important see within the realm. The pope, however, would not be constrained by any act of the Scottish Parliament, and he gave his consent to the promotion of James Stewart. The ordinary tax of 3300 golden florins was met on October 14, after the issue on September 21 of the papal bulls of provision, and James Brown, Dean of Aberdeen and factor for the duke, paid the money at Rome.¹ The custom which required subsidies for the expenses of a promotion was not neglected, and we find the Abbey of Cupar making contributions to Halyburton, Ross's business agent.² It does not appear that the king obtained money for his share in the transaction; but immediately after Ross's death the sum of

¹ Brady, i. 124. Halyburton's Ledger, 218. The Aberdeen Book of Hours, on the second page of September 1499, has a red ink memorandum of Ross's promotion to St Andrews, with reference to the services of Brown as his procurator (cf. Geo. Neilson in 'Scottish History and Life,' 267).

² Halyburton's Ledger, 153, 215. There was also a payment for Aberdeen, 217.

£3791, 19s. was taken from his coffers and handed to James.¹

Custom, which took candidates for the great benefices of the Church to Rome, took also the postulantes who had reached success without opposition. Ross accordingly prepared to seek the papal presence, and asked the permission of Henry VII. to pass through his realm. The king of England could have no possible objection to allow the archiepiscopal youth to visit his country as a traveller to Italy, and on December 1, 1497, he granted him a safe-conduct for two years, in consideration of his high rank, sincerity of life, honesty of morals, and other virtues.² Henry's characterisation of the prelate is almost the only contemporary verdict on his life and conduct which we possess; and though it may be taken as an official rather than as a personal panegyric, there is no reason to doubt the existence of the excellences set forth by royal favour.

Nothing is known of the meeting of Ross and Pope Alexander VI.; but if it occurred in 1498, Ross was in Rome in the year when Florence saw the martyrdom of Savonarola.³ It required no fine moral sense to appreciate the contrast

¹ T. A., ii. 196.

² Rymer, xii. 670. C. D. S., iv. 1638.

³ Before December 1497 the Archdeacon of St Andrews, doubtless on the business of the see, had gone to Rome (Halyburton's Ledger, 216).

between the licentious and worldly pope and the pure and pious Florentine prior who loved righteousness and preached its claims, and was put to death, apologists of the Roman Church now say, for interference in the politics of his city.

Ross, on his return to Scotland, was called upon as administrator of the see of St Andrews to transact ecclesiastical business, but the fact that his consecration as archbishop never took place may stand as a plea for the religious barrenness of the years in which he was a prelate in name. With no measure for the advancement of education, with no scheme for the moral elevation of the clergy, not even with the extirpation of the Lollard heresy which Blackader attempted, was the Duke of Ross associated. It is true that he was a young man, but youth was not incompatible with ecclesiastical zeal or religious fervour; and we look in vain for any indication of a love of letters which might have redeemed the dulness of his character. He was, however, the Duke of Ross and brother of the king; and to the accident of birth or the circumstance of family, and neither to achievement nor genius, he owed his promotion in the Church and afterwards in the State.

In the business of administration Ross's sig-

nature was required from time to time, and documents with his seal attached have been preserved. Thrift can hardly account for the fact that at first he used a seal with the arms of Schevez. It has been suggested that "possibly this seal was made for Archbishop Schevez, and on the accession of James Stuart, the legend only was altered, but the arms allowed by an oversight to remain."¹ Another seal was obtained in which the arms were changed, and the legend bore that it belonged to "James, archbishop of St Andrews, primate of all Scotland, legate of the apostolic see, duke of Ross, commendator of Holyrood."² The legend of a seal used in 1500 omitted Commendator of Holyrood, and included "Marquess of Ormonde, Earl of Ardmanach and Lord of Brechin." In 1501, however, the designation of Commendator was restored, while the titles of Marquess, Earl, and Lord were not used.³ The making of "my Lordis rond sell," as appears from Halyburton's Ledger, cost £2, 10s.; while 16s. covered the expense "for mendin of my L. lang sell."⁴ In the year after Ross's promotion Halyburton forwarded to him a silver and also a gold signet-ring. The stone in the gold ring cost

¹ Catal. of Seals in Brit. Mus., iv. 17242.

² *Ibid.*, 17243.

³ Catal. of Seals in Brit. Mus., iv. 14938. Laing's Suppl. Catal. of Seals, No. 1008. Laing's Catal. of Seals, No. 875. Appendix, V.

⁴ Halyburton, 215, 217.

26s., and extravagance may not therefore be charged to the youthful archbishop.¹ The most notable entries in Halyburton's accounts with Ross concern "my Lordis throwcht" (tombstone), which was made in Bruges at a cost of £25, according to a prepared pattern, and was shipped to Scotland.² In Italian cities such as Siena, but especially in Rome, monuments were being erected to mark the memory of distinguished ecclesiastics and to adorn the churches. The building of these monuments was one of the fashions of the age of the Renaissance, and popes and cardinals were honoured in stone. Schevez, who had manifested the humanist's love of books, had in another manner shown himself the child of the Renaissance when he ordered the monument which was to perpetuate his memory. The Duke of Ross, imitating the example of his predecessor, and inspired perhaps by the visit to Rome, purchased the "throwcht" for a modest sum, and in his life was enabled to see the stone which was to mark his death. The "throwcht," says the editor of Halyburton's Ledger, was probably "the monument once common in Scotland, as in other countries, the high tomb, or altar tomb, placed on the church floor, often with recumbent figures on it."³

¹ Halyburton, 154, 216.

² *Ibid.*, 161, 215, 250.

³ *Ibid.*, 57, note.

A few records have been preserved in connection with Ross's administration of St Andrews. As "postulate" he gave a mandate, January 16, 1498, for the reception of Thomas Ramsay into the Pedagogy;¹ and on February 6, as "postulate confirmed," granted a licence to Robert Douglas of Lochleven in respect of certain lands.² Though with no strictly legal claim to the name, he was described as Archbishop on August 19 and 21, when he was a witness at Stirling and Linlithgow to documents under the Great Seal.³ On September 13, under the style of "elect-confirmed," he acted as arbiter in a case concerning a vicarate, and gave judgment in the Church of the Dominicans in Edinburgh.⁴ It is evident that he was in Edinburgh on that date; and, though his name was attached to documents, he may have occupied the earlier months of the year in the journey to Rome.

Towards the close of 1497, before there could be a plea of long or eminent service in the archbishopric, Ross received the Abbey of Holyrood *in commendam*. David I. founded the abbey, dedicating it to the honour of the Holy Cross, the Blessed Virgin and all Saints, and

¹ Act. Fac. Art.

² Morton R., ii. 247.

³ R. M. S. On January 16, 1499, he described himself, or was described, in a document as Archbishop, Primate, and *Legatus Natus* (Hist. MSS. Rep., viii. 306). Appendix, VI.

⁴ Holyrood Charters, 253.

endowed it for canons-regular of the Augustinian order.¹ Royal and noble donors of later times, by enriching it, placed it among the wealthiest foundations of the Scottish Church, so that the abbot was one of the great ecclesiastics of the land.

In spite of the Act of 1466, and, indeed, in spite of propriety of all kinds, Ross was appointed commendator, and on February 10, 1498, 171 golden florins were paid on his behalf for the common services.² The first seal obtained for him as archbishop bore, as already noted, that he was commendator of Holyrood; and on June 1, 1500, the seal attached to the confirmation of an altarage in St Leonard's Church, St Andrews, had commendator of Holyrood in the legend.³ The appointment to Holyrood was purely and simply a scandal, against which it was useless

¹ Bellenden, translation of Boethius, tells how "Kyng David foundit the Abbay of Halyrudhous be myracle of the holy Croce."

² Ross was appointed "per bullas Alexandri VI., sub dat. sexto kalend. Jan., anno sexto"; and on Feb. 10, 1498, "Thomas Alchaston, clericus S. Andreae dioc., vice ac nomine R. P. D. Jacobi, electi St Andreae, obtulit pro com. servitio monasterii S. Crucis, florinos auri 171" (Brady, i. 182). From a document in R. M. S. (i. 2441) it seems that Bellenden was abbot on May 28, 1498, since a charter of that date, given by him, was confirmed by the king on August 16—"Rex ad manum mortuam confirmavit cartam Roberti Bellentini abbatis monasterii S. Crucis prope Edinburgh." Whatever the explanation regarding Bellenden may be, Ross was undoubtedly commendator.

³ Univ. MSS.

for virtuous and inexpedient for disappointed churchmen to protest. The king was powerful and the pope was omnipotent, and the dawn of the Reformation had not appeared. The Duke of Ross was doubtless a youth of exemplary habits, associated with the Church at an age when nobles were usually devoted to the world, but his virtue was not so conspicuous that it deserved the reward of the Archbishopric of St Andrews and the Abbey of Holyrood. The scandal, however, was not to cease with the promotion to Holyrood. On the 3rd of June 1500, he was made Commendator of Dunfermline;¹ though on June 1st, before the issue of the papal bull, he styled himself commendator in the document relating to the Monypenny altarage in St Leonard's.² The Benedictine

¹ Brady, i. 178. "Die 3^o Junii 1500, referente Card. Ursino, Mon. Dunfermlin, per translationem Georgii, Abbatis, vacans, R. D. Jacobo, archiepiscopo St Andreæ, commendavit." George Crichtoun was translated to Holyrood (Brady, i. 182), and James Stewart on the same day from Holyrood to Dunfermline. On August 21, 1500, "D. Paulus Tuba, scriptor Apostolicus, vice ac nomine Jacobi, archiepiscopi Glasguen [an error for S. Andreæ] pro commenda Dunfermlin, obtulit florinos auri 250" (Brady, i. 178).

² Univ. MSS. On August 26, 1501, James, Archbishop of St Andrews and Commendator of Dunfermline, confirmed a mortification (Black Book of St Andrews, f. 18). The same style was used on May 24, 1503, when James witnessed a document assigning lands to the Princess Margaret (Rymer, xii. 63; A. P., ii. 271); also when he witnessed a document connected with lands for Blackader (Glas. R., 504). On one occasion at least he was at Dunfermline, since on October 31, 1502, the king sent a letter from Melrose to him at Dunfermline (T. A., ii. 346).

monastery of Dunfermline was founded by Malcolm Canmore, and dedicated to the Holy Trinity and Margaret his wife, who was afterwards canonised. Alexander I. completed the foundation. Pope Innocent IV., at the request of Alexander II., granted the use of the mitre to the abbot, who was one of the Lords Spiritual, with a seat in the Parliament. The business of the monastery required an organiser, as the monks needed a ruler. The dignity of the office indeed could command the services of clerics ambitious of place and power; but while the dignity was not a prize for the brother of a king, the revenue was, and the commendatorship was accordingly secured for the youth who had already obtained an archbishopric and a monastery. Had Ross been an older man when he was nominated to Dunfermline, the sin might be charged against him of heaping up treasure from the riches of the Church. He was of course not too young to err in that financial way; but in our judgment we must remember that the king was implicated in the clerical jobbery and profited by it. Ross, as will be seen, gave over to his brother the lands which he had received from his father, and there is no reason to believe that the transaction was an unwonted display of fraternal affection.

After the scandal of Dunfermline another was

perpetrated, though it was in a different province. The Earl of Huntly, "Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, held the office, till the year 1502 he resigned the Great Seal, which was immediately, with the title of Lord Chancellor, conferred upon the king's brother, the Duke of Ross."¹ Crawford, who makes this statement, is wrong in regard to the year, but not in regard to the main fact. On July 8th, and again on November 17, 1501, Ross witnessed documents under the Great Seal, and signed as archbishop and chancellor.² The tale of jobbery did not finish with the chancellorship, but Ross's appointment to that great office of State was a crime or blunder only less grave than his promotion to the archbishopric. Even could the admission be made that his abilities were great, and he may have been competent to do the chancellor's work, it cannot be thought that a youth who had just reached the years of manhood was able to discharge the duties of the two most important offices in the realm which a subject could hold. Prelates, to the neglect of their sees, had again and again in the centuries before the Reformation acted as

¹ Crawford, 57.

² The R. M. S. shows that in 1502, when witnessing documents, Ross frequently signed as archbishop and chancellor, but more commonly as archbishop. In 1503, however, he generally signed as archbishop and chancellor.

counsellors of kings and ministers of state; and while that neglect, in respect of religion, is to be condemned or deplored, their political services are generally to be counted as aids to civilisation. But in the days of his youth there was no conspicuous genius in James Stewart to mark him as worthy to be at one and the same time the high priest in a church and the first minister in a state. Had an excuse been necessary or a plea demanded for the appointment of Ross, the king might have urged that the chancellor had generally been a churchman, and that the Bishop of St Andrews from time to time had been Keeper of the Great Seal. Roger, son of the Earl of Leicester, William Malvoisine, Gameline, William Wishart, William Fraser, and James Kennedy had each in his day been chancellor and had also been promoted to St Andrews. Kennedy, the most illustrious of these prelates, had found, however, that the work of the civil interfered with the duties of the ecclesiastical office, and it was the chancellorship which he resigned. "It seems," says Crawford, "he was not able to do all the good he had in his view, when he suffered himself to be made chancellor; and therefore in a few weeks at most he resigned the place." The example of Kennedy, however, was forgotten, and Ross,

an inexperienced youth, undertook the task from which the great prelate had shrunk.

The Abbey of Arbroath, one of the richest in the land, founded by William the Lion and dedicated to St Thomas of Canterbury, was given *in commendam* to the archbishop and chancellor. The papal bull was dated July 7, 1503;¹ but in a document, dated November 25, 1502, James is styled Commendator of Arbroath.² The dignity of the Abbot of Arbroath could add nothing but a name to the style of the man who occupied the highest places in the realm, but the revenues were not beneath the avarice of a prince. At the Reformation they amounted to something like £10,000 of our money, and at the beginning of the century, after meeting the charges for the monks, they supplied a salary adequate for a mitred abbot, and could therefore materially augment the riches of even the wealthiest of commendators.³ Within a period of six years, in which he passed from youth to manhood, James Stewart was appointed administrator of the Archbishopric of

¹ Brady, i. 164. "Die 7^o Julii, 1503, ad relationem Card. S. Praxedis S. D. N. commendavit R. P. D. Jacobo, archiepiscopo S. Andreae, Monasterium S. Thomae Martyris, St Andreae dioc., vacans per obitum David, extra Romanam curiam defuncti."

² Douglas Book, iii. 178.

³ In the 'Book of Assumption of Thirds,' the revenues, apart from wheat, meal, and other things paid in kind, were entered as £2873, 14s. Scots (cf. Herkless, 'Cardinal Beaton,' 75; Theiner, 526).

St Andrews, the primatial see in the Scottish Church, and Commendator of the Abbeys of Holyrood, Dunfermline, and Arbroath, honourable and rich foundations, and was made Chancellor of the realm.

The king was responsible for the elevation of his brother to the high places of authority and wealth; and though his actions did not bring down scorn and obloquy upon his head, he escaped only because the moral sense of the people had been debased by the constant sight of the illicit traffic in spiritual things, and by the unholy vagaries of churchmen. He did not, however, negotiate the various promotions out of sheer goodwill to his brother, since he himself profited by the transactions. As the benefices came to him, Ross made over his own lands to James. Being a priest he had no direct heirs to whom these lands could descend, and it was convenient for a churchman to live by the Church. It was fortunate, of course, that the king was able to enrich himself without engaging in a war with one of his nobles whose territories he desired; and the most favourable judgment to be passed on James and Ross is that they strengthened the power of the Crown by increasing its wealth. Through the disposition of the archbishop the lands of Ross, Ardmanach, Brechin, and Nevar were restored to

the Crown ; and he retained "only the principal message of each, in order to enable him to retain his titles of honour."¹

Ross is no more than a name in Scottish history, since, as may be repeated, there was no policy in Church or State for which he was responsible, no scheme for the advancement of religion or the welfare of the clergy which he fostered, not even a rebellion or feud of the nobles in which he was able to take a part. We find him, however, assisting in the celebrations connected with the king's marriage—but in these, of course, he could not occupy the first place. In the autumn of 1503 the wedding of James IV. and the Princess Margaret took place, the event which was to prove of supreme importance in the relations of Scotland and England. The Archbishop of Glasgow officiated at the ceremony, and it may be concluded, therefore, that Ross had not been consecrated to St Andrews. He was associated, however, in many details with the wedding. On May 24 he was the first witness to a document assigning lands to the Princess Margaret.² A graphic account by the Somerset Herald shows us what ceremonies took place, and Ross's share in these. James, on August 3, rode out to Haddington to

¹ Cf. E. R., xii. 32. Appendix, VII.

² Rymer, xiii. 63. A. P., ii. 271.

meet his bride, and was accompanied by "my Lord the Arch Bishop of Saunte Andrews, brother of the said kyng, and chaunceller of Scotlande."¹ The company of sixty horsemen returned again to Edinburgh. On the 7th, after entering Edinburgh, a cavalcade in which James rode passed to the church of Holyrood, "out of wich cam the Archbisshop of Saunt Andrew, brother to the said kyng, his crosse born before hym, accompanied by the Reverend Fathers in God the Byschop of Aberdeen, Lord Privy Seal of Scotland, the Byschops of Orkney, Cathness, Ross, Dunblane, and Dunkeld, and many abbots, all in their pontificalls, with the Religious and Chanoynes richly revested, preceded by theyr crosse. The said archi Byschop then gave the king a relik for to kysse, bot he dyd as hee had doon before." It appears that when James entered Edinburgh the Greyfriars had presented a cross and relics to be kissed, but he "wold not before the Quene." Some fantastic or super-refined courtesy constrained him, as it did when he knelt with Margaret, upon cushions of cloth of gold, before the high altar, and "by the said Archbyscop was giffen hym to kysse a rich crosse, wheroff

¹ For the Somerset Herald's narrative, cf. Leland, *Collectanea*, iv. 265.

he did as before, without offrynge." On the next day, the 8th, James received the English lords in his great chamber, and with him were the archbishop on his right hand, and the prelates with many secular persons, "all setting." After the "preposicyons" the archbishop, along with Elphinstone, conducted the English company to the lodging of the princess. When the ceremony took place in the church the Archbishop of Glasgow, who officiated, marched into it with the attendant prelates and other ecclesiastics, while Ross entered with the king. After the proceedings in the church were over, the Archbishops of St Andrews and York, the Bishop of Dunblane, and the Earl of Surrey dined with James, and Margaret was the guest of the Archbishop of Glasgow. On the day after the marriage an Italian "played before the king on a corde varey well," and with James at the window were "my Lord of York, the Earl of Surrey, the Archbyschop of Saunt Andrew, the Byscop of Durham, and many other lords." The same company watched the jousting on the 10th, from windows which were "well apoynted."

In none of our records is there a description of Ross's consecration as archbishop, and no contemporary historian has stated that he was

installed.¹ It is to be noted, however, that the Somerset Herald narrates that the cross was carried before him at the wedding ceremonies, as if he had passed from the administratorship to the archbishopric itself; and it may be that Blackader's services were required, in order that Ross might be left free for the duties of a groomsmen. Ross, it is to be remembered, was to continue administrator till he reached the *ætas legitima*, which by general custom was twenty-seven years. In a document of February 7, 1503, that date was described as falling within the fifth year of his administration;² and on February 24 he was still administrator.³ In the Treasurer's Accounts, however, there are references to the bulls of St Andrews which seem to indicate that in 1503 documents were being obtained from Rome; and these doubtless referred to the archbishopric. But there is the difficulty that if Ross was in his nineteenth year when he was made administrator, he could not have reached in 1503 or 1504 his twenty-seventh year; and the conclusion is that the bulls could not have been the necessary documents for the archbishopric, or that Pope Alexander VI. granted a relaxation in regard to the *ætas*

¹ In Law's MS. he is described as "electus Arch. S. A. necdum consecratus ve sacerdos."

² Hay's Scotia Sacra (Adv. Lib. MSS.)

³ MS. Adv. Lib., 34. 1. 10., vol. i. 431.

legitima. Alexander VI. was not an immaculate prelate, and a relaxation could be given for the price of the bulls, especially when the "elect-confirmed" was the brother of a king. There certainly were negotiations regarding bulls, and it is impossible to suggest any office save the archbishopric to which they could have referred. The bull of confirmation for Arbroath could not have been styled "of St Andrews." An item in the Accounts, which follows one relating to the "tyme of mariage" (the royal marriage), refers to Robert Bertoune who "payit the bullis of Sanctandros;"¹ and in the Accounts of 1504 mention is made of "Robert Bertoun in Flandrez, quhen he passit for the bulles of Sanctandros."² The evidence, such as it is, shows that in 1503 money was paid for the bulls of St Andrews; and as the fees for the administratorship had been duly transmitted to the papal treasury in 1497, it may be concluded that Robert Bertoune's transactions concerned the official documents which declared Ross to be of the *ætas legitima*, and sanctioned his consecration. No historian, as already noted, has described Ross's installation to St Andrews; and the silence may be explained by the fact that

¹ T. A., ii. 241. The editor dates the account 1502, but the reference to the marriage shows this to be a mistake.

² T. A., ii. 240. The item follows one dated February 13.

he died at Edinburgh on the 12th of January 1504,¹ and was never in fact archbishop. It is evident that he exercised little or even no direct influence on the ecclesiastical and political life of Scotland, since no contemporary has recorded the circumstances or the cause of his death. Buchanan and Lesley do not even mention him in connection with St Andrews. Official papers, however, the Registers, and Accounts, give us scraps of information. On the 4th and also on the 6th of January 1504, charters were witnessed at Edinburgh by him as archbishop and chancellor;² and though by custom he may not have been in Edinburgh when these transactions were completed, he was certainly alive on these dates, which indicate the last occasions on which he attended to public business. On the 13th or 14th of January "Maister Thomas Dikson" received £26, 11s. "for the expens maid on the tursing of the Beschop of Sanctandrois to Sanctandrois to be beryit, in wax, in fraucht, and all othir expens."³ Dickson was the chamberlain of the Prior of St Andrews,⁴ who by virtue of his office became vicar-general of the see during the vacancy. The cause of the death is unknown.⁵ The body was removed to St Andrews, and was interred on the 29th

¹ Appendix, VIII.² R. M. S.³ T. A., ii. 415.⁴ E. R., xii. 387.⁵ "Subita mors," says Myln (Vit. Ep. Dunk., 59).

of January, if we may determine the exact day from the fact that on the 29th the sum of £82, 15s. was given to the priests in St Andrews "for my Lord of Sanctandros tyrment."¹ The clerical expenses were not met by that payment alone, as we find that on the 26th of January "Schir Andro Makbrek" received £5, 7s. "quhen he passit to Sanct Andros to the Beschopes tyrment, to dispone to preistis."² Messengers were despatched to different parts of the country with letters of invitation to the burial;³ and the number of those who attended is to be estimated from the fact that in addition to torches and tapers, three hundred and three dozen "arms" were provided.⁴ These "arms" were small black flags with the arms of the dead person, and were carried by the mourners. Crawford narrates that "before the Arch-Bishop had held the Chancellor's place full two years, he departed this life in 1504, aged twenty-eight, and was interred in the chancel of the Cathedral Church at St Andrews, among the Bishops his predecessors in that see."⁵ Spottiswoode, in his short narrative of James Stewart, says "his body was interred in the Cathedral Church amongst the Bishops his predecessors"; and in that

¹ T. A., ii. 417.

² Ibid., 257.

³ Ibid., 416.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ The statement that he was aged twenty-eight is not confirmed by any of our evidence.

church there was doubtless found a place for the "throwcht" which the living man had ordered for his own memorial.¹

The king displayed his sorrow for the death of his brother by obtaining the proper suits and trappings. There was purchased "Ristlis (Lille) blak to be ane dule gown with ane hude to the king, eftir the dede of the Archbeschop of Sanctandros"; and he had also black hose, a black riding gown, a black horse which was afterwards given to the "maister cuke," and a black covering for the horse.²

There is nothing in the Accounts or other documents, save the amount paid to the priests, to show that the king attended the funeral at St Andrews; but stringency of etiquette would not make him absent himself, and sickness did not keep him away. He went to Falkland on the 15th of January, and was certainly there on the 26th, and probably on the 28th. On the night of his arrival he was "at the tables" with Robert Colvill, and on the 17th, as the Accounts show, was playing "at the cartis in Faukland."³ Money was paid to him on the 26th "to play at the tables," and in the evening he received a further sum for his game of cards.

¹ In Law's MS. it is stated, "Hic plrs cappas seritas et duo jocalia reliquarum composuit." A marginal note is "sepultus ante reliquas."

² T. A., ii. 223.

³ Ibid., 415.

Again on the 27th he was playing, and required four French crowns, and twenty shillings of white silver.¹ It is recorded that on the 28th "two lutaris" received twenty-eight shillings at the king's command; and we may imagine that he turned from his amusements and solaced himself with mournful strains.² James certainly did not forget his brother immediately after the interment. By his order ten French crowns were given to "Johne barbour with the Beschop of Sanctandrois";³ and for several years he made an offering for his brother's soul on the anniversary of the death.⁴ On May 27, 1505, he gave to the Cross of Peebles two rings which had belonged to "my Lord of Sanctandrois."⁵

James Stewart, it is once more to be said, is but a name with an uncertain place in the episcopal succession of St Andrews, and the man himself is never seen. Ariosto in the 'Orlando Furioso' draws this portrait of a Duke of Ross:—

"Or volgiti all' Esperia
Dove si veggion trenta mila Scotti,
Da Zerbin, figlio del lor re, condotti.

Vedi tra duo unicorni il gran leone
Che la spada d'argento ha nella zampa :

¹ T. A., ii. 417.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., 418.

⁴ Ibid., iii. 70, 286; iv. 182. Appendix, VIII.

⁵ Ibid., iii. 60.

Quell' è del re di Scozia il gonfalone ;
 Il suo figliuol Zerbino ivi s'accampa.
 Non è un sì bello in tante altre persone :
 Natura il fece, e poi roppe la stampa.
 Non è in cui tal virtù, tal grazia luca,
 O tal possanza : ed è di Roscia duca.”¹

It is possible that Ariosto confused Ross with Rothesay when he drew his fanciful picture.

Beyond this more than doubtful panegyric, there is only the characterisation by Henry VII. in the safe-conduct; and James Stewart is in truth but one of a wilderness of names. Neither vice nor virtue claims him for its own, and we know not whether it was piety which led him to the Church, or physical or moral weakness which kept him out of the world. Certainly in his recorded history there is no trace of devotion to warrant the judgment that he had given himself to religion. In Church and State, as archbishop and chancellor, he began no reform and propounded no wise policy; and charity fulfils its perfect law when it finds in his youth and his short career an explanation of the barrenness of his years. He was elected to high offices which required experienced service; and holding abbeys *in commendam* he occupied where strong men should have laboured. Doubtless he had notable partners in the dealings for rich livings;

¹ 'Orlando Furioso,' x. 83, 84.

and not improperly condemnation may be given to the king who for his own purposes promoted his brother, and to the pope who for money sanctioned the dishonourable traffic. Unfortunately, through the want of any good deeds to be credited to him, the name of James Stewart stands simply for a series of abuses. By his tenure of great offices, for which he was in no special way fitted, he illustrates, indeed, a phase of the degradation of the Church in Scotland. Justice cannot be changed into mercy, even if the plea be made that he was only the administrator of St Andrews. While he was administrator no other was archbishop; and he was not kept, through lack of episcopal consecration, from burial in the great cathedral, but was laid to rest beside priests and prelates who had served their day.

APPENDIX.

I.

DON PEDRO DE AYALA (Bergenroth, *Simancas Papers*, i.), writing of Scotland in the days of James IV., says, "There are four duchies in the kingdom. Three of them are in the possession of the king; the fourth is held by the eldest brother of the king, who is Duke of Ross and Archbishop of St Andrews." The duchies were Albany, Rothesay, Ross, Montrose. In 1488 James III. created the Earl of Crawford Duke of Montrose. This duke died in 1495, and according to a decision of the House of Lords in 1853, the dukedom of Montrose ended with him. Lord Crawford was the first Scottish subject, not of the royal family, to be created a duke.

II.

There are many references to the payment of the duke's expenses in Edinburgh Castle (E. R., x.), and to sums of money delivered to him (T. A., i.) In the account of 1497 there is a payment by the king's mandate for seed wheat for the Duke of Ross for Dingwall (E. R., xi. 15). On December 31, 1501, he entered into an indenture with his chamberlain for keeping "his plasis of Dingwall and Reid Castell" (E. R., xii. 235). In a document dated July 13, in the eleventh year of the king's reign, there is note of a summons to Ross to appear before the king and council at Aberdeen or elsewhere on November 8. It ap-

pears that in 1498 he did intermeddle with certain rents which he claimed as belonging to his earldom ('Family of Kilravock,' Spalding Club, 65, 167). On January 22, 1489, judgment was given against the Earl of Crawford in an action by the king against him for wrongous occupation of lands of Brechin and Nevar belonging to Ross (Act. Audit., 123). In the same month a case concerning the Brechin hospital came before the Lords of Council. James III. had given the hospital to James Ramsay, and Ross as patron granted it to Archibald Pattonsoun. The case was to be sent to Edinburgh where it could be defended by the king in his brother's name (Act. Dom. Conc., 103). In February 1490, the king and Ross entered proceedings against Ramsay and his father for taking the case to Rome (*ibid.*, 128). There was also a case of the king, as tutor of the duke, against the Countess of Ross in connection with the lands of Fingask, which was settled in favour of the king (*ibid.*, 124, 161). In the year 1500 Ross granted a lease of the lands of Brechin (E. R., xii. 295).

III.

Erasmus, in a letter dated 13th September (1496), wrote, "Accessit nuperrime sacerdos quidam adolescens numatissimus, et qui episcopatum oblatum recusasset, quod illiteratiorem se non ignoraret. Intra annum nihilominus a rege ad episcopatum reuocandus, &c." The editor of the Clarendon Press edition of the 'Letters of Erasmus' (P. S. Allen, M.A.), in a note on the above passage, seeks to identify the Duke of Ross with the sacerdos. If Erasmus wrote in 1496, the bishopric to which the sacerdos was recalled could not have been St Andrews, since it was not vacant, as Mr Allen notes, till 1497. He suggests Argyll, but it was of small financial value, and could not have tempted Ross. Mr Allen thinks that Ross may have compromised himself with Henry VII. in the Perkin Warbeck episode, and may have gone to "France to await the issue of events, the date agreeing well with his having arrived in Paris

nuperrime on 13th September." He refers to a payment recorded in Halyburton's Ledger, and made according to instructions in Ross's letter of 3rd October 1496 ; and he says, "otherwise, I find no trace of him in Scottish records again until 21st July 1497" (in T. A., i. 313). The evidence does not show that Ross compromised himself with Henry VII., and the item in Halyburton's Ledger does not point to Ross being in Antwerp.

IV.

Felix V., the antipope, writing to the rector and University of St Andrews in the first year of what he deemed his reign, quoted the decree of the Council of Basel to the effect that ordinary collators should give a certain proportion of vacant benefices to men of letters, and declared that he had promised to work faithfully for the execution of such decrees. He urged the rector and University to present themselves to the ordinary collators, and said that if the collators did not observe the decree of the Council, he himself would grant to men of letters the benefices devolving to him through the breach of it (Reg. Evid., 44).

V.

In the seal used after that bearing the arms of Schevez "the shield of arms in the base bears Scotland (lion's tail curved inwards), within an orle or bordure of eight roses, for Stuart" (Catal. of Seals in Brit. Mus., iv. 17243). The seal of 1500 is thus described: "On an archiepiscopal cross a shield of arms: Scotland. Ensigned with a coronet of a duke. Supporters, on a mount two unicorns" (ibid., 14939). Much more elaborate is the description of the seal of 1501: "Pointed oval: a carved and canopied gothic compartment in which is a figure of St Andrew, with his saltire cross in the r. h., and an open book in the l. h. Above the canopy a niche with supercanopy, containing a figure of the Holy Trinity. In side niches

adorned with architectural canopies, are representations of Michael the Archangel with long cross and balance, and a sainted bishop with a dove descending on his mouth. All the canopies richly ornamented with pinnacles and crocketings. In the lower part three arched niches; the centre one contains a figure of the archbishop with long cross, kneeling in adoration, on a shield of arms (the charges obliterated): ensigned with a coronet. The side niches contain figures of St Benedict (?) and St Giles" (*ibid.*, 14938).

VI.

On June 1, 1500, in the third year of his administration, James, styled Commendator of Dunfermline, confirmed a charter in connection with the Monypenny altarage in St Andrews (Univ. MSS.); on June 26, at Arbroath, he granted as archbishop a licence about a mill (*Hist. MSS. Rep.*, vii. 721); from time to time he gave collations to churches at the request of the Abbot of Arbroath (Arbroath R. N., 326, 327, 346); on June 3, 1501, he confirmed the chaplaincy of St John the Evangelist in the Pedagogium, St Andrews (Univ. Com. Evid., iii. 355); on May 13, 1502, he appointed an executor for John Weymss, under the archbishop's seal at Dunfermline (Fraser's 'Wemyss,' ii. 119); and, on November 14, he erected two prebends in Trinity College Church, Edinburgh, out of the Parish Church of Dunnottar (*Edin. Charters and Doc.*, 181).

VII.

The account of David Leirmonth, Chamberlain of Ross, for the period of August 6, 1502, to July 17, 1503, refers to the Duke of Ross as "quondam dominus," and it is evident, therefore, that the lands of Ross were resigned before July 17 (E. R., xii. 151-153). The Brechin and Nevar account from May 1, 1503, till August 2, 1504, also speaks of Ross as "quondam dominus" (*ibid.*, 241-242). The Ardmanach account begins as follows: "Comptum David Leirmonth,

camerarii baroniarum de Avauch et Eddirdule que dicuntur Ardmach (Stirling, 26th July 1504, from 1st November 1503, 2 terms) quia dicto die quondam dominus dux Rossie dimisit hujusmodi dominium in manibus regis" (ibid., 242). Some years after his brother's death James confirmed certain lands in the county of Nairn which were described as acquired "per resignationem quondam fratris regis Jacobi ducis Rossie" (R. M. S., i. 3068).

The editor of vol. xii. of the E. R. says that Ross resigned the estates on May 15, 1503, but gives no authority for the statement. In the Douglas Peerage, ii. 416, an instrument of resignation, dated May 15, 1503, is quoted (Suth. Add. Case, iv. 58), in which the archbishop reserves the hill of Dingwall for the title of Duke of Ross; the hill of Ormond for the title of Marquess thereof; Redcastle for the title of Earl of Ardmach; and the castle hill of Brechin with the gardens for the title of Lord of Brechin and Nevar.

VIII.

On January 17, 1506, there was a payment of 14s. which James offered in the College of St Andrews at the soul mass of the archbishop (T. A., iii. 70). In 1507 the corresponding payment was on January 13 (ibid., 286); and from the Accounts of 1512 (ibid., iv. 182) it appears that the offering was made on January 12, which was most probably the anniversary of the day of the death.¹

In the account of 1506 (T. A., iii. 30) there is an acknowledgment of £500 from the Abbot of Arbroath for the debts of the late archbishop, of £55 from Elphinstone of the archbishop's property in his custody, and of £229, 10s. from Master John Brady of the archbishop's money.

¹ Graye, who was secretary to Ross, gives the date of the death, which took place in Edinburgh, as January 13. He describes Ross as Commendator of Dunfermline and Arbroath, and "secunda persona seu princeps Scocie ac eiusdem cancellarius major" (MS. in Adv. Lib.)

IV.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

THE selection of Alexander Stewart to follow James Stewart in the archbishopric was the renewal with aggravation of a scandal. The see of St Andrews had been conferred on a youth, and now it was given to a boy. James IV. had secured the promotion of his brother, who was years distant from the *ætas legitima*; and the arrangement had put into his royal hands the charge of great ecclesiastical revenues. Public decency had not been outraged, and no popular cry for the purity of the Church had been heard when the Duke of Ross was nominated as the successor of Schevez. The king was a favourite in the land, and he knew that he had no cause to fear the rage of the people or the clamour of the priests if he named his natural son for the archbishopric. It mattered not in an age of clerical scandals that that son was but a boy, and had not even the grace of legitimacy attaching to his birth. It was enough

for James at least that a place of high distinction and great wealth should be secured, and he would not be unmindful of the notable fact that the control of the revenues of the see would be in his own keeping. There is nothing more indicative of the spiritual degradation of the Scottish people and the corruption of the Church than the fact that at the beginning of the sixteenth century the king, without serious protest against the outrage, dared to elevate a boy to the administratorship of the foremost clerical office in the country.

James IV. was a superstitious, or perhaps, it may be admitted, was a devout man, if judged by his visits to shrines and his gifts to the altar. He might have been paying for salvation, as he was for ever presenting priests with money; and he certainly displayed not the ostentation of a princely patron, but the unbroken attention of the conscientious giver addicted to religion. The Spanish Ambassador, Pedro de Ayala, in a letter of 1498 to the sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella, described the Scottish king: "He fears God," he wrote, "and observes all the precepts of the Church. He does not eat meat on Wednesdays and Fridays. He would not ride on Sundays for any consideration, not even to mass. He says all his prayers. Before transacting any business he hears two masses. . . . He gives

alms liberally. . . . He has a great predilection for priests, and receives advice from them, especially from the Friars Observant, with whom he confesses." His fear of God notwithstanding, he trifled with the moral law which makes for purity; and it was an illegitimate son whom he pressed forward to the administration of a see. The observation of the Church's precepts had not hindered him from promoting Ross, and it did not interfere with his advancement of Alexander Stewart as a child to the archdeaconry and as a boy to the archbishopric of St Andrews. Pious reflections on the inconsistencies in human nature and obvious references to the moral standards of other ages do not explain the man, who sought eternal life through association with the localities of saints and through offerings to the priests of the sanctuaries, and was yet able to commit the sins of uncleanness and to destroy the uses of the Church by a shameful traffic in its offices.

It cannot be urged that when the Duke of Ross died there was no churchman worthy of promotion to his office, though it might be said that in an age of decadence the general degradation could not be increased by an additional scandal. Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen was the friend and faithful servant of James, and the royal favour might have rewarded him,

especially as his elevation would have secured the best interests of the Church. He had proved himself in times of the nation's need a wise counsellor and strong statesman, and beyond the sphere of political service he has deserved as a churchman the praise awarded by posterity. He was a true worshipper, as was shown in the pious books he prepared; a faithful son of the Church, as was manifested in the reforms instituted in his diocese; and the foundation of the University in the city of his see was the sure sign of his love of learning. "He was held in such authority," wrote Hector Boece, "by James the Fourth that as often as he had any business to transact with his own subjects, or with foreigners, as often as he had to make a treaty with other kings, or to make peace with countries and communities, he always entrusted the matter to Bishop William. James the Fourth did nothing, nor held counsel or anything which had not been arranged or considered with the advice of William. William was therefore beloved and respected by the people, dear to the nobles, and acceptable to all." Elphinstone was not called to the archbishopric, but Alexander Stewart was chosen; and in the selection there is seen an example of the domestic service a father may render to a son.

The first reference in our documents to Alexander Stewart, "the base son" of James IV., is found in one of the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer. It is recorded that in 1498 the king gave a sum of money to "the noris that fosterit Marioun Boydis barn."¹ It is not stated that the child was the king's son, but James was not likely to be generous to the woman for her own sake, and his interest must have been in her charge. Marion Boyd was the daughter of Archibald Boyd of Bonshaw.² From one of the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer we learn that at some time within the period 1494 to 1496 James bestowed on her "the ward and marriage" of John Muir, son and heir of the Laird of Rowallan;³ and after the marriage granted her an annuity which was confirmed under the Great Seal.⁴ The birth of the child, of whom the king was the father, must have taken place before the marriage of Marion Boyd; but the date of

¹ T. A., i. 378. In Law's MS. it is stated that Alexander was the son of James IV. and Margaret Boyd. Law was a canon of St Andrews, and in 1550 was Principal of St Leonard's College. In the oldest copy of Martine's 'Reliquiæ' (St And. Univ. MSS.) the name of Alexander's mother is not given, but a later copy gives the name. Among the Edin. Univ. MSS. is a copy of the 'Reliquiæ,' dated 1683, which was revised by Martine in 1699. On a margin of the revised copy Marie Boyde is named.

² Designated daughter of Archibald Boyd in R. M. S., i. 2471.

³ T. A., i. 220. The name of the husband is given in R. M. S., i. 2472.

⁴ E. R., x. 496, &c.; R. M. S., i. 2471, 2472.

the birth and the date of the marriage are both unknown. Erasmus, however, who acted as a tutor to Alexander Stewart, gives us definite but contradictory statements regarding his pupil's age. In a panegyric, written after Flodden, where Alexander fell, it is declared that the archbishop at his death was about twenty years of age; though it is also said that he was scarce out of his eighteenth year when he was a pupil with Erasmus. Unfortunately "that cunning clarke's" arithmetic is not of the value of his Latin, and he was blundering when he asserted that the pupil who was eighteen years of age in 1509, was about twenty at his death in 1513. Accepting the statements, but not deciding between them, we reach the conclusion that Alexander Stewart was born in 1491 or 1493.¹

The record of Alexander's childhood is not altogether blank, though the notices deal mainly with his maintenance and wardrobe. His name is mentioned for the first time on January 16, 1502, on which day there was a payment for a horse for his journey from Edinburgh to Stirling,² where he was placed under the care

¹ The editor of vol. xiii. of the E. R. points to a letter of James IV. to Pope Julius II., in which Alexander is described as being in 1505 under the age of puberty. The editor asserts, therefore, that he could not have been born before 1493.

² T. A., ii. 133.

of James Watson.¹ Whatever his position was, attendant or tutor, Watson, it seems, had the boy under his charge in 1501, as in that year payments were made to him for "clathis bocht to barnis" and "in pairt of the barnis expens."² Damask was purchased for a riding-coat for "Alexander Stewart, the kingis son"; and a scarlet hat, a bonnet with "a ribbon to the same," boots, and a tippet of taffeta, were added to his wardrobe.³ As early as July 10, 1502, Alexander made an offering in St Giles', Edinburgh, at a priest's first mass, and again on July 17 and September 3 there were gifts of the same kind.⁴ It may have been the piety of the father which dictated this charity, or the boy may have acted according to a goodly custom which a king's son could not neglect; but it is not necessary for us to look on his generosity as a token of abnormal enthusiasm for the Church. The Church, however, was to be his destination, and at a very early age he was to be associated with it. There could be no pretence of dedicating a child to the Lord, when James secured for his son the archdeaconry of St Andrews, which was vacant by the death of Robert de Fontibus. In the

¹ In the E. R., xii. 77, he is named John Watson.

² T. A., ii. 92, 117. See also 123, 145, 159.

³ *Ibid.*, 59, 156, 157.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 154, 159.

complex moral character of the king there was superstition; but there was no hypocrisy to clothe abominable scandals with the trappings of piety, and his jobberies were perpetrated with open frankness. On September 20, 1502, whatever the date of his promotion may have been, an account was paid for velvet for a doublet for Alexander Stewart, "Archdene of Sanctandros"; and we read of the purchase of a bonnet, sheets, a gown, and two pairs of hose for the archdeacon.¹

It was the duty of an archdeacon to assist the bishop in the management of Church property and in the support of the clergy, widows, and orphans, the poor and prisoners; and his importance was such that he was sometimes styled *oculus et manus episcopi*. The dignity and authority of an archdeacon varied in the ages of the Church, but whatever may have been the duties of the office which Robert de Fontibus held, it was not possible that they could be undertaken by the child who followed him. There was no archbishop, however, who would interfere with the king's patronage of benefices, and the Duke of Ross, administrator of St Andrews by his brother's favour, would not check the royal simony, but would be prepared or compelled to confirm the appointment of Alexander Stewart. And when there might

¹ T. A., ii. 300, 302, 303, 350.

have been records of useful administration by an experienced and watchful ecclesiastic, there are notices of payments in 1503 on "the ix day of Januar, in Dundee, for ane hat to Alexander Stewart, archdene of Sanctandros, quhen he tynt his aun hat," and on the 13th of March for two pairs of boots, nine pairs of double-soled shoes, and one pair of single-soled shoes "to the said archdene."¹

No information has been preserved regarding Alexander's education in his early boyhood, and the records, such as they are, tell of other things. It was intended at the close of 1502 that he should make a journey by sea. He remained in Leith eight days, where "clathis and bedding and vittales" were provided, and "syne he sailit nocht."² In March of the following year eight French crowns were repaid to the Provost of Edinburgh, which he had expended "to lous Alexander Stewart, archdene of Sanctandros gere, quhen he com furth of France";³ and from an item in the Accounts of May it is evident that the boy sailed to France.⁴ Whatever the purpose of his visit to that country was, it does not appear

¹ T. A., ii. 303, 361. On the 3rd of February there is an account for clothes, including a gown of camlet and a gown and a doublet of velvet (*ibid.*, 303, 304), also a payment for Alexander's expenses made to Andrew Aytoun, who was probably his attendant in Watson's place (*ibid.*, 355).

² *Ibid.*, 353.

³ *Ibid.*, 364.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 371.

that he was sent to or continued at a school, as he was in Edinburgh in the autumn about the time of the royal wedding.¹ Propriety permitted the king's natural son to be a spectator of the pageants, and to James, who must have arranged the visit to Edinburgh, is due the credit of affectionate attention to Alexander throughout the years of the short life that closed at Flodden. An indication of his care was given when he was at Falkland at the time of the burial of Archbishop James Stewart in the Cathedral of St Andrews. On his own behalf he presented the Franciscans of St Andrews with forty shillings, and at his command three pounds were bestowed "for the archdene."² James was specially attracted to the Grey Friars, and the gift in the boy's name was a gentle act of courtesy which did not lose grace by the circumstance that it was a donation by the Archdeacon of St Andrews to the Observantines of the city.

The death of James Stewart in January 1504 left the see of St Andrews vacant, and the king set himself to the task of obtaining it for his son. It had often happened in the history of the Church that an archdeacon had been elevated to the bishopric, an assistant to the place of the principal; but there could have been few examples of a child, who had done nothing

¹ E. R., xii. 165.

² T. A., ii. 417.

as an archdeacon, becoming when a boy the commendator of an archiepiscopal see, where there were duties he could not possibly fulfil. Julius II., who had just ascended the papal throne, was not likely to mark the beginning of his ecclesiastical diplomacy in Scotland by setting aside the arrangement which allowed the Scottish king eight months in which to make nominations to bishoprics. It was none the less necessary, when a mistake might illustrate the corruption prevalent in the Church, for James to be rapid in his approach to the pope. He knew that an aspiring and wealthy candidate might ingratiate himself at Rome. Two serious difficulties were in his way. His nominee was a boy in age and a bastard by birth. The second difficulty had been created by an ecclesiastical law which, on examination, might be accounted an anomaly in a society professing to be a spiritual community. The character of the child born out of wedlock can have no direct connection with any violation of the customs of marriage, or any outrage on domestic purity. The Church, however, had enacted that illegitimacy should bar the way to ecclesiastical preferment, and had thus honoured the sanctity of family life. But it was not merely once or twice that the law was set aside, and natural sons were often seen in

great stations in the Church. Gold, it was known, had dissolved the scruples of popes, and James would have to deliberate like an accountant, if there was no fixed tax, how much should be offered to Julius to overlook the stain on the birth of the Archdeacon of St Andrews. There was also the fact, however, that Alexander Stewart was not of the *ætas legitima* required in bishops. There can, of course, be nothing but praise for the rule which precluded boys or youths from places which demanded tried men; but James, through his brother's promotion, had already gained experience in the methods of simony. He was a king and had a king's purse, and, on the other hand, papal supremacy included the right to dispense with, on occasions, the formalities of the Canon Law. Undoubtedly he had serious difficulties to face when he nominated his son for the archbishopric, but he found that they could be overcome.

During the vacancy caused by the death of James Stewart, the business of the diocese was transacted by John Hepburn, who as Prior of St Andrews was vicar-general.¹ It was not the urgency of that business which prompted

¹ He acted as vicar-general on March 16 (*Fasti Aberd.*, 49); again on May 31 (*Coll. Churches, Midloth.*, 326), and also on November 23, when the see was not said to be vacant (*Adv. Lib. MSS.*, 33. 4., 17, 27).

James to immediate action, but he certainly lost no time in making a nomination. On the 22nd of February the sum of £1285 was paid to the Dean of Moray and Sir Thomas Halkerston, "to the finance of the bullis of Sanct-androis," and another sum was given to meet their expenses as they passed through England.¹ These ecclesiastics were evidently the king's commissioners to Rome in the matter of the archbishopric; and money was entrusted to them. Whatever arguments were used they influenced the pope, and in September of the same year messengers "passit for the said bullis."² The pope's pursuivant sought the king's presence on July 22, and it is not impossible that he was entrusted with the formal answer of Julius to the petitions regarding the archbishopric;³ and that in consequence of that answer messengers were despatched to Rome.

The evidence, such as it is, indicates that in 1504, the year of James Stewart's death, Alexander Stewart was appointed to St Andrews. In an undated letter to Julius II. the king acknowledged the papal gift of St Andrews

¹ T. A., ii. 243. Appendix, I.

² Ibid., 458. See also 243.

³ Ibid., 448. "The pursewant that com heir to the king" is the phrase. He was rewarded by the king and queen, and were it not that he was commissioned to the king, the conclusion would be that he had a papal message to deliver regarding the marriage which had taken place.

filio nostro vel impuberi; and writing to the Cardinal of St Mark's, the protector of Scottish interests at Rome admitted that it was by the prelate's good offices that the promotion had been secured.¹ The boy was of course archbishop only in name, and was technically administrator of the see according to his own description.² While he had the right to the revenues, he was precluded from the clerical duties of the diocese. The king who was his guardian professed anxiety that these duties should be properly performed; and accordingly he petitioned the pope to appoint a suffragan, and named a doctor of theology of the Dominican order to whose remuneration he himself would attend.³ He also solicited the cardinal "to relieve our scruples" by securing the election of the suffragan; and in another communication thanked him for his efforts for the promotion of Alexander, *res sane difficilis viisque speranda*.⁴ The name of the Dominican doctor has not been preserved, and it is not even known that he ever officiated. The suggestion to appoint a suffragan, who was to relieve the royal scruples, shows that James had a

¹ Epp. Reg. Scot., 2, 3.

² Letters of Rich. III. and Henry VIII., ii. 273.

³ Epp. Reg. Scot., 2.

⁴ Ibid., 15. This letter belongs probably to 1506, and the others to 1505.

conscience, and one which could be easily pacified.

In an Account of the year, July 20, 1504, to July 23, 1505, Alexander was styled Lord Archbishop of St Andrews, and whatever the precise date of the bull of appointment was, the vacancy in the see was certainly filled before July 23, 1505.¹ He returned to Scotland from France in the autumn of that year, and occasionally a glimpse of him is obtained.² He and the king amused themselves with cards, playing for money; and there is a note of a small sum paid to the archbishop "quhilk he kest in hawok."³ On two occasions at least he visited Linlithgow, apparently was at Darnaway with the king,⁴ and boy though he was a case for arbitration was submitted to him. James wrote on May 1, 1507, to the head of the Premonstratensians regarding powers of visitation of Dryburgh claimed by the Abbot of Souleseat and the Prior of Whithorn, and intimated that he was referring the matter to the archbishop. Alexander decided in favour of Dryburgh, which was the chief seat of the order in Scotland.⁵ It is of course absurd to

¹ E. R., xii. 334.

² T. A., iii. 162.

³ Ibid., 176, 370.

⁴ Ibid., 180, 344.

⁵ Letters, Rich. III. and Henry VII., ii. 246. The editor refers to a letter of Alexander on this subject of same date. The king calls Alexander archbishop, primate, and legate.

think that he was capable of giving a just judgment founded on the hearing of parties and the examination of evidence; but the king may have had some fanciful wish to show that there was an Archbishop of St Andrews. Justice perhaps was done to Dryburgh by accident or in spite of sinister circumstances; yet surely a Church was unfortunate when the primate was a boy.

David Leirmonth acted as chamberlain and bailie to the archbishop,¹ and we find from the Accounts that payments were made to the king from the lands of the Lord of St Andrews. James was legal guardian of his son, and profited by his minority, collecting into his exchequer revenues meant for pious uses. In an Account of August 6, 1506, under the heading of "lands in the hands of the king," there is an acknowledgment of £622 from the lands of the Lord of St Andrews, £475 from the archbishop, and £3380 *de subsidio Archiepiscopi Sanctiandree*.² The reference to the subsidy shows that the churches of the diocese followed the custom and taxed themselves for the promotion; and Alexander himself acknowledged receipt of £250 from John Hepburn,

¹ Hist. MSS. Rep., vii. 721. Fraser's 'Carnegies,' 523.

² T. A., iii. 29-30. Appendix, II.

Prior of St Andrews, in full payment of a share of the subsidy.¹

James IV., with his virtues and vices, showed a love of learning and a friendship for men of letters, and the king, in one of whose Parliaments a compulsory education act was passed, was certainly not unmindful of the training of his own son. Patrick Panter, the best Latinist in the land, who was made royal secretary, had charge of Alexander's education, and was worthy to be the instructor of a pupil with the exalted style of archbishop, primate, and legate. When the young scholar had left him and settled in Padua, he addressed him as *dimidium animæ*, and told him of his regret for his absence. Advising him in excellent Latin and with prudent and commonplace maxims to make good use of his opportunities, he intimated that the king desired that he should apply himself to letters.²

It is shown by the Accounts of 1507 that in that year Alexander left Scotland. He received a thousand ducats of "finance maid in Venys,"³

¹ Adv. Lib. MSS., 35. 2. 4., i. 344. An acknowledgment to Hepburn (*ibid.*, 18, i. 8. 26) is signed "Alexander Sanctiandree [*sic*] archiepiscopus."

² Letters, Rich. III. and Henry VII., ii. 266. The letter is dated from Edinburgh on December 15, and must belong to the year 1507. Alexander addressed him as preceptor (*ibid.*, 269).

³ T. A., iii. 278.

and a payment of £80 was made to John Bertoun "to furnis the schip callit the Thesaurar away with my Lord of Sanctandrois."¹ The time had come for the young prelate to attend a foreign school of learning. Padua, the place selected, was the University of Venice, and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was famous. Situated within the province of Venice, and supported by it, the University enjoyed the freedom from direct papal control which the republic itself possessed. The education at Padua, together with the subsequent training under Erasmus, who for a time acted as his tutor, must be remembered when an estimate is made of the intellectual character of Alexander Stewart, who was to advance learning by the foundation of a college in his own city of St Andrews.

Patrick Panter did not accompany his pupil, and a guardian or director of studies was found in Thomas Halkerston, provost of the collegiate church of Crichton, who began his duties by taking charge of £188, 10s. given for the purse of the archbishop.² Residence in Italy placed the archbishop *in remotis*, and required the appointment of vicars-general for the work of

¹ T. A., iv. 72. A further payment was made to Bertoun (*ibid.*, 97).

² *Ibid.*, 72.

the St Andrews diocese. Documents have been preserved which furnish the names of men who acted in the period from June 3, 1508, to March 1, 1510, and which indirectly show how long the prelate was away from his see.¹ In spite of his absence, however, and his devotion to study, Alexander was not freed from official work.

In the beginning of 1508 the king wrote to Pope Julius regarding the appointment of James Beaton to the bishopric of Whithorn and the Chapel-Royal associated with it, and in another communication proposed to exempt the dean of the Chapel-Royal from archiepiscopal jurisdiction.² Word of the exemption reached Alexander, whose powers were being invaded, and though his own father was the offender, he did not hesitate to address a protest, while seeking his aid, to the Cardinal of St Mark's, the conservator of Scottish privileges at the Roman court.³ The letter is a clever appeal to the great ecclesiastic, who had involved himself in the appointment of a boy to an

¹ On June 3, 1508, vicars-general were acting (Fraser's 'Wemyss,' i. 102); on June 18, Gavin Dunbar, archdeacon, was vicar-general (Fraser's 'Lennox,' ii. 187); while on March 1, 1510, John Hepburn and Gavin Dunbar served (Doc. reg. Kynnell as a prebend of St Salvator's, Univ. MSS.) Appendix, III.

² Letters, Rich. III. and Henry VII., ii. 257.

³ *Ibid.*, 273.

office which was being attacked in its privileges. He wrote:—

ALEXANDER, ARCHBISHOP OF ST ANDREWS,

To the most Reverend Cardinal of St Mark's: greeting!

MOST REVEREND FATHER,—Your many great kindnesses to me certainly claim a very special deference on my part, if I am not to be convicted of ingratitude. You took infinite pains, and, despite canonical difficulties, you graciously obtained for me—a mere child—the administration of the archiepiscopate. In a case where I must necessarily fail to requite your goodness, I feel I must strive to give promise of being a good archbishop, and to justify all this indulgence. I hope, most reverend father, that you will never have cause to be ashamed of my promotion, and that St Andrews will suffer nothing calculated to make it bemoan the immaturity of its pastor, or the archiepiscopal see regret my youthfulness. The first issue is in my own hands. I can school myself in knowledge and uprightness; I can dispose myself for your service. The second—the maintenance of the liberty of my Church—I am too young to achieve; and I do beseech you, most reverend father, not to suffer that the Chapel-Royal, as malevolent persons propose, should ruin St Andrews when it is in the care of a boy, or diminish its ordinary rights. Using the chapel as a pretext and pretending a new privilege they really seek their own exemption: plotting against my ordinary rights and casting about for impunity to do evil, they are scheming to reduce my jurisdiction to impotence. I hope you will accede to my request, and defend me from wrong.

Other Scottish matters beside the exemption of the Chapel-Royal demanded the attention

of the archbishop. Halkerston's interests were not forgotten, and Alexander, by inducing the king to nominate him to the archdeaconry of Aberdeen, helped to create a legal difficulty. In a letter dated March 26, 1508, he informed his father that he had written some five times to him and received no reply, but he was aware that the postal arrangements in Flanders were bad. He was glad, he said, to learn that Halkerston had been nominated for the archdeaconry, though he was surprised that collation had been withheld, and he urged the king to insist on a settlement.¹ Halkerston's promotion undoubtedly caused trouble, as may be further seen in a letter from Alexander to Panter.² He thanked him for supporting his tutor *cum tantorum virorum indignatione*, and at the same time asked him to counteract any false reports regarding himself which might reach his father. He omitted, he said, to mention *de imperatore quæ acta sunt*, as his tutor would hear of these things from other correspondents. Doubtless he was referring to Maximilian's assumption of the title of emperor-elect, without papal sanction, and perhaps to reports of the extraordinary scheme to unite the civil and ecclesiastical power in Maximilian

¹ Letters, Rich. III. and Henry VII., ii. 267.

² Ibid., 268.

as emperor and pope. Panter, in his reply, was able to assure Alexander of his father's good opinion of him. The king, he said, was gratified with the style of his son's letters, and looked forward to a true primacy for St Andrews; and he told him also that in pulpit and synod he was equally praised. *Biduus labor*, he added, *aterno cedet honori*.¹

The promotion in which Alexander was interested was not carried out, even though Halkerston had been nominated by the king himself. In a communication addressed to his father on October 22, probably in the year 1508, he complained that his jurisdiction was being torn to bits, and stated that he was sending a memorial. He had heard, he said, that Bishop Elphinstone was instituting a suit at Rome regarding the Aberdeen archdeaconry, and he expressed the opinion that a refusal to confirm a royal nomination was unprecedented. As Halkerston could not attend him in Padua and at the same time litigate in Rome, he begged his father to confer a living greater than those already held, and pointed out that the vacated benefices could be disposed to others. He wished, he said, to have Halkerston under his own jurisdiction. It seemed to

¹ Letters, Henry VIII., i. 3618. The editor places this letter under 1512, but it seems to belong to 1508.

him unreasonable, he proceeded, that the smaller benefices in his diocese should be given to the servants of others, while his own had none; and he therefore desired the king to commit the collation of such benefices to the prior and archdeacon, who should be required to give them to the *familiares* of the administrator of the see. He concluded by asking that something moderate should be given to his *tabularius*, who was returning to Scotland.¹

Elphinstone was on friendly terms with James in the years which followed the accession to the throne, and historians, passing over Schevez, have attributed to him the good counsels which the king followed in his legislation and diplomacy. He certainly had the right to grant a confirmation of Halkerston's appointment, but his refusal to confirm was evidently being contested, since he was instituting proceedings in a papal court. A quarrel with James would be aggravated by an appeal to Rome; and if Elphinstone resolved to brave the anger of his sovereign and to lower his good name as a Scottish statesman by seeking redress from the pope, the conclusion must be that his duty as a churchman prevailed with him to guard the privileges of his diocese, or that, moved by resentment against his own exclusion from the

¹ Letters, Rich. III. and Henry VII., ii. 269.

metropolitan see, he was ready to oppose the boy who had been preferred and also the man who was patron. Consideration for Elphinstone's eminence or for his disappointment in regard to the primacy perhaps weighed with Alexander, or he may have been advised that James had strained his prerogative in promoting Halkerston. He acted with prudence in any case when he sought another living for his tutor, and prevented a quarrel with Elphinstone and an appeal to Rome.

In the year after his arrival at Padua Alexander was joined by the Earl of Moray, a boy of eight years, who also was a natural son of James. Little is known of the earl's sojourn in Italy save the facts that a certain John Francis was paid to conduct him to and leave him with the archbishop at Padua,¹ and that in the course of time he secured, as his brother did, the instructions of Erasmus.² Provision had of course to be made for the boy, and the king, according to his custom, turned his eyes to the Church. The bishopric of Whithorn was given to James Beaton in 1508, who had the commendatorship of Dunfermline *ad vitam*, according to the king's own admission. In that same year James sought the abbey for the Earl of Moray, and it is not unreasonable to suppose

¹ T. A., iv. 140.

² Appendix, IV.

that he had made a bargain by which the resignation of Dunfermline was to be the price for the promotion to Whithorn. In connection with the Earl of Moray the good offices of the Cardinal of St Mark's were sought. James requested the abbey for the earl, and asked that the Archbishop of St Andrews should be his coadjutor and successor, or, if that arrangement could not be made, that the abbey should be given either to the earl without a coadjutor and successor or to the archbishop.¹ Alexander was to obtain Dunfermline, but there were difficulties to overcome, as the king was unstable in his favours. From one of Panter's letters we learn that intrigue was busy. Writing to Alexander he assured him he had not forgotten him for his brother (*novus mihi discipulus*), and proceeded to say in kindly fashion that he remembered his *altum silentium* at home, and had feared the *Italica gravitas* would make him dumb, but was glad he had broken the silence. In regard to the archbishop's interests he stated that he had been in doubt whether to fight alone or to yield to more powerful personalities; but on receiving Alexander's letter by James Hay (*tabellarius*?) he had gone to the king. Against him were the ambition of others, arrogance, and over-powerful influence;

¹ Letters, Rich. III. and Henry VII., ii. 265.

yet he had prevailed, and the king had decided to alter the chapel (royal?) and unite it to St Andrews. The matter seemed to be settled, when it was overturned. Some one, *veteranus miles a legatione rediens*, succeeded *sua simplicitate* in changing the royal purpose by representing that the new plan for the chapel was unworthy of Alexander. Panter thereupon attempted to secure Restenot for St Andrews,¹ and to obtain an interest in Dunfermline for the archbishop. He confessed to being in trouble over Dunfermline, as he had been falsely accused of writing of his own free will and not according to instructions, and as the king was known to favour the Earl of Moray for the commend. Yet he continued to supplicate till the prince (*sic*) signed letters in Alexander's favour, and these were being forwarded. Before closing his letter Panter urged Alexander to consider his legal studies, and made reference apparently to the chancellorship of Scotland. He besought him also to be mindful of his mother and his friends, to whom in his absence "day seems night and life death."²

Panter was right in his statement, and the

¹ Papal permission had been obtained to devote part of the revenues of Restenot to the Chapel-Royal in Stirling (cf. document in Rogers' Hist. of the Chapel-Royal of Scotland, xxxii.)

² Letters, Rich. III. and Henry VII., ii. 271. The letter is dated December 7, and evidently belongs to the year 1508.

king solicited Dunfermline for Alexander, *ob tenuitatem mensæ Archiepiscopalis*. From the letter to the Cardinal of St Mark's in which James made his request we learn that Halkerston, who was in Venice, hearing of the death of Archbishop Blackader, hastened to Rome to announce it, and also that the Cardinal's secretary sent word of it to the king.¹ The secretary in his communication informed James that Alexander was doing well in Padua, but that Rome was better for Latin and Greek, and that there a man could learn affairs and his qualities be seen. Alexander evidently wished to go to Rome, as he told his father that he would gain much by the secretary's help. The king, however, thought that he was too much of a boy to go where *barbarus risum moveret*, and preferred that for a time he should study elsewhere, and ultimately should visit the city, if the cardinal so advised.²

Dunfermline was secured for Alexander, and Panter informing him of the fact reported that there had been strong opposition to St Andrews. Yet Restenot had been restored, and *quæ prima est omnium*, *Dunfermilin*

¹ Lesley states that Blackader died on July 29, on his way to Jerusalem.

² Epp. Reg. Scot., 51. The letter is dated 12th February (1509), and the secretary's letter, to which reference is made, was dated October 23 (1508).

abbatia suum novit dominum. He remembered, he said, that when they were separating he had adjudged the abbey to him, if it were vacant.¹ There is no communication from James to his son regarding Dunfermline. The king, however, did not fail to address himself to the pope. He thanked Julius for awaiting letters about the Glasgow vacancy, and for his *paterna affectio* to Alexander and his intention to promote him. He commended him to the pope's protection, and asked that the exemption of the Chapel-Royal of Stirling, granted by Pope Alexander VI., should be continued and remain without injury to St Andrews.² The appointment to Glasgow raised the question of the jurisdiction of St Andrews. James after his accession had made himself the champion of the see of Glasgow that he might show gratitude to Blackader and reduce the authority of Schevez. His own son, however, was now Archbishop of St Andrews, and Blackader was dead. Royal letters had been granted to Beaton for the purpose of securing the exemption of himself and his suffragans from the primatial and

¹ Letters, Rich. III. and Henry VII., ii. 273. The letter is undated.

² Epp. Reg. Scot., 52. This letter is also undated, as is another (53) in almost the same terms to the Cardinal of St Mark's. Alexander VI. had exempted the chapel from the archbishop's jurisdiction (cf. document in Rogers' Hist. of the Chapel-Royal, xxxiii).

legatine jurisdiction of St Andrews; and James explained to the pope that, enlightened by his confessor, an Observantine, he saw that his action had perhaps done harm to the authority of St Andrews, and he requested that that power should be restored, if injured under any pretext.¹

Beaton in after years was to prove himself a strong churchman and an astute and intriguing statesman. He was not able, however, in 1509, to win complete freedom and authority for the see of Glasgow; and James had the satisfaction of thanking the pope for preserving the primatial and legatine power to St Andrews.² James at the same time asked Julius to free the bishopric of Whithorn and the Chapel-Royal from the jurisdiction of Glasgow, and to subject it to the Holy See or restore it to St Andrews from which Alexander VI. had separated it at the royal suit.³ The request, however, was not granted.

Shortly after the attempt of Beaton to secure the independence of his see, there was another case of exemption which affected Alexander Stewart. Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, a

¹ Epp. Reg. Scot., 56. The date of the letter must be placed in 1509.

² Ibid., 64. The letter is dated July 1509 by the editor. Letters of Henry VIII., i. 379.

³ Ibid. Alexander had dealt with the Chapel-Royal but not with Whithorn. Appendix, V.

clever ecclesiastic who was to be archbishop of St Andrews, obtained from the pope freedom from the jurisdiction of the primate. Alexander protested, assuring the pope that neither he nor his father had consented, and pointing out that Forman as Prior of Pittenweem and Commendator of Dryburgh was subject to him, since these places lay within the diocese of St Andrews. The machinery of the Roman court did not move quickly, and the appeal was not settled before the fatal day of Flodden.¹

A scandalous tale of privilege had been begun when Alexander Stewart was made an archdeacon, and the tale continued to be told as the years advanced. The archdeacon was made the administrator of an archbishopric and the commendator of a rich abbey. The favours of fortune, however, were not exhausted by those gifts, and James IV. rejoiced to be the beneficent patron of his son. In 1509, an auspicious year for Alexander Stewart, James requested that Coldingham, vacant by the death of the prior, should be annexed to Dunfermline, lately commended to Alexander, or should be given to Alexander for his life; and the plausible argument was stated for the benefit of the pope, that though the connection of the priory and

¹ Document in the St Andrews Formulare. The preamble of the document is quoted in Robertson, i. 125.

the abbey had ceased for a time, it had been established some hundred and thirty years earlier.¹ Coldingham, a Benedictine priory, which was founded in the eleventh century by King Edgar and attached to Durham, was, as already seen, a cause of serious trouble in the reign of James III. when, in opposition to the Homes, he sought to transfer its revenues to the Chapel-Royal. James IV. was more successful than his father, and his plans for the priory did not fail. Alexander was able to use the signature of Commendator of Dunfermline and Coldingham.²

Another style of signature tells of another scandal. Alexander, probably in 1510, was elected chancellor of the realm.³ The office had been held by the Duke of Ross, and as it was not filled immediately after his death it seems that James, when he sought his son's promotion to the archbishopric, intended that the civil dignity should continue to be united with the ecclesiastical. The study of law in Padua, which Panter advised, could have been the only credential in the youth's favour for the highest legal or civil position in the

¹ Epp. Reg. Scot., 63.

² Arbroath R. N., 419.

³ He was chancellor before August 2, 1510, as the Accounts show (E. R., xiii. 358). The deed of January 28, 1509 (R. M. S.), to which his signature as chancellor was appended, was signed with others at a later date.

country. The office, whatever duties were attached to it, was held by Alexander till his death; and these duties, as did those of the commendatorship of the St Andrews archbishopric and the abbey of Dunfermline and the priory of Coldingham, permitted the holder of the office to be a boy.

William Schevez, as has been shown, was made conservator of the privileges of the dean and chapter of Glasgow, when that see obtained archiepiscopal rank; and we find that Alexander Stewart was specially delegated to act as conservator of these privileges after, it may be presumed, Beaton's elevation to the archbishopric. On May 18, 1509, in any case, he sub-delegated his authority to David of Whithorn, George of Holyrood, and Patrick Panter, chancellor of Dunkeld and secretary of the king.¹

The office of conservator was not a sinecure, and the records show that the authority of the Archbishop of Glasgow was assailed from time to time. Blackader himself, who fought strenuously for the autonomy of his see, had the mortification to find that certain presentations to benefices contained a right of appeal to the Archbishop of St Andrews.² Beaton

¹ Glasg. R., 520.

² Liber Protocoll. M. Cuthberti Simonis, No. 229 (edited by Bain and Rogers).

in his day made a formal protest that appeals to St Andrews should not prejudice him, his church and his province;¹ but he was not as Blackader a pugnacious champion of privileges, and the chapter showed that they feared he would yield his rights. By a formal instrument of April 3, 1510, Martin Rede declared that it "had lately come to his knowledge that James, Archbishop of Glasgow, through fear, as was believed, of his royal highness, was that day to pay canonical obedience to the archbishop of St Andrews, primate of Scotland, by reason of his primacy threatening evil, prejudice, and no ordinary damage to the church, chapter, diocese, province and clergy and people of Glasgow; and that accordingly he as a superior person and dignitary of the chapter solemnly protested in name of the church, chapter, &c., that such obedience improperly rendered or to be rendered through fear of the king and not otherwise, as was believed, should not prejudice or result in evil in time to come to the said church, chapter, &c."² Rede, on June 21, made another protest. The instrument narrated that the chancellor and chapter of Glasgow, "on hearing that Alexander, archbishop of St Andrews, primate of Scotland and

¹ Liber Protocoll., No. 388. See also 429, 543.

² Ibid., No. 419.

legatus natus, was approaching the city of Glasgow, and that James, archbishop of Glasgow, was going to meet him for the sake of paying homage and obedience, with whom, as their prelate, they were to go, both to please the king who was to arrive with the said primate, the son of his majesty, and also to please their said prelate, and not otherwise, seeing they were exempted both by their ancient and modern privileges, granted by the Roman pontiffs and the kings, from doing homage to the said ordinary whomsoever,—solemnly protested that whatsoever homage or obedience or courtesy the archbishop of Glasgow, to please his majesty, should render to the said primate, either in their absence or presence and that of the community, or they themselves should then render for the foresaid reasons, by walking in procession to meet him, should not prejudice them or their successors.”¹

While James IV. was engaged in securing promotions and privileges for the Archbishop of St Andrews, Alexander himself was pursuing his studies in Italy. He had gone to Padua and was there a pupil of Raphael Regius.² In December 1508 Erasmus was

¹ Liber Protocoll., No. 468.

² *Erasmi Epistolæ*, i. 61 (edited by P. S. Allen).

at Padua, and in February of the following year was in Siena. Alexander engaged him to be his teacher *in rhetoricis*, and accompanied him to Siena, where the great Humanist showed his interest in the affairs of James IV. by writing his *consolatio de morte filii premature prærepti*.¹ From Siena teacher and pupil passed to Rome, which Alexander wished to see before his return to Scotland. In the city he concealed his identity, *ne cuiquam molestus esset*. From Rome the journey was continued to Cumæ, and the Sibyl's cave was visited.² At the beginning of July Erasmus returned to Rome and set out immediately for England, and his association with Alexander therefore ceased in the summer of 1509.³ In the summer or autumn the archbishop must have begun his journey to Scotland. He was still *in remotis* on March 1, 1510, when vicars-general acted for him;⁴ but if the dates of the protests of Martin Rede are correct he was in Scotland on April 3, or at latest

¹ Allen's *Erasm. Epp.*, i. 18. The infant son of James IV. died in February 1508.

² The details are taken from the letter of Rhenanus to Charles V. (*ibid.*, 61, 62).

³ *Ibid.*, 452.

⁴ John Hepburn and Gavin Douglas, vicars-general, erected Kynnell into a prebend of St Salvator's. Confirmation was granted, August 13, 1510, by Alexander at his residence in Holyrood within the royal palace (St And. Univ. MSS.)

on June 21. Bishop Lesley says: "The king, quene and prince being resident in the castell of Edinburgh, Alexander, new maid Archbischof of St Androis, bastard sone to the king, quha had bene lang in Germanie at the skulis with Erasmus Roteradamus that cunning clarke, come in Scotland furth of Flanders be sey; quha wes thankfullie ressavit be the king and nobles, principally becaus he had exercieit his youthhed sua weill in letteris and vertew."

While the archbishop was still in Italy, his learning, royal birth, or high position in the Church was recognised by John Major, who dedicated his *Quartus Sententiarum* to him. Writing from Montaigu College, December 31, 1508, Major addressed the archbishop as *generosissimus nec minus eruditus*, and spoke of himself as the least of theologians. After long consideration, he said, he could think of no one more worthy of the dedication. The work was undertaken partly on Alexander's account, and the author was anxious he should be stimulated to the study of theology. He stated that he was a fellow-countryman, and was born in Alexander's diocese. The dedication was followed by a set of verses, sending the book on its way to the "threshold of St Andrew"—*Hic manet antistes humili quem voce salutes*.¹

¹ Major's Greater Britain (Scot. Hist. Soc.), 407, 419.

Major was appointed provost of St Salvator's College some years after the date of the dedication, and numbered among his pupils George Buchanan, who wrote in no graceful fashion of the master who was almost the last of the Schoolmen. It was this man who hoped that his book would stimulate to a pursuit of theology the pupil of Erasmus, the brilliant Humanist who had cast away the methods of the decadent medievalism. Allowance is to be made, as regards the style of the dedication, for a Scot abroad with sentimental remembrance of his birthplace and veneration for the titular head of the Church of his native land; and yet Major, it is surely to be admitted, would not have associated with his book a youth who scorned letters, or was heedless of their charms.

After his return to Scotland Alexander was joined by friendly domestic ties to the king. It is recorded that James lost £14 to the archbishop and Angus "at the cartis";¹ and luck deserted him again when he had to hand over £4, 4s. to the archbishop and Argyll "at the buttis" at Linlithgow.² We are not told, however, what the results were when he got £39 for a game with "my Lordis of Sanct-androis and Murray,"³ and, at another time,

¹ T. A., iv. 326.

² Ibid., 347.

³ Ibid., 401.

£14, 18s. for a game with the Lord Chamberlain, after he had played with the queen and the archbishop.¹

Alexander had of course official duties to perform, and we find him signing deeds and designating himself archbishop, archbishop and chancellor, and archbishop, commendator of Dunfermline and Coldingham, and chancellor.² The most important occasion on which he acted as a witness was that which saw the confirmation of the league between France and Scotland.³ It is also to be noted that he served as an Auditor⁴ and as a Lord of Council,⁵ and we are reminded that he was a churchman by the fact that he granted a dispensation for a marriage, and also a marriage licence.⁶ On August 22, 1513, he witnessed at Edinburgh a deed granted under the Great Seal, signing as archbishop and chancellor, and that document is the last with his name which has come down to us.

In connection with one of the deeds signed by the archbishop there is a difficulty which cannot be easily explained. In 1510, as already

¹ T. A., iv. 402.

² R. M. S.

³ Letters and Papers, Henry VIII., i. 3303.

⁴ E. R., xiii. 358, 401.

⁵ Douglas Book, iii. 194.

⁶ Laing Charters, 278. Hist. MSS. Rep., iii. 408. Appeals were frequently made to the archbishop as conservator of the privileges of the dean and chapter of Glasgow (Liber Protocoll.) In 1512 there was a presentation from Arbroath for collation (Arbroath R. N., 419).

noted, he confirmed the erection of Kynnell into a prebend of St Salvator's, and on the seal attached to the document he is styled cardinal.¹ The inscription, which is much injured, seems to be "S' Alexandri Archiepi. Sancti Andree Totius Scotie print'. sedis apt'. ca'dinals Tot. Reg." There is no evidence, no indication of any kind beyond this inscription, to show that the young Archbishop of St Andrews was elevated to the rank of a cardinal. He was the natural son of James IV., but to the cause of scandal Innocent VIII. created a bastard, his own nephew, a cardinal. He was a boy, but the same pope made Giovanni de' Medici, aged fourteen, a cardinal. Neither Alexander's birth nor his age could be urged as a fatal objection to his selection for the dignity which was coveted by churchmen of every land.² Innocent VIII., it may be noted, when he honoured the son of Lorenzo de' Medici, conducted the formal business *in petto*, but refused, though strongly urged by the Florentine magnate, to make public announcement of it till three years had passed. The word cardinal is undoubtedly found in the inscription on Alexander's seal; and it is not possible to think that had there been no creation, or promise of creation, he would have had the

¹ St And. Univ. MSS. Cf. Ancient Scot. Seals, 876. Appendix, VI.

² Cf. Letters, Henry VIII., ii. 2349.

effrontery to use the title of a prince of the Catholic Church. The explanation may perhaps be that Julius II., as Innocent VIII. did in the case of Giovanni de' Medici, made Alexander a cardinal *in petto*, and did not permit the secret proceedings to be made known to the world. James IV. asked favours from Rome, and many were given; and he may well have wished to see a cardinal in Scotland, and that cardinal his own son. There is certainly no proof beyond the inscription that the great dignity was secured for Alexander, and the seal with that inscription, so far as we know, was used only once; but it may be imagined that Alexander was made a cardinal in secret, and that James, with a father's pride, having learned what he should not have known, engraved his son's highest honour on the legend of the seal, and, before interdict or prudence could hinder, caused the seal to be added to a deed, and did what he should not have done.

One work of lasting good is attributed to Alexander Stewart, and for it he has a right to the praise of history. The victims of Flodden, among whom was the archbishop, have been numbered among the heroes of Scotland; and the glamour of tragic romance around it has caused his name to be remembered. The University of his own city, however, had help from

him in its time of great need, and it is for that help that his memory should live. It was becoming, indeed, that the pupil of Erasmus should foster the advancement of learning, and St Leonard's College was in part the work of his hand. Martine, in the chapter in his 'Reliquiæ,' "of the Bishops and Archbishops of St Andrews," narrates that Alexander "augmented the stipends of the professors in the pædagogic, which formerlie was but small, and gave to them the fruits of the church of St Michael of Tarvet, near Cowpare. He rebuilt the chapele of St John the evangelist, in the pædagogic, which had fallen; but where it stood is now uncertaine." In a notarial instrument, a mutilated writing, dated April 23, 1512, it is related that the archbishop drew the attention of his chapter to the Pædagogium, the old centre of University teaching in St Andrews, as *ex defectu foundationis et virorum literatorum pene extinctum . . . ac ruinosum*, and that he intended "to endow it and erect it into a college" to the glory of God, the defence of the faith, and the increase of learned men. He further announced his resolution to annex the church of St Michael, near the town of Cupar, to the Pædagogium.¹ In regard to the chapel of St

¹ Univ. Evid., iii. 356. Cf. Herkless and Hannay, 'The College of St Leonard,' 89.

John the Evangelist we have this proof of the archbishop's interest in it, that while the choir was being constructed the wall of an adjoining house was injured, and the masters of the work at the Pædagogium promised, in his name, to see it restored. It is worthy of note that Gavin Logy, praised by Knox as one of the first adherents of the reformed doctrines, was a witness to the writing containing the legal obligation.¹

The Pædagogium was not erected into a college during Alexander's archiepiscopal reign, and the reason seems to be that he turned his attention to Prior Hepburn's scheme for a college for poor students. On August 20, 1512, the archbishop, the prior, and the convent granted a charter of foundation for "the College of St Leonard, hereafter to be called the College of Poor Clerks of the Church of St Andrews"; and on February 1 of the following year the prior and convent by a charter endowed the college with certain lands.² "Alexander, by the mercy of God," the charter states, "Archbishop of the Metropolitan Church of Saint Andrews, Primate of the whole Realm of Scotland, Legate born of the Apostolic See,

¹ Reg. Evid., 62.

² St And. Univ. MSS. For the text with translation of Alexander's charter, cf. Herkless and Hannay, 'The College of St Leonard,' 127, 136.

and perpetual Commendator of the Monasteries of Dunfermline and Coldingham. . . . Whereas in time past that holy servant of God, Regulus, brought the relics of Saint Andrew, the Apostle, by miraculous guidance from the city of Patras to Scotland, and being reverently and honourably received at that time by the Catholic King, deposited them in the seat where our Metropolis now stands; and whereas thereafter Princes and many others distinguished by the Christian name did in that place do service to the Almighty in divers ways . . . so that from divers lands, far and near, divers pilgrims did set forth to the Church of St Andrews because of the wonders for which the relics of the blessed Apostle became famous, and in the zeal of their devotion thronged thither from day to day; and for the reception of these pilgrims the Prior and Convent of our church aforesaid did out of their piety build an Hospital of Saint Andrews, joined unto the church of the blessed Leonard; and whereas in the course of time the Christian faith had been established in our parts, and miracles and pilgrimages, as we may without impiety believe, had in a measure ceased, so that the Hospital was without pilgrims, and the Priors aforesaid did set therein certain women chosen by reason of old age who did give little or

no return in devotion or virtue; we with intent to steady the tossing bark of Peter and make better the Church of God, so far at least as it is committed to our own jurisdiction and power, now that it is falling away from virtuous exercises do erect and create as a college, &c." It is further stated that the purpose of the founder is not that paupers should be nourished in the college, but that the number of learned men should increase to the glory of God and the edification of the people. The archbishop's narrative is of historical interest, as it not only contains the confession that pilgrims were no longer visiting the relics of St Andrew and that the miracles were ceasing, but also offers as an explanation of these facts the establishment of the faith of Christ. The confession and the explanation alike are not unworthy of the pupil of Erasmus, and his master doubtless fostered the spirit which showed itself in the intent to steady the tossing bark of Peter and make better the Church of God.

On the 1st of April 1513, West, the English envoy, wrote that he had just seen the archbishop at Stirling,¹ and in the naval Accounts there is the item of the expense of provisions to "Monsure Pyssone" for "my Lord of Sanct-

¹ Letters, Henry VIII., i. 3838.

andros men.”¹ These notices, together with the deed signed at Edinburgh on August 22, furnish almost the whole of the meagre information we have regarding the archbishop in the months before the battle of Flodden. The kings of Scotland and England quarrelled, and in the futile negotiations for peace, James insisted that if there was to be no war Henry must abandon the league against France. Henry refused the condition, and there was war. Lindsay of Pitscottie narrates that James entered the church of Linlithgow to make his devotion to God before he began his journey. A man clad in a blue gown, “belted about him in a roll of linen cloth,” with nothing on his head, found his way to the side of the king, and warned him not to pass where he proposed, for if he did, it would not fare well with him or with any that passed with him; and when he had spoken he disappeared, and “could noways be seen nor comprehended, but vanished away as he had been a blink of the sun, or a whip of the whirlwind, and could no more be seen.” Lindsay further tells that a cry was heard at the market cross of Edinburgh, at the hour of midnight, as if it had been a summons, and he who cried desired certain earls and lords, barons and gentlemen,

¹ T. A., iv. 499.

whom he named, to compear, within the space of forty days, before his master, under the pain of disobedience. One man hearing the voice ordered his servant to bring him his purse, and taking out a crown cast it over the stair, saying, "I appeal from that summons, judgment and sentence thereof, and takes me all whole in the mercy of God, and Christ Jesus His Son." Save this man, we are told, all who were summoned perished in the field with the king.¹

James crossed the Border and soon was in possession of the castles of Norham, Etal, and Ford; and, instead of pressing on to meet the English army, dallied, it is said, with the Lady of Ford. Lindsay of Pitscottie adds to Buchanan's narrative the story that while the king was tarrying with the lady, the archbishop, his son, was captivated by the daughter; and Drummond of Hawthornden describes the girl as "a maid of excellent beauty."²

¹ Buchanan, on the authority of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, narrates the story of the vision in Linlithgow church. Dean Stanley ('Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age') refers "to the apparition of St John to James IV. at Linlithgow, before the battle of Flodden."

² Weber, in a note to the poem, "The Battle of Flodden Field," says that in the genealogical table of the house of Heron (of Ford), no daughter appears to have been born to Sir William Heron, who succeeded his brother John in 1498, at the age of twenty, and did not die till 1535.

The Scottish and English soldiers met at Flodden on the 9th of September 1513, and a terrible slaughter closed with the crushing defeat of the Scots. The king of Scotland was slain, and with him his son. Alexander had gone with his father to England, and was not the only churchman who fell. Besides the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Bishops of Caithness and the Isles, the Abbots of Inchaffray and Kilwinning, and the Dean of Glasgow were numbered among the slain.¹ Lesley, after stating with fine Scottish pride that "thair wes in that battell ane griter nombre of the Inglis men slane nor of the Scottis men," narates that "in this feld was slane the king, the bischop of St Androis, his bastard sonne, the Erles of Crawford, Montrois, Erroll, Athole, with dyverse utheris lordis and barronis."

Alexander Stewart is described in Law's MS. as *electus nec tum consecratus*. Even if the body of the slaughtered prelate was taken from the field of Flodden to St Andrews, it could not have found a resting-place before the high altar of the metropolitan church. Archbishop Schevez, whose sepulchre was there, was consecrated to the episcopal office; but Alexander was a prelate only in name, and a commendator would not be

¹ Gazette of the battle preserved in the Herald's Office, London. Cf. Pinkerton, iii. 456.

honoured in the chief place of burial. "No man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day."¹

Erasmus, in a generous mood, wrote a panegyric which has been remembered for its subject and its author alike. In illustration of one of his Adagia, *Spartam nactus es, hanc orna*, he made reference to the fatal action of James which ended at Flodden and involved the death of Alexander Stewart.

With the brave father [he wrote], was slain the son—a son well worthy of the father—Alexander, Archbishop by the title of St Andrews, a youth of about twenty years, who was endowed with all the gifts of perfect manhood. A graceful figure he had, a rare dignity of mien, and the stature of the mythical hero. His disposition was very quiet; yet he was eagerness itself to learn all the branches of knowledge. I lived with him, at one time, in Siena and trained him in the maxims of rhetoric and in Greek letters. What a quick mind he had! How happily endowed! How flexible! How comprehensive! At one and the same time he was studying the lawyers, far from attractive by reason of their barbarisms and the loathsome verbosity of their expounders: he had lessons in rhetoric and would declaim on a prescribed theme, exercising both the pen and the tongue: he was learning Greek and rendered his daily portion at the stated time. In the afternoon he would turn to music, the monochord,² the pipe, the lute; sometimes, too, he would sing. Even at the board he would have his studies: his chaplain

¹ Appendix, VII.

² Perhaps by "monochordiis" Erasmus means the helikon, with several strings, used to teach intonation in singing.

kept reading some instructive book, the Pontifical Decrees, St Jerome, or St Ambrose, and never stopped unless one or other of the doctors at the table pointed something out or Alexander did not follow and asked a question. Again, there might be tales from the company, but short ones, and with a literary flavour. In fact, his whole time was devoted to study, with the exception of what was given to religious services or to slumber; for even if there was a remnant of time—and there could scarcely be enough for pursuits so various—he would still devote it to reading the historians, since history had for him a special charm.

Hence it came that a youth barely out of his eighteenth year had attained as much in all kinds of letters as one would justly marvel at in a grown man. Nor did this result with him—as it generally does with others—in a happy aptitude for literature but a less happy development of character. He was modest, without concealing his excellent discretion: high-minded and quite free from your sordid affections, yet without a particle of churlishness or pride. Alive to every feeling, there was much that he would hide; nor could he ever be roused to anger, so mild was his temper and well-regulated his spirit. He loved a jest, the jest of the scholar, not made to wound, flavoured not with the coarse wit of Momus but with the finer sort of Mercury. If the servants about the house quarrelled, he showed wonderful address and perfect frankness in dealing with them. He was a man of deep religious feeling and great piety, without a trace of superstition. In fine, none was more worthy to be the son of a king, and the son of King James IV. Would that his loyal affection for his father had been as happy for Alexander as it was admirable! He followed him to war that he might never leave his side. What hadst thou to do with the war-god, most gross of all the deities the poets sing, thou who wast consecrated to the Muses, nay, to Christ

himself? That gracious and youthful figure, that gentle nature and bright spirit, what had they with the trumpet, the engine, and the sword? Should the scholar take the field, a bishop ride to war? Surely it was an exceeding loyalty for a father imposed this upon thee; and loving thy father all too well, thou wast cut down with him in an unhappy hour. All these gifts of nature, these virtues and fair hopes, one blast of battle swept away: fell, too, somewhat that was mine, the pains I took to teach, the fruit of my travail that I can claim in thee.¹

There is one other detail which Erasmus has given. In a letter of 1527 he described Alexander as unable to read a word unless his nose touched the book—*ut ni naso contingeret librum, nihil cereret*.²

It is difficult to believe that the student of weak sight could have made a good soldier, but he fell, even if he did not fight as a skilled swordsman, by his father's side; and at least he is one of "the flowers of the forest" that on the day of Flodden were "wede away."

Erasmus styled Alexander Stewart the disciple of the Muses and of Christ. For the right to be accounted a student of letters we have the testimony of the man who in his time was the foremost scholar in Europe; and as the disciples of Christ have been in character of infinite variety, we need not exclude him from their goodly fellowship. In modern times Dean

¹ Erasmus, Opera, ii. 554 (Leclerc).

² Ibid., iii. 986.

Stanley, a Lord Rector of St Andrews University, has with a quaint fancy called Alexander Stewart "the young Marcellus of the Scottish Church." The Marcellus over whom Augustus pronounced a funeral oration died in his twentieth year; and the death of the youth with his promise of greatness was mourned as an imperial calamity. Virgil made him immortal in his verse. There was no king to stand over the body of "the young Marcellus of the Scottish Church" and to tell the tale of his virtue, for James had died on Flodden field; and in the general mourning there was no national lament for the Archbishop of St Andrews. But Erasmus praised him, as Virgil honoured Marcellus; and the names of the two young men, linked together by a modern fancy, may be written on the page of history which tells of the lives of splendid promise which death has closed.

Alexander's occupation of places in Church and State for which he was not ready cannot be counted to his credit; and though he fell in battle, and may perhaps have done some deed of renown on the field, the image of a prelate in arms does not force our reverence. Yet beyond the praise bestowed by Erasmus, which may have had in it the exaggeration of an elegy, there is in the charter of the college which Alexander founded the revelation of a mind of

a new order in the Scottish Church. There was no novelty in the expressed intent to steady the tossing bark of Peter and make better the Church of God; but the Renaissance with its healthy doubt and free inquiry quickened him who narrated that the miracles wrought by St Andrew's bones were ceasing, and found the cause in the settlement of the faith of Christ. There had been no such scepticism among the prelates of Scotland, and Alexander died before the dawn of the Reformation. Had he lived he might have changed the Scottish Church, not indeed by the methods of Luther but with the manners of Erasmus. It is true that he showed in his own short career the corruption in the Scottish Church, though not the degradation of the clergy, and like men of his time gathered revenues where no duties were done. Had he not died, the evil spirit which moved the king to promote him might have changed him into a worldly ecclesiastic. And yet he might have been a reformer within the Church, making real the ideals which Erasmus cherished. "Cut is the branch that might have grown full straight." In imagination we may choose the better part, and see Alexander Stewart as the disciple of the Muses and of Christ, fostering learning among his clergy and purifying Christ's Church in the land.

APPENDIX.

I.

THE editor of vol. ii. of the T. A. places the item of February 22 under the year 1505. Immediately after that item is the note of the expenses incurred by the messengers for the bulls, and it is dated "in September thareftir." In another part of the volume the same note of expenses is repeated under the date September 1504. The evidence seems to show that the commissioners set out in February and were successful in their business, and that as in the autumn the bulls were ready for transmission to Scotland, messengers were sent for them. A payment was made to a skipper of Leith for the delay of two days of his ship when the men "passit for the bullis of Sanctandros" (T. A., ii. 458). In February 1505, eighty French crowns were paid to Robert Bertoun which, at the time he brought home the bulls of St Andrews, he had given to the "Lioun herald in France." In the same account there is a note of expenses for the men who went for the bulls and also "for ane marinaris hire to be thair pilat" (T. A., ii. 478).

II.

The Account of 1507 (T. A., iii. 243) shows the various sums received by the king from the revenues of the archdeaconry and of the see of St Andrews: (1) £400 from confirmations of "magna testamenta" by the archdeacon; (2) £353 "de victu-

alibus Archiepiscopatus"; (3) £632 "de procurationibus et sinodalibus," and from confirmations of lesser wills; (4) £320 "de firmis terrarum et ecclesiarum" of the see; (5) £198 from the receiver of subsidy. The Accounts of 1508 show similar items (T. A., iv. 11, 12).

III.

In the St Andrews Formulare an instruction to Alexander Stewart's vicars-general is given, but it is evident that the Latin is not to be ascribed to Panter's pupil:—

Quia divina imprimis disponente gratia literarum studiis (ne nostrum ingenium perspicuum temporaque pretiosa nobis ab altissimo concessa inculca relinquamus, ut uberiores in ecclesia dei fructus imposterum proferre valeamus) transmarinas partes ea de causa visitare proponimus et decrevimus, et dum nostris humeris tanti licet insufficientibus meritis pastoralis officii impositum onus animadvertimus, non absque gravi animi molestia sepius revolvimus et recensemur qualiter, nobis in remotis agentibus, gregem nobis commissum salubriter pascere debemus ne tanquam destituto pastore pro eodem in ultima ratione reddenda non alere arguamur nisi gregi periclitanti subvenire curaverimus. Quibus totis conatibus solerter obviare et providere volentes de vestris discretionibus scientiis prudentiis legalitate et fidelitate plenam in domino fiduciam habentes ac quod ea que vobis committuntur cum summis cura opera et diligentia pro nostre conscientie relevatione et ultima pro nostro grege ratione reddenda adimplere curabitis, vos . . . nostros vicarios generales in spiritualibus¹ in omnimoda juris plenitudine in uberiori forma omnibus melioribus modo via forma jure et causa quibus melius et efficacius possumus et debemus, creamus . . . dantes . . . nostram veram liberam puram et expressam potestatem ac mandatum speciale . . . jurisdictionem spiritualem et temporalem etc. (f. 19).

¹ "Vicarios in spiritualibus et temporalibus generales" is the phrase in an appointment of vicars-general by Forman, Alexander's successor (ibid., f. 17.)

IV.

Looking back, more than twenty years later, Erasmus recalled the memory of those days at Siena. He was sending a catalogue of his works to Hector Boece at Aberdeen, and expressed his great delight to learn how the study of humane letters advanced in Scotland. "I have always entertained a great regard for King James because he strove not so much to extend his rule as to adorn it. We should have had to count him among the most happy of monarchs, if his fortunes had answered to his distinguished personal qualities. I have no doubt that the son follows in the father's footsteps just as he has succeeded to the father's throne. When I was teaching King James's son, Alexander, Archbishop of St Andrews, at Siena, the latter had a brother with him, barely in his tenth year, a boy of marvellous ability, and, even at that early age, showing high promise. I long to know what has come of him. Did he share the father's and the brother's fate? Or does he still survive?"¹

V.

The secretary of the Cardinal of St Mark's congratulated James on his decision regarding the exemption and privileges of the Chapel-Royal; and James in reply said that, as Halkerston had shown, he deserved well of Alexander and himself. The secretary had evidently been useful to the king in his business at the papal court (Letters, Rich. III. and Henry VII., ii. 279). In 1511 Andrew Forman, as envoy of James, informed Pope Julius regarding the king's desires for the Chapel-Royal. The king was anxious that the Chapel-Royal should extend not only to the Castle and St Michael's Church in Stirling, but also to all the royal palaces (Epp. Reg. Scot., 75). On January 31, 1512, James had heard from Forman that Julius would ratify the privileges of the chapel (*ibid.*, 91), and on March 31 he thanked Julius for the ratification (*ibid.*, 86).

¹ Erasmus, Opera, i.

VI.

The round seal of Alexander Stewart is the same as that of James Stewart, except that the coronet and ribbon are omitted. The legend is: "S. Rotundum Alexandri Archi Eppi. Sancti Andree Totius Scocie Primatis Se. Ap. Legati Nat." The seal of Alexander as Commendator of Dunfermline is thus described: "On the dexter is a figure of St Andrew, his left hand on the cross and a book in his right; on the sinister side the Virgin crowned and holding an open book. Between them is a shield with the arms of Scotland, and above it a cross fleury and the cross of St Andrew; at each side is a thistle; the whole enclosed in a tressure or scroll ornament." The legend is: "S. Alex. Sci Andre Archi Epi Toci Regni Scotie Primat Aplici Sedis. Legati Ac Comendatarii De Dunfermling."—(Laing's Suppl. Catal., 1009, 1010. Catal. of Seals, Brit. Mus., iv. 14940, 14942).

VII.

In the list of the slain given in Hall's Chronicle there is "The Archebishop of Saynct Androwes, the kyngis bastard sonne." Holinshed, after describing the death of James, adds: "And a little beside him, there died with like obstinate wilfulness, or (if you list so to term it) manhood, diverse honorable prelates, as the Archbishop of St Andrewes and two other bishops besides foure abbats." In "The Battle of Flodden Field," a sixteenth-century poem published by Henry Weber, there is the verse—

"The Archbisshop of St Andrews brave,
King James his son in base begot,
That doleful day did death receive,
With many a lusty lord-like Scot."

Lyon (*History of St Andrews*, ii. 157) states that in front of the high altar of the Cathedral of St Andrews "was found a skeleton with a deep cut on the skull, as if caused by the heavy

blow of a broadsword; and this might probably be young Archbishop A. Stewart, who received his death-wound at Flodden, and whose remains would, in all probability, be conveyed to his own cathedral church, and buried among his predecessors." The skull is preserved in the University Museum. Dr Musgrove, the Professor of Anatomy, has examined the skull, and says it is that of a man, certainly not under thirty years of age, but probably over forty-five. It shows five sword marks on the left side, and one on the right.

END OF VOL. I.



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