

# THE SPALDING CLUB,

FOR THE PRINTING OF

THE HISTORICAL, ECCLESIASTICAL, GENEALOGICAL,

TOPOGRAPHICAL, AND LITERARY

REMAINS

OF THE

NORTH-EASTERN COUNTIES OF SCOTLAND.

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INSTITUTED A.D. M DCCC XXXIX.

### XIII Papers by Father Innes.

The Club is indebted to James Dennistoun, Esquire of Dennistoun, for the communication of the first seven of these papers, which are printed from copies in his possession made by Andrew Lumsden, the private secretary of Prince Charles Edward, and favourably known in literature by a work on the Antiquities of Rome.<sup>(1)</sup> The documents which follow have been derived from the charter chest at Ballogie, to which the representatives of that family permitted the Editor to have ready access, through Henry Lumsden, Esquire of Tilquhilly.

Even imperfectly as the literary biography of Scotland has been cultivated, it may be allowed to express surprise that scarcely an attempt has been hitherto made at a memoir of one who has done so much for Scottish history and antiquities as the learned Thomas Innes. The publication, in 1729, of his "[Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of Britain, or Scotland](#)," forms an epoch in the historical literature of our country.

Succeeding writers have done little more than expand the system which he developed in this remarkable work, of which the acute Atterbury ventured to predict, on its publication, that "all future antiquaries, when the present prejudices are allayed, will certainly embrace it."<sup>(2)</sup> Authors who agree in nothing else, have united to build on the foundations which Innes laid, and to extol his learning and accuracy, his candour and sagacity. "Every research which has yet been made," says Chalmers, "evinces that Innes was accurate in his authorities, founded in his facts, and right in his conclusions."<sup>(3)</sup> "The industrious and acute Innes," says Pinkerton, "ought never to be named by a Scottish antiquary but with superlative praise ... his work forms a grand epoch in our antiquities; and was the first that led to rational criticism on them ... his industry, coolness, judgement, and general accuracy, recommend him as the best antiquary that Scotland has yet produced."<sup>(4)</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Remarks on the Antiquities of Rome and its Environs, being a Classical and Topographical Survey of the Ruins of that Celebrated City." Lond. 1797. Mr. Lumsden died at Edinburgh, on the twenty-sixth of December, 1801. An account of his family, drawn up by himself, will be found in Maidment's *Analecta Scotica* vol. ii., pp. 32-41. Edinb. 1837. He claims descent from the house of Cushnie.

<sup>2</sup> See below, page 358.

<sup>3</sup> Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. i., p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> *Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 313; and *Introd.*, pp. lxiii., lxiv.

Apart from his services to the cause of letters generally, **Innes**, from the place of his birth, has peculiar claims on the notice of the Club; and there are few of its members, it is hoped, but will regret that the following outline of his life is so meagre and imperfect. It is printed from a copy in the possession of Mr. Dennistoun, in Mr. Andrew Lumsden's handwriting.

“ANECDOTES CONCERNING THOMAS INNES, M.A.

“Thomas Innes, author of the Critical Essay, was born about the year 1667, at Drumgask, in the parish of Aboyne, and county of Aberdeen. He was son of James Innes, commonly designed of Drumgask, and Jane Robertson, daughter of Robertson, merchant in Aberdeen. His father's designation was owing to his possessing the lands of Drumgask, as a wadset from the Aboyne family, which were redeemed by the present Earl of Aboyne. James Innes was a younger son of the family of Draynie, in Murray, descended from Robert, a third son of the Innes family. (*Vide* Douglas' Baronage, Innes of That Ilk, p. 15.) There is a genealogical tree of the family, done by Thomas Innes himself, in the possession of his grand-nephew, Lewis Innes of Balnacraig.

“By the Register of the Scotch College at Paris, it appears that he entered the house January twelfth, 1681, and received the clerical tonsure the 26th May, 1684.

“He was promoted to the Priesthood the tenth March, 1691; after which, he went to the Seminary of the Oratorians, near Paris, called ‘Notre Dame des Vertues,’ where he spent two or three months, and then returned to the College in the 1692. Then he employed himself in copying the Chartulary of the Church of Glasgow, and placing in order the different charters belonging to that church.

“In the 1694, he was received Master of Arts in the University; and, the year following, was matriculated in the German Nation. Same year, he went to the parish of Magny Littare, in the diocese of Paris, when, after having been employed in the ministry upwards of two years, he returned to the College in the end of 1697.

“In the spring of the following year, he went to the Scotch Mission, where he served in the parish of Innerawan, diocese of Murray.

“He returned in the 1702 to act in capacity of Prefect of Studies in the College, and as agent for the Scotch Mission at Paris.

“At this period he may be supposed to have begun to collect materials for his Critical Essay, and the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, to which the first was only intended as an introduction. Thus far the College Register.

“He has been esteemed a [Jansenist](#) by some, though without any solid foundation. To state the import of this injurious accusation, for such he always considered it, and to satisfy the generality of readers as to the appellation of Jansenist, it is necessary to remark that, in the 1640, the testamentary executors of Jansenius, bishop of Ipres, in Flanders, gave to the world a work composed by this prelate, in which it was attempted to explain the doctrine of St. Augustine on *grace and free-will*. This work was prohibited by Pope Urban VIII., in 1642; and

in the 1653, Innocent X. declared five propositions extracted from it to be heretical. This decision was submitted to by all parties, as to the heretical nature of the propositions; but it was maintained by several, that they were not to be found in Jansenius's book, or, at least, were not heretical when taken in their true meaning, as there explained.

“In the 1656, Alexander VII. pronounced the propositions to be extracted from Jansenius's publication, and in the sense of the author. He afterwards confirmed this decision, and prescribed a formula to be signed, implying the belief of the subscribers as to these two points: first, that the five propositions were heretical; and, second, that they were contained in Jansenius, in their obvious and natural meaning.

“This formula, in consequence of a law established by Louis XIV., was subscribed, and continues to be subscribed, by all who enter into orders, or enjoy any church living, in France. Mr. Thomas Innes having taken orders in that country, signed, of course, the formula; and his name is still to be seen in the register of such signatures, kept in the Cathedral Church at Paris. He cannot, therefore, be deemed a Jansenist, having submitted to the decisions enacted against Jansenius by the church of which he was a member.

“In the 1713, Quesnel's Moral Reflections on the New Testament were condemned by Clement XI., as renewing the errors of Jansenius. Those who stood out against this papal sentence entered an appeal to a General Council. Mr. Thomas Innes was repeatedly solicited to join with them in this appeal, but in vain, as appears from the positive assertion of his brother, the Reverend Mr. Lewis Innes, a man of undoubted veracity, in his letter to Abbé Galland, Vicar-General of the Bishop of Apt, dated from Paris, third January, 1720. The appellation of Jansenist consequently cannot, with any truth, be applied to Mr. Thomas Innes, and this aspersion must have arisen from passion or prejudice. We have been at pains to wipe it off, because it hurt his feelings when alive; and that, even now, so long after his death, which happened in 1744, it still subsists in the minds of some. Although this may appear a matter of no great consequence to most readers, yet, as it gave the good old gentleman much pain, it is proper to vindicate his memory in a point which he considered of importance.

“These anecdotes were communicated by the Reverend Mr. Alexander Innes, great grand-nephew of Mr. Thomas Innes, from Paris, the fourth December, 1789.”

The pedigree referred to in this memoir, has not been found at Ballogie, where (the documents in the text excepted) the only memorial of Father Innes is the following brief sketch of his life, in quite a modern hand:

#### “NOTICE REGARDING THOMAS INNES.

“Thomas Innes, brother of Lewis Innes, Principal of the Scotch College at Paris, came to Paris at the age of fifteen, to pursue his studies at the College of Navarre: He also embraced the ecclesiastical profession. When he had been ordained priest, he returned to his own country to labour as a missionary there. Three years after this he was recalled by his brother, who appointed him his

successor as **Principal** of the Scotch College. He fulfilled this charge with much care, and was united in friendship chiefly with the Abbot Duguet and Rollin at Port Royal. He requested hymns of Santeul in honour of the saints founders of the church in England. In 1726, he undertook to refute an unfaithful history of the church in England, given by a protestant. Having been denounced as a Jansenist at Rome and Paris by a young Scotchman (a scholar of his own, who was angry at being excluded from the episcopacy), he was obliged to leave the College: He, however, got back to it some years after, under the protection of James II. King of England. Thomas Innes died at the Scotch College in 1744, in the eighty-second year of his age.”

The industrious Wodrow, in the following passage of his *Analecta*, supplies a few notices of our antiquary during his sojourn in Edinburgh in the winter of 1724:

“There is one Father Innes, a priest, brother to Father Innes of the Scottish College at Paris, who has been in Edinburgh all this winter, and mostly in the Advocates’ Library, in the hours when open, looking books and manuscripts. He is not engaged in politics, as far as can be guessed; and is a monkish, bookish person, who meddles with nothing but literature. I saw him at Edinburgh. He is upon a design to write an account of the first settlement of Christianity in Scotland, as Mr. Ruddiman informs me, and pretends to show that Scotland was Christianized at first from Rome; and thinks to answer our ordinary arguments against this from the difference between the keeping of Easter from the custom of Rome; and pretends to prove that there were many variations as to the day of Easter even at Rome, and that the usages in Scotland, pretended to be from the Greek church, are very agreeable to the Romish customs that he thinks were used by the Popes, about the time that [he] gives account of our differences as to Easter. “This Father Innes in a conversation with my informer made an observation which I fear is too true. In conversation with the company, who were all Protestants, he said he did not know what to make of those who had departed from the Catholic church; that as far as he could observe generally, they were leaving the foundations of Christianity, and scarce deserved the name of Christians. He heard that there were departures and great looseness in Holland; that, as he came through England, he found most of the Bishops there gone off from their Articles, and gone into Doctor Clark’s scheme; that the dissenters were many of them falling much in with the same method, and coming near them; that he was glad to find his countrymen in Scotland not tainted in the great doctrine of the Trinity, and sound.”

I. This letter, addressed by Innes to the Chevalier de St. George, avows the real object at which he aimed in the publication of his celebrated Essay; and no one who has read that work but will confess that he has skilfully executed his design, whatever may be thought of the soundness of his peculiar doctrines, or of the somewhat questionable means which he took for advancing their success. On this score, perhaps, his best defence will be that there was but too much truth in his statement, that he could not “openly or barefacedly acquaint the public” with the great motive of his

undertaking, “without awakening the governing powers, and manifestly hazarding the printer, the copies, and the author, to be seized upon.”

II. These passages appear to have been selected from letters written by Dr. Atterbury, the deprived bishop of Rochester, in order probably to be laid before the Chevalier de St. George, for the purpose of obviating some attempts that seem to have been made, in the first place, to strip Innes of the credit of being the author of the Critical Essay, and secondly, to depreciate the value of the work itself.

III. This dissertation, in which the peculiar opinions advocated in the “Critical Essay” are applied to a later period of our history, seems to be addressed in the shape of a letter to some correspondent whose name does not appear. We know Innes to have been in habits of communication with more than one of the few cultivators of Scottish antiquities in his time. The anonymous author of “A View of the Diocese of Aberdeen,” a manuscript in the Advocates’ Library, frequently quotes “Mr. T. Innes’ Letter to Mr. Ker.” John Ker was Professor of Greek in the King’s College from 1717 to 1734, when he was called to the chair of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh. He died in November, 1741. He has left some works of local interest; and it appears that he contemplated the publication of an “Athenae Abredonenses” and an “Archaeologia Abredonensis.”

IV. In this short essay, which also assumes the form of a letter, Innes throws light, which will probably be new to most readers, on a point of some moment in our ancient ecclesiastical history,—the early introduction and general prevalence among us of the Salisbury Liturgy. The error which Innes exposes, it is needless to add, invented by Blind Harry and copied by Hector Boece, has been repeated by almost all succeeding writers: the latest editor of the industrious Calderwood, though he traces in the passage the origin of a common adage, fails to point out the inaccuracy of his author’s statement.<sup>(1)</sup>

V. This is the letter from the University of Glasgow to the [Scots College at Paris](#), which led the way to the long and interesting letters which follow (Numbers VI. and VII.), in which Innes conveys much valuable information as to the ancient records of the church of Glasgow.

VIII.—XIII. These papers refer to Mr. Lewis Innes, the elder brother of our antiquary, and his predecessor in the rule of the Scots College at Paris. The first is a letter from his father, James Innes of Drumgask; the others shew the appointments which he held at the court of the exiled Queen of James VII., and that of her son the Chevalier de St. George. Beyond these,

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<sup>1</sup> [Calderwood’s History of the Kirk of Scotland](#), vol. i., pp. 14, 15. Edinb. Printed for the Wodrow Society. 1842.

nothing is known of the history of Lewis Innes, except what is to be gathered from the anecdotes of his brother, given in a previous page; and that he is said to have been appointed by the exiled Court its "Secretary of State for the affairs of Scotland." In the succeeding letter (Number XIV.), the unfortunate prince whom he had served, acknowledges, on the tidings of his death, the fidelity, the ability, and the zeal which he displayed in the matters entrusted to his care.

Numbers XV. and XVI. are letters from Prince Charles Edward, in his own strange school-boy hand, a *Facsimile* of which will be found in one of the plates of autographs. If sympathy with misfortune, or the reverence due to fallen greatness, should sadden our smile at the fond assumption of Kingly style in the signature of "Charles. R.", it may be allowed freer play at the awkward pains of his illegitimate daughter to supply the fault of a secretary, who, in the letter which follows (XVII.), forgot that her father was "le Roi"!

In the two plates of autographs which are subjoined, the signatures are given of one or two persons not expressly referred to in the text, but whose relation to the north-eastern counties seems sufficient to warrant the place assigned to them. The artist, by following rather too literally his instructions to introduce as many subscriptions as possible, has given a somewhat crowded and confused appearance to his engravings. In a third plate, a *facsimile* is given of an interesting letter, which has already been referred to, from King James V. to his secretary, Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin.<sup>(1)</sup>

It only remains for the Editor to express his acknowledgements of the valuable assistance which he has received from Joseph Robertson, Esquire, on whom, when about one half of the volume was printed, his own avocations somewhat unexpectedly compelled him to devolve the completion of the undertaking. To this arrangement the Club owe the very accurate and scholar-like manner in which the charters and other ancient muniments in the latter part of the work are exhibited.

He has been greatly indebted also in the preparation of these Prefatory Remarks to Mr. Robertson's varied acquirements, and extensive knowledge of the history and antiquities of our northern shires.

JOHN STUART.

CROWN STREET, *3d December*, 1842.

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<sup>1</sup> Page 193.



The signatures in the first plate are the following:

- “Beaufort the 17t of Apryle 1745  
Your most affection at cousin and most  
fathfull slave Lovat” p. 27.
- “Alex<sup>r</sup> Banerman of Watartone “1504  
“And<sup>o</sup> Tuledeff of That Ilk” 1504  
“Wylyam Master of Erroll “1504  
“Gilbert Hay of Ardemlracht” 1504  
“Alex<sup>r</sup> Uasse vicarius de Kynauchmond”  
1504  
“Allex<sup>r</sup> Fraser” of Philorth 1489. p. 258.  
“James R” 1525. p. 178.  
“Margaret R” 1525. p. 178.  
“R Keytht of Deir” 1578  
“Allexander Waws” 1554. p. 276.  
“Ranald Oudne of That Ilk” 1511. p. 266.  
“Henry Lord Synclar” 1578
- “Malcolm Fforbes of Tolloquhone”  
1489. p. 259.  
“John Choyne of Emilmont “1504  
“Erl of Craufurd” 1503  
“Alex<sup>r</sup> Irvyn of Lvnmeiy” 1483. p. 254.  
“George Lord Gordon” 1466. p. 251.  
“Alexander Chainer of Balnacrag” 1543  
The seal of Wilyeame Kynidy Conatabil  
of Abirdene 1487. p. 256.  
“Erroll” 1578.  
“Erl of Arran” 1525. p. 178.  
“James M Synclar” 1578.  
“France Erl off Erroll” 1589. p. 279.  
“Jhon Wans off Many” 1554. p. 276.  
“George Erle of Huntlye “1589. p. 279.  
“Wm Forbes of Tolquhon” 1578.

Beaufort  
ye 14<sup>th</sup> of  
apryle  
1445

Your most affectionat Cousyn  
& most faithful slave

Robert  
Clerke

Malcolm Mores  
of Scotland

John Clerk of Scotland  
John Clerk of Scotland  
and sundry  
of the

Allyson of London  
The Lord Howard  
of Balnashay

Whiche is a mappe of the  
Gulfe of the  
The mappe is  
all the paper



Margaret  
James III  
of Arden

George Erle of Hunting  
Henry Howard  
Francis Erle of Arden  
John Howard  
George Erle of Hunting  
Henry Howard

The following is a transcription of the letter:

Florence 18<sup>th</sup> July 1777                      M<sup>r</sup>. Innes

I received in due time y<sup>r</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> June, and do not  
in y<sup>e</sup> Least doubt of y<sup>r</sup> following the fut  
steps of y<sup>r</sup> ancestors, ho were subjects I nue  
already that the Late King my Father had a par  
ticular regard for; It quives me a real  
pleasure to here how your new Principal  
is so well quallified to remplace the moste worthy  
decesed Mr Gordon, whose death  
gave me concern, as it was a great loss to owen  
Scotch College at Paris; my good wishes be=  
ing always for their wellfere, assuring  
both you, and them, of my protection; So  
remain y<sup>r</sup> Sincere Friend,                      Charles R.



The autographs exhibited in the letter are these:

Letter from Prince Charles Edward, 1777. p. 379.

“Jhone Leslie off Ballquhane” 1578

“Alex<sup>r</sup> Forbes of Petslego” 1578

“Georg Meldrum of Fywe knycht” 1544. p. 272.

“Maister James Skeyn of Westir Core” 1578

“C Thomas Ker” 1689. p. 279.

“Wyliam Lesk of That Ilk” 1578

“Jhone Mastir off Forbes” 1578

“Patrik Mowat of Bocholle” 1544. p. 273.

“I Archbald Dougles of Glenbervy grantis me hef in wed of Master Thomas Erskin of the Haltoun ane cheyne of gold . . . Archbald Dougles off Glenberwy” 1528. p. 177.

**XIII.**

**PAPERS**

**BY**

**THOMAS INNES, PRINCIPAL OF THE SCOTS**

**COLLEGE AT PARIS,**

**AND**

**DOCUMENTS CONNECTED WITH HIS**

**FAMILY.**

PAPERS BY FATHER INNES.

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I.

COPY OF MR. THOMAS INNES'S LETTER TO THE KING.<sup>(1)</sup>

SIR,

AFTER having waited long for a sure conveyance, I have delivered to one Dr. *Hay*, who goes to *Italy* along with some *English* gentlemen, a book in two volumes, lately printed at *London*, intitled, *A Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of Britain, or Scotland*. This Dr. *Hay* is known to Mr. *Edgar*, and to others your Majesty's servants, and will carefully convey this book. Your Majesty hath already had some account from my brother of the subject of it, and I beg leave to give it some more at length.

I have set down in the *Preface* and *Introduction* to this small book the general motives of my undertaking it, such as I thought proper to render public. But, besides these, I had another motive that related more immediately to the right of the crown, and to your Majesty's service, with which I could not, in the place and circumstances I was obliged to live during the impression, openly or barefacedly acquaint the public without awakening the governing powers, and manifestly hazarding the printer, the copies, and the author, to be seized upon.

HAVING spent many years in the search and examination into all I could hear of within our island of the remains of what related to the history and antiquities of *Scotland*, I could not, without concern, behold the fabulous and seditious accounts of the ancient state of that kingdom left by our modern writers. *Boece* and *Buchanan* continue still without being examined into and controlled, to be lookt upon as the common standard of the history of *Scotland* in ancient times, though they be not only contrary to all the remains we have of our more ancient writers, but that the principles they are built upon, and the practices that they authorise and commend, have been the chief source of all the rebellions that have happened in that kingdom within these last two hundred years: that is, since *A.D.* 1488, which is the date as well of the first successful rebellion in *Scotland*, to wit, that against king *James III.*, as of the first Act against the right of monarchy which was designedly made by the authors of that rebellion to screen themselves from the punishment due to their crime by all the former and the then standing laws of the kingdom, as well as from the indignation of all the crowned heads in *Europe*.

Now, in order to support and justify with posterity this attempt and act, (of which no precedent was to be found in any former reign since the

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<sup>1</sup> [The son of King James II., commonly known by the style of the Chevalier de St. George, and by his adherents called King James III.]

beginning of the *Scottish* monarchy, and nothing to be met with in any history of *Scotland* till that time that could authorize them,) there were very soon after (no doubt by the contrivance of some of the adherents of those conspirators) some historical pieces forged under the names of a *Veremundus*, a *Spaniard*, and of other such *Utopian* writers, containing a story of forty pretended ancient *Scottish* kings, with details of their lives, actions, and exits, not only never heard of till that time, but contradicted by all the remains we have of former writers: and, in this new invented history of the *Scots*, these kings are made accountable to their subjects; and, accordingly, of these forty kings, about a third part are arraigned, or condemned, or punished by their subjects for pretended maladministration.

IT was upon these new invented stories and forged memoirs (which disappeared as soon as they had served the turn), that the history of the first forty kings of the *Scots* was drawn up. Copies of these were made, and, as having been taken from ancient and genuine historical monuments newly found out in a remote corner of the kingdom, they were sent to *Hector Boece*, a very credulous writer in the beginning of the sixteenth century; and, without farther examination upon these and such other vouchers, *Boece* wrote a new history of *Scotland*, beginning with the reigns of these forty kings lately invented.

THIS history, with the enumeration of so many ancient kings of *Scots* deposed by their subjects, together with the foresaid Act, made *A.D.* 1488, against the monarchy of king *James III.*, became the foundation upon which the new reformers in *Scotland* proceeded to depose their sovereign, queen *Mary*, *A. D.* 1567; and, to justify farther that attempt, *George Buchanan*, a zealous *Calvinist*, and the best orator of the times, was employed, first, to write a libel, intitled, *De jure Regni apud Scotos*, chiefly grounded upon the precedents of the deposing power contained in the story of the first forty kings: and soon after, this same *Buchanan* wrote himself the history of these forty kings in a more polite style, to render it more taking, though he knew it to be mere fable, and with new examples of the popular power continued down to his own time.

BOTH which pieces of *Buchanan*, though condemned by an Act of Parliament of king *James VI.* as satyres upon monarchical government, have nevertheless continued ever since to give the handle to all the rebellions of the last age in that kingdom. It was chiefly the precedents and principles contained in them, joined to the fanatical spirit of the time, that armed the subjects in *Scotland* against your grandfather, king *Charles I.* It was upon the same principles and pretended right to call the sovereign to account, that the factious party in the *Scottish* convention, *A.D.* 1689, proceeded to that height of insolence, as to declare that your royal father had forfeited the crown. And since the *Revolution*, these wretched libels of *Buchanan* are become as classic authors, put into children's hands in our *Scottish* schools, and are commonly looked upon by strangers abroad as the only standard of *Scottish* history and of the right of monarchy: which, in all appearance, contributes not a little to render foreign princes so little sensible of the crying injustice done your Majesty.



Now, in this *Essay* I have endeavoured to go to the root of these antimonarchical principles, to discover the forgery of the vouchers upon which they are built, and to find out the date of them. This subject is particularly handled from *page* 214 till *page* 395, besides what is said in other places, and what I may have farther occasion to add, if I live to continue on the other part of the *Essay*.

YOUR MAJESTY will easily perceive that it was no easy matter in these times to publish in *London* a piece of this nature, which strikes at the root of the *Revolution* principles in *Scotland*; and that I behooved to give the air of a bare historical fact, and treat as it were by the by, joined in with a great variety of other critical discussions, and bring it in as a necessary part of my subject, under the pretence of enquiring into the true era of the *Scottish* monarchy. But it is, I hope, no less effectually done, and the dark contrivance of the forgery and source of the anti-monarchical principles in *Scotland* no less fully laid open, than if I had openly declared my design.

BESIDES the duty of all good subjects to concur in their respective stations to vindicate the honour and support the rights of the crown, and the many particular obligations we in this house lie under to your royal father of blessed memory, and to your Majesty for your constant protection, we cannot better answer the intentions of the two founders of this college than by giving, as occasion offers, all the proofs we are able of our steady adherence to the crown, and by educating all those that Providence places under our care in the same principles.

THE first of our founders, *David Murray*, bishop of *Murray*, above four hundred years ago, was pursued by sea and land by the usurper of these days, *Edward I.*, king of *England*, bore with perseverance to be deprived of his bishopric, banished his country, and even to be excommunicated by the Pope, for no other cause than his unalterable adherence to his lawful sovereign, king *Robert the Bruce*. And our second founder, *James Bethune*, archbishop of *Glasgow*, bore, with no less constancy, the forfeiture of his dignity, the confiscation of all that belonged to him, and a perpetual exile, for his firm attachment to his oppressed sovereign, queen *Mary*.

IT was in imitation of these eminent patterns of loyalty, that I have spared no pains, and ran some risks, to go to the bottom of the dark contrivances of factious men against the sovereignty of our kings, and to demonstrate their original forgery; and that my brother has spared no expense to have it done.

IF this performance, such as it is, proves as much to your Majesty's satisfaction as I have ground to hope it will to the advantage of monarchy, I have my aim in giving this proof of the most profound and most dutiful veneration, with which, I am,

*SIR,*

Your Majesty's most humble, most obedient,  
and most faithful subject and servant.

*Paris, 17th October, 1729.*

## II.

### THREE ARTICLES COPIED OUT OF THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER'S<sup>(1)</sup> LETTERS TO MR. DANIEL WILLIAMS, RELATING TO MR. INNES'S CRITICAL ESSAY.

*Montpelier, February 26th, 1730.*

*MR. INNES*, of the *Scotch* College, a good and learned man, has published a book about the antiquities of his country, written with great knowledge and judgment, and effectually disproving the fabulous relations embraced by his countrymen. Bishop *Stillingfleet* and bishop *Lloyd* began this attempt; but he has set the point aimed at in a much clearer and fuller light than either of them, and has, at the same time, given an excellent account of the rise of the deposing doctrine amongst them, and of the times when, and the reasons why, it came into fashion, and of the manifest forgeries introduced into their history in order to countenance it; so that he has certainly, by these means, done the royal cause a signal service. I doubt not but he has sent a book to the king, of which I suppose you may have the use, and will be pleased with the perusal of it, notwithstanding the repetitions and digressions with which it is clogged, and the dryness of the subject itself.

*Paris, May 22, 1730.*

You are in a mistake if you think that I saw a line of Mr. *Innes's* book before it was published. I think myself obliged to do him justice on that head; and for that reason, if I had no other, must have undeceived you by the first opportunity.

*February, 25th, 1732.*

*MR. WADDELL* has come to *Paris*, but I have not yet seen him. When I do, I shall frankly, though civilly, tell him my mind about his paper of objections,<sup>(2)</sup> which I have considered, as I have Mr. *Innes's* book, with

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<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Francis Atterbury.]

<sup>2</sup> [These objections were afterwards published under the title of, *Remarks on Mr. Innes's Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of Britain or Scotland*. Edinburgh, 1738. 4to. This tract has been recently reprinted in a volume entitled, [Scotia Rediviva: a Collection of Tracts illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 225—256](#). Edinburgh, 1826. 8vo.]

attention, and am sufficiently master of these matters to shew him that he has said nothing to shake Mr. *Innes's* proofs, nothing, indeed, but what Mr. *Innes* himself had in his book started and answered; and if Mr. *Waddel* had read it over with that care and consideration he should have done, he would never have writ that paper. Mr. *Innes's* scheme, accounting for the fabulous genealogy of their kings, from *Fergus I.* to *Fergus II.*, will stand against all objections. All future antiquaries, when the present prejudices are allayed, will certainly embrace it, as I find those of the *Scotch* nation that are most knowing in these matters at present do, particularly Lord *Panmure*, who is very learned that way, and was formerly on the other side of the question.

### III.

#### REMARKS ON A CHARTER OF PRINCE HENRY, SON OF DAVID I. BY THOMAS INNES.

CHARTA HENRICI COMITIS NORTHUMBRIÆ, FILII DAVIDIS I.  
REGIS SCOTTORUM, CIRCA A.D. MCXL. *Ex Chartulario Prioratus  
Sancti Andree in Scotia, folio 92. penes Comitem de Panmure.*<sup>(1)</sup>

HENRICUS comes filius Daudid Regis Scottorum • Omnibus fidelibus et amicis suis • Salutem • Sicut filiis nequam pessimorum patrum imitatoribus peccata patrum et sua reddenda cognouimus • ita iustorum filiis • si iusticias patrum sectati fuerint • bona retribuenda confidimus • Unde ego Henricus gloriosi et illustris • Regis Daudid filius • et Deo propicio et *Rex designatus* • amorem et sollicitudinem quam predecessores mei circa Dei ecclesias habuerunt • quam et me pater meus • Rex et docet et docuit • habere in animo meo statui • Concedo igitur ecclesie Beati Andree • et Roberto primo eiusdem ecclesie priori • et canonicis ibidem Deo seruientibus et seruituris • donaciones quas uenerabilis pater • Robertus episcopus consilio patris mei et assensu • atque meo • eisdem contulit • sicut carta ipsius episcopi testatur • Donaciones nichilominus patris mei ex propriis redditibus • sicut per certam suam • Rex pater meus eisdem concessit et confirmauit imperpetuum possidendas • Testibus Roberto episcopo eiusdem ecclesie • et Dunecano comite • et Willelmo capellano • et Herberto camerario • et Alfwin filio Archill • et Malothen le Mareschald • Apud Chilrimund.

#### REMARKS ON THE ABOVE CHARTER.

I HAVE taken some more time to put in order the remarks which I designed to send you upon the charter of prince *Henry*, son to king *David I.*, because they are of some importance to the succession of the royal family in general, and to vindicate that pious king from the reflexions which his devotion and liberality, rather by the abuses which the alterations happened in after ages, gave occasion to, than by the circumstances our country was in when king *David I.* lived.

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<sup>1</sup> [[Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia](#) e Registro ipso in archivis Baronum de Panmure hodie asservato, pp. 192, 193. Edinburgh 1841.]

THE remarks then upon the style of prince *Henry's* charter to *St. Andrew's* may be reduced to two heads. The one concerns the unusual title of *Rex designatus*, which prince *Henry* takes; the other, concerning the great love and zeal that king *David* had, according to the example of his predecessors, for the church, and which he was careful to inspire into the prince, his son, by word and example.

As to the first head, to wit, the title of *Rex designatus*, given to prince *Henry* in the charter, as it is also given to him in other charters of the same chartulary of *St. Andrew's*, by the king<sup>(1)</sup> his father, and by the bishop of *St. Andrew's*.<sup>(2)</sup> To understand the grounds of this singular conduct of that wise and holy king towards the prince, his son, we must consider that, from the first establishment of the monarchy of the *Scots* in *Britain*, by *Fergus*, son of *Erch*, who was the first founder of it, it appears that this monarchy was not only hereditary from its foundation, but hereditary in the next heir to the last deceased king, when the heir was of age to govern. This is clear by the accounts of the series or succession of our kings, which we have of the seven first of them from our most ancient chronicles, written long before the additions, interpolations, and alterations made in them by *John Fordun*, called our first historian, who was blindly followed, without examination, by all our posterior writers. From all our first and most ancient chronicles, and extracts from our chronicles, we find *Fergus*, son of *Erch*, who, as it hath been abundantly shown in the *Critical Essay* all over, and particularly page 637, &c, was the first sovereign king of all the *Scots* in *Britain*; we find, I say, this king *Fergus* immediately succeeded by his son *Dongard*, our second king, and to *Dongard* succeeded immediately his eldest son, *Comgall*, our third king: and *Conal*, son to *Comgall*, being under age, *Gabhnan* or *Gauran*, brother to *Comgall*, succeeded, and was our fourth king. But after *Gabhnan's* death, *Conal*, son to *Comgall*, immediately came to the crown; and to *Conal*, our fifth king, *Aydan*, son to *Gauran*, succeeded, not only by his birthright, but by special order of God, manifested to the great *St. Colomb*, to inaugurate him, and he was the sixth king of the *Scots*; and, by another special order of almighty God to the same *St. Colomb*, *Eochaidh*, whom our modern writers after *Fordun* miscall *Eugenius IV.*, succeeded immediately to his father, king *Aydan*, and was our seventh king, and began to reign A.D. 605.

THUS the series of our first kings and the order of their succession stands recorded in all the ancient monuments we have remaining of them, before *John Fordun*: the immediate heir, when he was of age to govern, always succeeding to the last deceased king; and for that reason, I shall call it the primitive law of succession to the crown of *Scotland*. And this we see was observed during the first age of the monarchy.

OF these ancient monuments, containing the order of the succession of our seven first kings, faithful copies of four of them may be seen in the *Critical Essay*, pagg. 789, 797, 811, and 824. There is also a fifth

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<sup>1</sup> [Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree, pp. [190](#), [191](#).]

<sup>2</sup> [*Id.*, p. [122](#).]

historical monument, entirely conformable to these four, in the series or succession of our first seven kings. It is written by *James Gray*, and an account of it is given, page 627, &c, of the *Critical Essay*.

IT is observable that this primitive order of the succession of the next immediate heir was never interrupted but once, in the first age of the monarchy; to wit, in king *Gauran's* succeeding immediately to *Comgall*, passing by *Conal*, *Comgall's* son, who was under age; and that too by necessity in the circumstances of the kingdom, which required a king able to command his army in person.

FOR, in these first times, the enemies, upon all sides, with whom the *Scots* were surrounded, to wit, *Picts*, *Britons*, and *Saxons*, obliged them to be always on the wing, and ready to fight, with their kings at their head, as the custom then was; and, in consequence, when the immediate heir of the crown was under age, they found it necessary to give the command to the next immediate heir after him who was of age to govern, reserving still to the immediate heir to succeed and enjoy his rights when the throne came to be vacant. This was the case of the succession of *Gauran* and *Canal*.

THIS interruption of the immediate heir, his not enjoying his right, happened only but once, as we have seen in the first age of the monarchy; but a breach being once made in that fundamental law, opened such a door to the ambition of pretenders of their own family, that there ensued a strange confusion in the succession in the following ages, which was attended, in course, with civil wars, ravages of the kingdom, and bloodshed almost at every change of the king.

To put a stop to these disorders, which daily weakened the kingdom and threatened its entire ruin, king *Kenneth III.*, who began to reign *A.D.* 971, with the joint consent of his nobility, found no more proper means than to re-establish the primitive law of the succession to the crown, which they actually did in the following manner, as *Fordun* relates:

*STATUIT igitur [Rex Kennethus III.] omnium consensu principum, paucis primitivæ successionis fautoribus exceptis, ut regi cuique decedenti, de cetera filius out filia, nepos aut neptis, seu lineæ collateralis frater aut soror; aut saltem quisquis alius, regi decedenti superstes sanguine proximus, succedere debeat, unius diei licet ætatis infans; cum dicatur quod, Ætas regis in fide subditorum consistit; nulla lege deinceps in hujus contrarium prævalente.*<sup>(1)</sup>

BUT this law of *Kenneth III.*, however necessary, did not take its effect at first, by reason of the ambition of pretenders insisting upon the former custom: so we find that, after king *Kenneth's* death, instead of his own son and heir, *Malcolm*, the crown was usurped, first by *Constantin*, and after him by *Grimus* or *Grig*; but, after they were killed one after another, *Malcolm*, the true heir of *Kenneth III.*, was, according to the law made by his father, acknowledged king. But, notwithstanding that law, new disorders and civil war happened, by the usurpation of *Macbeath* and

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<sup>1</sup> [Joannis Forduni Scotichronicon, lib. iv., cap. xxxii. . vol. i., p. 214. Edinb. 1759.]

*Lulach*; and even in king *David's* own time, after the untimely death of *Malcolm III.*, his father, the crown was invaded, first by *Donald*, brother to king *Malcolm*, and again by *Duncan*, his natural son, in prejudice of king *Malcolm's* children, *Edgar*, *Alexander*, and *David* himself, the lawful heirs of the crown.

THESE usurpations, and the intestine wars that attended them, notwithstanding of *Kenneth the Third's* law of the succession, convinced our holy king that there was still need of a further provision to guard against the ambition of pretenders, upon the score of being descended of the royal family; and he found that the most natural provision was to have the true heir acknowledged during his own reign, and agreed to by all the subjects, and even to bear the title of *King designed*. Accordingly, besides this charter of the Prince, in which he entitles himself *Rex designatus*, the king himself, his father, in another charter of the same time, had given him that title, in these words: *Tam ego quam Henricus filius et Deo donante heres meus et Rex designatus.*<sup>(1)</sup> In like manner, *Robert*, bishop of *St. Andrews*, in a charter of the same time, tells that he founded the priory of *St. Andrews*, *consilio simul et concessione piissimi Regis nostri Daud • necnon et filii ejus Henrici comitis et Regis designati.*<sup>(2)</sup>

AND this holy king, no less careful of the peace and happiness of his subjects than of preserving the crown in his royal family, upon the death of his beloved son, prince *Henry*, the darling of the *English* as well as of the *Scots*, leaving behind him three young princes, his children, *Malcolm*, *William*, and *David*: king *David*, I say, to provide against any intestine war that might break out after his own death, caused instantly carry about, through all the provinces of the kingdom, the eldest of his grandchildren, *Malcolm*, who was only about thirteen years of age, under the conduct of *Duncan*, earl of *Fife* (whose hereditary office it was to place the new king on the throne), in order to have the young prince every where proclaimed and acknowledged as the righteous heir of the crown, and his lawful successor; and at same time, caused the second brother, prince *William*, be proclaimed and acknowledged earl of *Northumberland*, as being next to the heir of the crown.

BY these precautions of this royal king, not only he was upon his death succeeded without the least opposition by his grandchild, prince *Malcolm*, but after *Malcolm's* death, his brother, prince *William*, came to the crown with the universal satisfaction of *all the subjects*.

AND after all the race of king *William* was extinguished in *The Maid of Norway*, by the unanimous consent of all the kingdom, they went back to the race of his brother and next heir, *David*, earl of *Huntingdon*, and his two daughters, and their issue.

THENCE the debate betwixt *John Baliol* and *Robert the Bruce*, which still ran upon the supposition of the right of the next heir; but this you'll

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<sup>1</sup> [Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree, p. 190.]

<sup>2</sup> [*Id.*, p. 122.]

find learnedly treated among a great many other notable enquiries in the *History of the Family of Stuart*.

To conclude: by the wise precautions of king *David I.*, by the particular blessing of God upon that religious prince, by the respect that all the *Scots* bore to him, and all the race of *St. Margaret* his mother, it hath happened that these six hundred and six years, since the beginning of king *David's* reign, the primitive law of the next immediate heir to the last deceased king hath been ever observed till the *Usurpation*, A.D. 1688: and, accordingly, there hath been none of these intestine wars which happened at the beginning of almost each reign, during about five hundred years from the reign of king *Eocha-buydhe*, or *Eugen IV.*, who succeeded as next immediate heir to his father, king *Aydan*, till that of king *Edgar*, who dispossessed *Donald* and *Duncan*, the two last usurpers upon the obsolete title of being come of the royal blood.

MAY I add here, for a farther conclusion, that as the last infraction, A.D. 1688, of the law of hereditary right in the next immediate heir was the most unnatural of all that had ever happened, so it hath accordingly drawn upon the nation the greatest punishments and humiliations, so as to have the nobility degraded, and the kingdom itself unkingdomed.

IV.  
OF THE SALISBURY LITURGY USED IN SCOTLAND. BY THOMAS  
INNES.

The Bishops all inclined to his crown,  
Both temporall and the religion.  
The Romane books that then were in Scotland,  
We gart them bear to Scoon, where then them fand,  
And but redeem, then burnt them all each ane.  
Salisbury use our clerks then hath tane.

Acts of Sir *William Wallace*, b. xi., c. 7.<sup>(1)</sup>

AT your desire, I have sought out some of my musty papers to endeavour to give you some satisfaction upon this passage of *Wallace's Book*.

IT imports, in short, that king *Edward the First*, among other ravages, caused burn the books of our church liturgies, and substitute to them the usages of *Salisbury* or *Sarum*.

THE same thing in substance is advanced by *Hector Boece*, in his *History* (fol. 298<sup>(1)</sup>), and more distinctly by his translator, *Bellenden*;<sup>(2)</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> [The byschoprykis inclynyt till his croune,  
Bathe temperalite and all the religioune.  
The Roman [bukis] that than was in Scotland,  
He gart be brocht to scham [Schon?], quhar thaim thaim fand;  
And, but radem, thaim brynt thaim thar ilkan;  
Salysbery oyss our clerkis than has tane.

and in all appearance, both of them took the story from *Blind Hary*, author of *Wallace's Book*, who lived about forty years before *Boece* wrote his *History*.

BOT whencesoever they had this tale, 'tis absolutely false that king *Edward I.* was the author of introducing the usages of *Sarum* into *Scotland*, or that they were brought in by violence. The contrary is easily demonstrated, to wit, that these usages were brought into *Scotland* long before king *Edward's* time, and that they were brought in and settled by our own bishops, *proprio motu*, or at the earnest request of their canons and chapters.

THIS is evident as to the church of *GLASGOW*, the only cathedral of *Scotland*, whereof many of the old records escaped the *Knoxian* flames. For *Herbert*, bishop of *Glasgow*, who was consecrated bishop, *A.D.* 1147, and died *A.D.* 1164, first settled the usages of *Sarum* in his church; and this settlement, with the other old privileges of *Glasgow* (such as the free election of their bishops by dean and chapter) was confirmed by a bull of pope *Alexander III*, *A.D.* 1172, whereof we have still the original signed by that pope and the cardinals.<sup>(3)</sup> And if you were curious, you might probably find it as yet in that pope's register at *Rome*, dated 8 *Kalend. April, pontificatus a<sup>o</sup> 14<sup>o</sup>*.

THESE usages of *Sarum* were afterwards, together with the other privileges and liberties of *Glasgow*, often confirmed by the rescripts or bulls of popes, concessions of bishops, decrees of the chapter, and grants of our kings, particularly of king *James IV.*, who was himself honorary canon of *Glasgow*, as the kings of *France* are of *St. Martin* of *Tours*.

FOR a proof of that, I send you here a short note of what concerns this subject, taken from an exact copy which my brother caused make many years ago of the remains of the records of *Glasgow*, which our second founder, *James Bethune*, the last catholic archbishop, saved and brought over with him hither.<sup>(4)</sup>

AN original letter of the dean and chapter of *Salisbury* to the dean and chapter of *Glasgow*, written at their earnest desire, containing an account of the liberties and privileges of *Salisbury*, dated *A.D.* 1259.

ORIGINAL charter of *William*, bishop of *Glasgow*, *A.D.* 1258, containing a grant of the liberties and usages of *Sarum*, to the chapter of *Glasgow*.

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<sup>1</sup> [Edit. 1575. "Libros sacros Anglico ritu conscribi iussit, vtque eos solos haberent, edixit."]

<sup>2</sup> [Book xiv., ch. vii. "He [brint all the Cronikles of Scotland](#), with all manor of bukis, als weill of devine service as of othir materia; ..... He gart the Scottis write bukis efter the use of Sarum, and constraint thaim to say efter that use." Vol. ii., pp. 377, 378. Edinb. 1821.]

<sup>3</sup> [It is printed in Sir James Dalrymple's Collections concerning the Scottish History, [pp. 367-369](#). Edinb. 1705.]

<sup>4</sup> [The Scots College at Paris.]



STATUTE of the chapter of *Glasgow*, confirming this grant, A.D. 1258.

A bull or rescript of pope [*Gregory*] X., confirming the usages of *Sarum* to *Glasgow*, A.D. 1274.

ANOTHER rescript of this pope to the same purpose, A.D. 1275.

STATUTE of *Glasgow* chapter *sub juramento* to same purpose, A.D. 1325.

BULL of pope *Alexander VI.*, 1493, to same intent.

ORIGINAL letters of king *James IV.* to the chapter of *Glasgow*, confirming their old usages, A.D. 1491.

As to the church of *ST. ANDREW'S*, I have seen an old *MS. Missal* entire, belonging to my lord *Arbuthnot*, containing the ordinary service of that church, entirely conformable to the usages of *Sarum*. What time they were first received in it, the loss of the ancient records of that metropolitan church leaves us in the dark.

IN the cathedral chapter of *MURRAY*, in the statutes contained in the ancient chartulary (*in Biblioth. Jurid. Edinb.*) of that church, it was decreed, A.D. 1242, by bishop, dean, and chapter, *Ut in divinis officiis • in psallendo • legendo • et cantando • ac aliis ad Divina spectantibus servetur ordo qui in ecclesia Salisbyryensi esse noscitur institutus.*<sup>(1)</sup>

THE ancient lives of the bishops of *Dunheld* (*in Biblioth. Jurid. Edinb.*) confirm the same as to *DUNKELD*. For, giving account of the life and actions of bishop *Galfrid*, who died A.D. 1249, they say of him, *Novam fecit erectionem ad instar Ecclesiae Sarum.*

You see this was long before king *Edward the First's* invasion.

WE have here an entire copy of the *Breviary of ABERDEEN*, in two volumes, in 18mo. It was printed at *Edinburgh* by the care of good bishop *Elphinston*, who founded the *University of Aberdeen*. The date of the printing is curious, and honourable to *Scotland*, in these words: *Kalend. Februar. a Christo nato anno nono supra millesimum et quingentesimum: imperii Jacobi Quarti Scotorum Regis illustrissimi duobus supra annis viginti.*" This is the most ancient printed book in *Scotland*, and the only I have seen of the kind printed in our country. It appears that our churchmen, to save the expense of printing, made use generally of liturgical books, either *MS.* or printed in *France* or *England*; but all of them *secundum usum Sarum*, adding only to the kalendar the names of our local saints in write. Of which kind we have two *Missals* in our library, one of which, given me by bishop *Gordon*, had belonged to Mr. *James Gordon*, the last chancellor of the church of *Murray*, and in that quality the last catholic pastor of *St. Peter* of *Inerawin*,<sup>(2)</sup> which was the parish where I served in *Scotland* three years.

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<sup>1</sup> [[Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis, p. 109](#). Edin. 1837.]

<sup>2</sup> [Inveraven.]

IN a word, all the *Scots Missals* or *Breviaries* I ever saw (and I believe I have seen most of them that escaped our reformers' burning zeal), are all *secundum usum Sarum*; and so, without doubt, these usages continued among us till the *Knoxian* reformation.

THE same usages were followed by most of the churches in *England*, even by that of *Canterbury*, but the church of *York* had proper usages of its own, of which I have seen some parts; but our countrymen took care to borrow nothing from *York*, lest the aspiring prelates of that see might take advantage from it to strengthen their claim over our church: which, upon a thorough examination I made formerly of that pretension, I found to be groundless.

## V.

### COPY LETTER FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW TO THE SUPERIOURS OF THE SCOTS COLLEGE AT PARIS. DATED MAY I., OLD STYLE, MDCCXXXVIII.

*REVEREND GENTLEMEN,*

IT is matter of no small regret to us of this university that we have been so long without any correspondence with our countrymen of your college in *Paris*. With great pleasure we lately found by your correspondent, the reverend Mr. *Alexander Drummond*, that you still retain an affectionate regard to this country and this university; upon which we joyfully embraced this opportunity of saluting you all in the most affectionate manner, and of requesting the favour of a correspondence with you about any thing which may relate to the history and antiquities of our country. In particular, we request that you may deliver either to the bearer hereof, Mr. *Robert Foulis*, or send by any safe conveyance to the reverend Mr. *Alexander Drummond*, at *Drummond* castle, in *Perthshire*, that copy of a charter of king *Robert II.*, confirming the legitimacy of our royal family, which is mentioned in *Mabillon* as intended for this university; and that you may allow us, at our own charge, to obtain a notarial copy of the chartulary of *Glasgow*.

You would further oblige us exceedingly by informing us of any other original papers of consequence as to the history of this country, diocese, or university, which we could have access to, to take notarial copies at our own charges; and we shall always [be] fond of expressing our gratitude to your college for these favours, and of making any return in our power. This, by order and in name of this university, is subscribed by,

*REVEREND GENTLEMEN, &c.*

## VI.

### ANSWER TO THE ABOVE LETTER BY MR. THOMAS INNES.

*MUCH HONOURED,*

IT was with a most singular satisfaction that the superiours of this college received, by Mr. *Robert Foulis* and his brother, the honour of a letter, of

first *May* last, in name of your university of *Glasgow*, of which we had had intimation some time ago by the Rev. Mr. *Alexander Drummond*, a learned churchman of your diocese, and one of the most ancient members of this college.

THOUGH our gentlemen here have not as yet done themselves the honour to answer the letter of the university, which came late to their hands, I make no doubt but Messrs. *Foulis*, who brought it to us, will have done us the justice to inform you of the kindly and respectful acceptance that the letter met with from all in this college, and that no time hath been lost in making ready to be sent to the university such copies of ancient pieces as more immediately relate to it.

AND, in the first place, we send the authentic copy of [\*Charta Roberti Seneschalli Scotiæ\*](#), A.D. 1364. This famous charter, originally belonging to the metropolitan church of *Glasgow*, we thought it a piece of justice to cause draw up an authentic copy of it, with all the subscriptions and seals of the learned antiquaries who were the judges of its authenticity, and of all the noblemen and chief gentlemen of our country who were at that time in or near this city, and were, upon the invitation of the late Mr. [\*Lewis Innes\*](#), my brother, then principal of this college, all present at the solemn assembly holden on purpose for examination of the authenticity of the charter. This copy we set apart at the time, and have carefully kept it ever since, these forty-four years bygone, waiting for a favourable opportunity to present it to the university, which, by reason of the aversion, as we were told, of the leading men of that city to all of our communion and character, we never could meet with till of late. That my brother being deceased, I am the only person now alive who am more acquainted with the records of *Glasgow*, and have been at most pains in conserving them, and endeavouring to draw from them what light I was able, towards the history of our country, and in particular, of the ancient state or principality of *Cumbria* or *Cambria*, in which *Glasgow* is situated; and being now of a very advanced age, it is no small satisfaction to me, before I die, to learn, by the letter of the university, and by the two gentlemen bearers of it, that the aversion to those of this house and of our community is wearing away, at least among the more learned and more polite inhabitants of that metropolis. And this is no small encouragement to me, notwithstanding my infirmities, to give you a short account of the records of *Glasgow*, of the care taken to preserve, and of the use that hath been made of them since they came into our hands.

THE records of the church of *Glasgow*, saved, as every body knows, from the flames that consumed generally the records of all other cathedrals of *Scotland*, at the *Knoxian* reformation, were, by the most reverend *James Bethune*, last catholic archbishop, brought over to this city, and, at his death, A.D. 1603, they were deposited, with some old silver statues and the archbishop's own papers, partly here, but the most part in the *Carthusians* of *Paris*, whom he had appointed the overseers of the foundation which he had made in this college for the education of the youth of this country; for which reason he is justly reckoned our second founder, the first having been a bishop of *Murray*, under king *Robert the Bruce*.

THESE records remained many years in great confusion, locked up in the trunks in which they were brought over. Our predecessors, looking on them barely as they related to the ancient privileges, rights, and possessions, of the church of *Glasgow*, saw little or no use of them, since the exercise of the catholic religion (for the maintenance of which they were all at first intended), was more strictly interdicted by new laws in *Scotland* than in any other country, and these laws more rigorously put in execution in *Glasgow* than in any other city of the kingdom; so our predecessors contented themselves to take great care of the preservation of these records for better times, according to the good prelate's intentions; but it appears not that they were at any pains to look into them, which, indeed, was not easy for them to do, not being acquainted with the ancient unusual character in which they were most part writ.

IT was only since my brother, our late principal, came to be in place, that the remains of the archbishop of *Glasgow* were more carefully looked into, examined and digested, into better order. And, in the first place, the archbishop's own papers containing his negociations for queen *Mary* and king *James VI.* (which had been more neglected and exposed, and some of them carried away by curious people), in order to preserve what remained of them, were put in order, and digested into the order of time, and bound up in several volumes.

MY brother's next care was of the records of *Glasgow*, the ordering of which we began about *A.D.* 1692. It was in reviewing these ancient records that we discovered first, in one of the chartularies, a copy enregistred, and afterwards the original itself, of the *Charta Roberti Seneschalli Scotiae*, by which the legitimacy of king *Robert III.* is evidently proved. This famous charter, my brother carried out to *St. Germain's*, and shewed it to the late king *James VII.*, and communicated copies of it to our nobility and gentry then at his majesty's court: among others that saw this copy, was Sir *James Montgomery* of *Skelmorly*, who was lately come over to the king. Upon reading the copy, and remarking how it plainly contradicted in this fact all our vulgar historians, *Boece*, *Buchanan*, &c., Sir *James* went immediately, in great passion, back to *St. Germain's*, and obtaining audience of the king, begged of his majesty to give no countenance to this charter, as being, says he, undoubtedly a manifest forgery of ours. But Sir *James* being in this contradicted by those of the nobility who had seen the original, it was resolved that the authenticity of the record should be impartially examined by the most famous antiquaries of *France*, such as the keepers of the king of *France*'s library, the procurators-general of the *chambre des comptes*, or keepers of the records of *France*, by Father *Mabillon*, M. *Baluze*, and others, the most versed in ancient records, and this in presence of our nobility and gentry, and among others, of Sir *James Montgomery*.

THIS was accordingly done in a very solemn assembly holden in the famous abbey of *St. Germain de pres*, at *Paris*, upon the twelfth *January*, 1694. And the authentic record we have the honour to send you, with all the original subscriptions and seals, was the result of this assembly, and nobody was more frank and forward to put his hand and his seal, as you will see, than Sir *James Montgomery*, when he had considered with the

greatest application the original on all sides, and heard the learned observations of the antiquaries. I thought proper to give you this account of this fact, at which I was present, and this having chiefly given occasion to the verification of the record.

TOGETHER with this authentic copy of the *Charta Roberti Seneschalli*, destined to your university from the beginning, we send some printed copies of a *Dissertation* upon it that we published at the same time, which it seems the gentlemen of your university had not seen, since they quote Father *Mabillon's* work for the destination of this authentic copy to the church and university of *Glasgow*, which is so plainly marked in the preface to this *Dissertation*; which being published the first on the subject, no wonder that it is so lame and imperfect, we having then no other proofs but those taken from the records of *Glasgow*, and a few passages of Sir *George Mackenzie's Jus Regium*, to proceed upon. But this short *Dissertation* of ours, having awaked our countrymen to enquire into the grounds of a story so injurious to the royal family of *Scotland*, hath engaged the learned both of *Scotland* and *England* into a farther search of records relative to the subject, whereof no small number hath been found, all of them quite opposite to the account of our historians, (though none of them so formal as this record of *Glasgow*.) *Dissertations* have been also published, by all which the falsehood of the account given by our vulgar writers of the marriages of king *Robert II.*, and of the birth of his son (*John Fernyear*) king *Robert III.*, are put in such evidence, that I believe no man of learning or probity will hereafter ever cast it up again.

BESIDES the authentic copy of the *Charta authentica Roberti Seneschalli*, our gentlemen here are preparing to be sent to the university a public instrument, before two notaries, containing exact copies of the bull, and charters of its foundation, taken from the authentic chartulary of *Glasgow*, together with what few pieces are to be found among what was brought over here of the records relative to its funds or revenue; of all which they will do themselves the honour to write, in answering the letter of the university.

BUT I am sorry to tell you that, having frequently perused all the records of *Glasgow*, brought over to this place by archbishop *Bethune*, I never could find either the original records of the foundation of the university, or any other account of its funds and rents, but the little you'll have in three notarial acts of *Cuthbert Simson*, notary and scribe of the chapter, which we are to send you, copied faithfully from the original minutes.

BUT as to archbishop *Bethune*, if the circumstances to which he was reduced when he left that kingdom be considered, it will easily appear that it was not possible for him to have any thing belonging to the university but those we are to send you. What he saved of the records of his church, and some old silver statues (of which you'll find account in the third volume of Dr. *Mackenzie's History of our Writers*), was preserved from the fire, and rapacious hands of the time, by some of the canons, who remained faithful to him; but as to the college, the friar *Willox*, with those of his gang, possessed themselves of it, whilst the good archbishop (by the

hatred that the leading men of those times had against him for his attachment to the old religion and to the queen regent) was the only bishop of *Scotland* who was not allowed so much as to return to take leave of his flock and his church, but forced away to *France*, in *July*, 1560, with the *French* soldiers. Of all which enough might be said; but perhaps 'tis better to cast a veil over the doings of those times, in which nothing but rapine, oppression, violence, and confusion, reigned in our poor country.

I AM,

*With sincere respect, &c.*

P. S. I shall have the honour to send, by Messrs. *Foulis*, for the university library, a copy of the *Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of Britain, or Scotland*, published A.D. 1729; in which you'll easily perceive the concern the author takes in *Glasgow*, and in your western parts of the kingdom, by a short dissertation upon the ancient inhabitants of those parts, page 29, &c.

## VII.

### ANSWER BY THE SCOTS COLLEGE OF PARIS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW. OCTOBER XXII., MDCCXXXVII.

HONORABLE GENTLEMEN,

YOU'LL have been informed by a letter which one of us wrote some weeks ago to the honorable *George Boyle*, esquire, rector of the university, as well as by Messrs. *Foulis*, who brought us your kind invitation to a friendly correspondence, with how great pleasure and respect we received your letter of first *May*, which was more agreeable and welcome to us, that it put an end, as we hope, to the long interruption of all correspondence betwixt us, during about one hundred and eighty years, occasioned by the violent alterations made by factious men in the church and university of *Glasgow*, which in former ages had so much contributed to the honour of that city. Our kings themselves had preferred to be canons of *Glasgow* to all the other chapters of the kingdom, as you will see by a letter of king *James IV.*, whereof we send you an authentic copy: and *John Major* in his *History*<sup>1</sup> informs us that the chapter of *Glasgow* was in so great reputation, that before the erection of the college of justice, or lords of session, the greatest causes of the kingdom were referred to the decision of this chapter; and some of our kings in their charters, whereof we send you one, gave to the church of *Glasgow* the honourable title of *Mater multarum gentium*,<sup>2</sup> by reason of the many different nations that of old inhabited these western parts (called of old *Cumbria*), and were all diocesans of *Glasgow*, as you may see in a short dissertation on the subject in the *Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*, whereof we have the honour to send you two copies, one for

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<sup>1</sup> Major, [Hist. Scot.](#), fol. 30.

<sup>2</sup> [Charta Willelmi Regis](#), circa A.D. 1188.

the public library of the university, the other to be disposed of as you shall think fit, being now become very rare.

BY the same Messrs. *Foulis*, we have the honour to send you also to the university, the authentic instrument and copy of the *Charta Roberti Seneschalli Scotia, A.D. 1364*, with all the signatures and seals of the antiquaries that were judges of its authenticity, and of the nobility and gentry of our country that assisted at the solemn assembly, *A.D. 1694*, in which its authenticity was examined and declared. This authentic instrument was by us destined to the church and university of *Glasgow* from the beginning, as you'll see by the preface to the *Dissertation* which we published at the time, whereof we send you four copies of the few that remain: all these were set apart and, with the authentic instrument, kept here for the university these forty-four years, waiting a favourable time that we might have access to present them, and expect that they would be well received.

WITH these we send authentic and notarial copies of the three chief records of the foundation of the university, taken from the ancient chartularys, together with some authentic transcripts from the protocols of *Cuthbert Simson*, notary and scribe of the chapter of *Glasgow*, containing all we could find among the records of *Glasgow* of the ancient endowments of the university by the archbishops, among which you'll no doubt remark the act intitled *Collegium de novo fundatum*, by archbishop *Dunbar*, eighty-six years after the foundation of the university college.

As to the original records of the university, we have given the reason, in the foresaid letter to your rector, why archbishop *Bethune* was not able to save or bring over any of them, as he did, by good providence, the chief records of the church, with the seal of the chapter, and some old silver statues, all which are still in being, carefully preserved for better times, most part in the *Carthusians*, and some of the more curious records, together with the archbishop's own writs, in the archives of this college; of all which there is a pretty good account in Dr. *Mackenzie's History of our Scottish Writers*, [tom. 3](#), page 464, &c.

AMONG other pieces, we send you some few faithful copies of some of the most ancient charters of the church and city of *Glasgow*, taken from the most ancient chartularys of *Glasgow*, especially the introduction of the old chartulary, written about five hundred years ago, and containing the best accounts of the antiquity of the church of *Glasgow*.

As to a copy of these chartularys, that is not possible at present to us to send; but without being at the trouble or expense, you may easily cause make one from a very exact copy containing not only the records contained in the chartularys, but others taken from the originals, about the year 1726, for the right honourable earl of *Panmure*, and still in the hands of the present earl, his son.

WE cannot finish this letter without assuring you that no persons seemed to be more fitted, every way, towards reviving a correspondence betwixt your university and us, than the two Messrs. *Foulis*, whom we find young gentlemen of great genius and capacity, of a most social

temper, and improved in learning beyond their age; and we owe them that justice to assure you that we have seen none of the young gentlemen of our country make better use of their time, during their short abode in these parts, and of all their moments, towards all persons and exercises that might improve them, to be able one day to do honour to your university, and make a good figure in the learned world.

WE have only to add, that, as in order to re-establish a friendly correspondence, we have endeavoured here to omit nothing that depended upon us in answering the university's demands, and in shewing all the kindness we could to the two young gentlemen that brought us your letter, so you'll be so good as to shew favour and kindness to those of our character and communion that may happen at any time to resort to your city or university, and to do us the justice to believe that we are with singular affection, esteem, and respect, &c.

### VIII.

#### LETTER FROM JAMES INNES OF DRUMGASK TO MR. LEWIS INNES.

For Mr Lewis Innes att  
the Scots Colledge off Paris.  
Thes

Drumgask 7 Maij 1683

Dear sone

I receved yours but this day daited the twenty fourth of February wherin ye challenge me for long silence which, if all myne came to your hands I should have greater reason to challenge you, however I am glad to hear that you are all weell. Your mother and I hath bein and is a litle tender, this tuelle month bygone, I belive the reason is our old age, God grant ws grace we may make a good wse of our tyme, let ws hear more frequentlie from you becaus it is a wery great comfort to ws, since we cannot have the satisfaction to sie it is a great confort to ws to hear of your weelfare, I shall earnestlie entreatt you to doe all that lyes in your pouer to befriend the bearers hierof in particularlie Floors son whose grandfather and father was my dear comarads and cousins, and is the good-wyffe of Milln of Gellans nephew, Milln of Gellan and his wyffe has ther lowe presented to you, who was preseit heir with Mr Lesslie at prayers, I shall not trouble you more at present, Your mother and I has our love remembred to you, your brothers Charles Francis Elizabeth and John, has there respeccts remembred to you, I shall entreatt you to dispatch your brothers letters with your convenience, and if ye gett any lyne from them to me send them with your first convenience which is all I shall say til I hear from you but that I am

Dear sone  
Your most affectionatt and  
loving father till death

1683

17, May.

My father.

JA: INNES



I pray you present my best respects to Mr Whytford to whom I am very much obliged to

IX.

ADMISSION OF MR. LEWIS INNES AS ALMONER IN ORDINARY  
TO THE QUEEN MOTHER.<sup>0</sup>)

Regal Papers,  
Warrant Al-  
moner.

In obedience to her Majesty the Queen Mothers warrant to me directed, I have sworne, and admitted Mr. Lewise Inese into the place, and quality of Almoner in Ordinary to her Majesty, to enjoy the said place with all profitts, priviledges, and advantages thereunto belonging, in as full and ample manner as the same is usually held or enjoyed. Given under my hand, and seale this eleauenth day of November 1701. and in the first yeare of the Reigne of our soveraigne Lord King James the Third.

J STAFFORD

X.

THE KING<sup>1</sup>) TO CHARLES INNES OF DRUMGASK.

St Germaines  
26 April 1711  
James R.

James R.

In consideration of the seruices render'd to the King my father of blessed memory, and to myself by Mr Inese almoner to the Queen, and also in consideration of the seruices and sufferings of his brother Charles Inese of Drumgask, I promise to cause pay to the said Charles, or to his heirs two thousand pounds sterling, and till he receiues that summ in one payment that he shall be- paid two hundred pounds sterling yearly. J R.

St. Germaines April 26. 1711.

XI.

ADMISSION OF MR. LEWIS INNES AS ALMONER TO THE KING.<sup>2</sup>)

These are to certify that I by vertue of his Majestys warrant directed to me and dated the 30th of November last past have sworn and admitted Mr. Lewis Inese into the place and quality of Almoner to the King. To have and to hold the said place with all the fees, salarys, rights, privileges, precedencys and advantages thereunto belonging in as full and ample manor as any Almoner of the precedent Kings of England has enjoyd. Given under my hand, the 23d of December 1713 and in the 13th year of his Majestys Reign.

DOM: SHELDON

Vice Chamberlain.

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<sup>1</sup> [Maria D'Este, the Queen-consort of King James II.]

<sup>2</sup> [The Chevalier de St. George.]

XII.

APPOINTMENT OF MR. LEWIS INNES AS ALMONER TO THE KING.

James R.

Our will and pleasure is, that you forthwith swear and admit our trusty and well beloved Mr. Lewis Inese into the place and quality of our Lord Almoner; to have and to hold the said place with all the fees, the King, sallarys, rights, priviledges, precedencys and advantages thereunto belonging in as full and ample manner as any Lord Almoner of our predecessours Kings of England have heretofore held or enjoy'd the same. And for so doing, this shall be your warrant. Given at our Court at Bar-le-Duc the 17th of March 1714. and in the 13th year of our Reign,

By his Majesties command.

To our right trusty and welbeloved

THOMAS HIGGONS.

Dominick Sheldon Esq.  
Vice-Chamberlain of our Household.

Mr Lewis Innes made Lord Almoner to the King.

XIII.  
THE KING<sup>(1)</sup> TO MR. INNES.<sup>(2)</sup>

Rome. April 30th.  
1737.  
James R.

Rome. April 30th. 1737.

Mr Inese.

The visits of the Holy Days, and The Princes journey, have left me little time for some days past, But however I will not delay acknowleging the receipt of your two letters of the 1st and 15th. And desire you at the same time to make my kind compliments to Dr Ingleton in return to his letter of the 8th. I wish him truely well, and am much concernd his health is no better. I remark what you say of two writen promises under my hand, I can assure you it will be always a pleasure to me to perform them when the time comes, and to do all that is kind in favor of your College, and of your Family. It is certain I cannot turn my thoughts too seriously towards considering of the proper measures to be taken by me in many particulars upon my Restoration, And what has or may come from you on such subjects may be as useful, as it will be always acceptable. The Prince parted yesterday morning from hence, and will I reckon be two great months away, if my endeavors for his serving the campagne in Hungary dont succeed, ffor if they do, he will pursue his journey thither from Venice, and I heartily wish he may, as I am sure you will, and as every body must who wish me and my cause well. Mr. Edward Dicconson is not yet arrived here; I should be glad to know what original letters or writings of The King my Fathers you have in your College, or you may know are extant elsewhere?

The Duke is I thank God, much better, and I am well enough, and always full of sincere kindness for you.

JAMES R.

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<sup>1</sup> [The Chevalier de St. George.]

<sup>2</sup> [Probably Mr. *Lewis* Innes.]

**XIV.**  
**THE KING<sup>(1)</sup> TO MR. THOMAS INNES.**

Rome. February 25th. 1738.

For Mr Thomas Inese.

The news you give me in yours of the 3d of your brothers death, was a subject of no surprize, but of true concern to me, having lost in him a most faithful servant, who joynd capacity and zeal in my service, which are not always found in the same person. In faillcour of so worthy a person, it is a satisfaction to me that the papers he had in his custody belonging to me, should remain under your care and that of your nephew Mr George Innes, because I am persuaded that both of you will have the most exact attention in all that relates to that particular. The just value and kindness I had for Mr Lewis Innes, will always engage me to have a particular consideration for you, as it will be an additional motive to me, to favor and befriend on all occasions The Scots College at Paris.

The King,  
25 February,  
1738.

JAMES R.

**XV.**  
**THE KING<sup>(2)</sup> TO MR. HENRY INNES.**

Florence the 18<sup>th</sup>. July, 1777.

For M<sup>r</sup> Henry Innes Procurator of the Scotch College of Paris.

M<sup>r</sup> Innes,

I received in due time yours of the 9<sup>th</sup> June, and do not in the least doubt of your following the futsteps of your ancestors, ho were subjects I nue already that the late King my Father had a particular regard for; It guives me a real pleasure to here how your new Principal is so well quallified to remplece the moste worthy decesed M<sup>r</sup> Gordon, whose death gave me concern, as it was a great loss to ower Scotch College at Paris; my good wishes being always for their welfere, assuring both you, and them, of my protection; so remain your sincere friend,

CHARLES. R.

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<sup>1</sup> [The Chevalier de St. George.]

<sup>2</sup> [Charles-Edward, son of the Chevalier de St. George, and grandson of King James II.]

XVI.  
THE KING<sup>(1)</sup> TO MR. HENRY INNES.

Florence the 13<sup>th</sup> February 1778.

Florence  
the 13<sup>th</sup> Fe-  
bruary 1778.  
Charles. R.

For Mr Henry Innes,

Procurator of the Scotch Colledg at Paris.

M<sup>r</sup> Henry Innes,

I accept kindly your expressions of zeal and loyialty, joined with those of our Scotch Coledg at Paris, being persuaded that they are sincere; so both you and them may be always assured of my particular regard and protection ; your sincere friend,

CHARLES. R.

XVII.  
LA DUCHESSE DE ALBANIE.<sup>(2)</sup>

À Rome ce 18. avril 1787.

a Rome la 18.  
avril 1787  
La duchesse  
d'Albanie.

Je vous remercie bien sincérement, Monsieur, de la part que vous avés prit à má maladie et de tout ceque vous me dite d'obligent sur mon retablissement, je suis extremement sensible parceque je connois depuis longtems la sincérité de vos sentiments, soiés bien assurée de toute má reconnoissance ainsique de celle quo [le Roi]<sup>(3)</sup> mon Pere me charge de vous témoigner pour le souvenir et l'attachement que vous lui conservé.

Mà mere ne vous à point oubliés auprès de moi vous pouvés en être persuadé

Je desir de tout mon coeur les occasions de pouvoir vous convaincre, Monsieur, de l'estime particuliere avec laquelle je vous suis bien veritablement attaché.

LA DUCHESSE D'ALBANIE.

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<sup>1</sup> [Prince Charles Edward.]

<sup>2</sup> [The illegitimate daughter of Prince Charles Edward.]

<sup>3</sup> [The words "le Roi" are interlined in the handwriting of the duchess; the rest of the letter, the signature excepted, is written by another hand.]