

SECTION V.

STATE OF THE EARLY SCOTTISH CHURCH.

IN reference to any efforts for the religious instruction or improvement of the people, the Scottish Church was equally cold, idle, and useless, as the rest of the Catholic churches in Europe. Her services were performed, and the Bible was shut up, in an unknown tongue, whilst a system of masses and homilies, sometimes not understood even by the priests who performed them, and a blind adoration of relics, saints, and images, usurped the place of that holy and spiritual worship which can alone be acceptable to God. So far, therefore, as regards these paramount objects, there is nothing in our ecclesiastical annals at this period but a dark void ; yet another subject remains upon which it will be necessary to say a few words ; I mean the civil influence which the church exerted upon the character of the government and of the people. And here I cannot help observing, that the history of her early relations with Rome, is calculated to place our clergy in a very favourable light as the friends of liberty. The obedience which, in common with the other churches in Christendom, they were disposed to pay to the great head of the Catholic religion, was certainly far from partaking of that obsequious servility, which it was the main object of the Papal throne to impose upon its subjects ; and it is singular that the same fervid national spirit,

the same genuine love of independence, which marks the civil, distinguishes also the ecclesiastical annals of the country. The first struggles of our infant church were directed, however, not against the encroachments of the Papal power, but against the attacks of the metropolitan sees of York and Canterbury. It was, at an early period, the ambition of one or other of these potent spiritual principalities to subject the Scottish primate, the Bishop of St Andrews, to the dominion of the English church, by insisting upon his receiving the rite of consecration from the hands of one of the archbishops of England; and nearly the whole reign of Alexander the First was spent in a determined resistance against such an encroachment, which concluded in the complete establishment of the independence of the Scottish church.

To introduce civilisation and improvement amongst his subjects, and to soften the ferocity of manners and cruelty of disposition, which characterised the different races over whom he ruled, was the great object of Alexander's successor, David the First; and he early found that the clergy, undoubtedly the most enlightened and learned class in the community, were his most useful instruments in the prosecution of this great design. Hence sprung those munificent endowments in favour of the church, and that generous liberality to the ecclesiastical orders, which has been too rashly condemned, and which was, perhaps, necessary, in another point of view, in providing something like a counterpoise to the extravagant power of the greater nobles. Under this monarch, the individual freedom of the Scottish church was rigidly

maintained; while, at the same time, it declared itself a willing subject of the Papal throne, and received the legate of the Supreme Pontiff with much humility and veneration. Individual independence, however, was esteemed in no degree incompatible with a general acknowledgment of subjection to the Chair of St Peter; and it is remarkable, that, at this remote period, there are traces of a freedom of discussion, and a tincture of heretical opinions, which, if we may believe an ancient historian, had, for a long time, infected the faith of the Scottish clergy.¹

After a feeble and ineffectual attempt, under the reign of Malcolm the Fourth, to renew the attack upon the freedom of the church, which passed over without any important result, the captivity of William the Lion was ungenerously employed by Henry, to extort an acknowledgment of spiritual, as well as feudal subjection; but on this memorable occasion, the dexterous diplomacy of the Scottish commissioners, the Bishops of St Andrews and Dunkeld, procured the insertion of a clause in the treaty, which left the question of the independence of the national church open and undecided;² and at a council, soon after held at Northampton, in the presence of the Papal legate, the Scottish bishops asserted their liberty, declaring, that they never had yielded any subjection to the English church; and opposing, with a zeal and boldness which, in this instance, proved successful, the absurd pretensions of the rival sees of York and Canterbury.³

¹ J. Hagulstad. p. 325.

² *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 39.

³ Fordun a Goodal, vol. i. p. 474.

Hitherto engaged in repelling these inferior attacks, the Scottish clergy soon after found themselves involved, by the imperious character of the king, in a serious contention with the Popedom itself. On the death of the Bishop of St Andrews, the chapter chose, for his successor, an English monk, in opposition to the wishes of the king, who intended the primacy for Hugh, his own chaplain. With the violence which marked his character, William immediately seized the revenues of the see; procured Hugh to be consecrated; put him in possession; and when his rival, who had appealed in person to the Pope, returned with a decision in his favour, he was met by a sentence of banishment, which involved his whole family and connexions in his ruin. Legatine powers were instantly conferred, by the incensed Pontiff, on the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham, with a reserved authority to direct the thunder of excommunication against the king, in the event of his contumacy; and the clergy of the diocese of St Andrews were commanded, upon pain of suspension, to acknowledge the authority of the extruded primate. But nothing could shake the firmness of William. He replied to this new sentence of the Pope, by banishing every person that dared to yield obedience to the papal favourite; upon which the sentence of excommunication was pronounced by the legates, and the kingdom laid under an interdict. At this critical and terrible moment, when the monarch's determination to assert his own right of nomination had, in the sense of those times, plunged the land in spiritual darkness, the Pontiff, Alexander the Third,

died, and the King of Scotland lost not a moment in sending his commissioners to Rome, who succeeded in procuring from Lucius, the new Pope, an immediate recall of the sentence of excommunication and interdict, and an ultimate decision in favour of the king. The mode in which this was done was ingeniously calculated to gratify William, without detracting from the supreme authority of the Roman see. The two rival candidates, John and Hugh, came forward, and resigned into the hands of the Pope all right to the contested bishoprick; upon which the Pope installed Hugh, the favourite of the king, in the throne of St Andrews, and placed John in the inferior see of Dunkeld; a memorable triumph, which, at a time when the proudest monarchs in Europe were compelled to tremble before the terrors of the Popedom, does honour to the courage and independence of the Scottish king.¹

Not long after, Lucius, in his paternal anxiety to demonstrate his affection for his northern son, sent the golden rose to William, an honour rarely bestowed, and highly prized in that age; and this distinction only led to more important privileges, conferred by Clement the Third, the successor of Lucius, upon the Scottish church.² It was declared, that in consequence of William's devoted and zealous affection to the chair of St Peter, (a singular compliment to a prince, who had lately opposed its encroachments in so determined a manner,) the Scottish church was adopted

¹ R. Hov. Hist. pp. 621, 354.

² Chron. Melross, p. 175. Gulielm. Neubrig. p. 754.

as the special and favourite daughter of the apostolic seat, and declared to be subject to no other intermediate power whatever. To the Pope alone, or to his legate a latere, was permitted the power of publishing the sentence of interdict and excommunication against Scotland ; upon no one unless a native of Scotland, or at least a person specially deputed for this purpose from the apostolic seat itself, was the office of legate to be conferred ; and in the event of any controversies arising regarding benefices, it was solemnly enacted, that no appeal should be competent to any foreign tribunal, except that of the Romish church.¹

These were high privileges ; they at once put an end to the pretended superiority of the English church, and conferred upon the Scottish prelates a vantage ground, from which they jealously defended and eagerly watched the opportunity to extend and improve their rights. This is strikingly exemplified in the reign of the successor of William, Alexander the Second. The Scottish monarch had dared to make war upon John, King of England, at the time that he had placed himself and his subjects under the peculiar protection of the Pope ; a proceeding which drew down a sentence of excommunication and interdict against Alexander and his subjects. The temper with which this was received, seems to have convinced the Roman court, that the terrors of his spiritual thunder were little felt in Scotland ; and fearful perhaps of losing its influence altogether, it permitted the Scottish king, without performing the

¹ Chronicon Joan. Brompton, p. 1196.

ignominious penance which generally preceded absolution, to be again welcomed into the bosom of the church. At the same time, the sentence was removed from the whole body of his lay subjects ; but the prelates and the rest of the clergy found, that they could only be restored to the exercise of their spiritual functions, upon the payment of very large sums of money to the legate and his deputed.¹ Against this extortion, the king, jealous of the rights of his clergy, appealed to Rome, and obtained a judgment in his favour, which declared that the legate had exceeded his powers, and confirmed the privileges of the Scottish church.² But this led to a still more important concession. In a moment of carelessness or indulgence, Honorius, listening to the artful representations of the Scottish clergy, who lamented, that, from the want of a Metropolitan, they could not hold a provincial council, and that, in consequence of this misfortune, many enormities had been committed, authorized them to dispense with this necessary solemnity, and to assemble a general council of their own authority. This permission, there cannot be the least doubt, was meant to be temporary ; but it was loosely expressed, and the Scottish clergy instantly perceived and availed themselves of its ambiguity. They affected to understand it as of perpetual authority, and, assembled under its sanction, drew up a distinct form of proceeding by which the Scottish provincial councils should in future be held, instituted the office of Conservator Statutorum, and continued to assemble frequent provincial

¹ Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 40.

² Ibid. vol. ii. p. 42.

councils, without any further application for the consent of the Holy see¹. This happened in 1225, and the important right which had been gained, was soon apparent. For a long period, Scotland had impatiently submitted to the repeated visits and extortion of a papal legate, who, under the specious pretext of watching over the interests and reforming the abuses of the church, assembled councils, and levied immense sums of money in the country. On the meeting of the Scottish king and Henry the Third at York, Otho, a cardinal deacon, and at that time legate in England, took an opportunity to intimate his intention of visiting Scotland, in order to enquire into the ecclesiastical concerns of the kingdom. "I have never seen a legate in my dominions," replied Alexander, "and as long as I live, I will not permit such an innovation. We require no such visitation now, nor have we ever required it in times past." To this firm refusal the king added a hint, that should Otho venture to disregard it, and enter Scotland, he could not answer for his life, owing to the ferocious habits of his subjects, and the Italian prudently gave up all idea of the expedition.² But the thirst for gold, and the good things of the land, was checked, not extinguished, in the breast of the papal emissary; and after a few years, Otho again attempted to make his

¹ Cart. of Moray, vol. i. p. 11. The canons of the church of Scotland were transcribed by Ruddiman from the Cartulary of Aberdeen, and communicated to Wilkins, who published them in the first volume of the *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*. They were afterwards printed by Lord Hailes, with notes.

² Math. Paris, p. 377.

way into Scotland. Alexander met him while he was yet in England, and a violent remonstrance took place, which ended in the legate being permitted to hold a council at Edinburgh, under a positive stipulation given under his seal, that this permission to enter the kingdom, should not be drawn into a precedent. The king, however, refused to countenance by his presence, what he affirmed to be an unnecessary innovation, and retired into the interior of his kingdom; nor would he suffer the legate to extend his pastoral care or pecuniary exactions beyond the Forth.¹

In Alexander the Third, who equalled his predecessor in firmness, and surpassed him in sagacity, the church found a resolute patron and defender. A summons, by a papal legate, addressed to the clergy of Scotland, commanding them to attend his court at York, was pertinaciously resisted, as being an infringement of their ancient privileges;² whilst an attempt to levy money upon the cathedrals and parish churches, and to enter the country, was opposed by the king, and in both instances the opposition was successful.³ But this was not all. The Scottish clergy openly disclaimed obedience to the canons for the regulation of the ecclesiastical affairs of the country, which were enacted in a council held by the papal legate in England, and, aware of their own strength, assembled a provincial council at Perth, in which they promulgated canons of their own, and boldly asserted their in-

¹ Math. Paris, p. 422.

² Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 96. ³ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 105.

dependence. In this manner, the opposition, which the firmness of the second Alexander begun, the courage and resolution of his successor completed; and, before the conclusion of his reign, the independent rights of the Scottish church may be regarded as completely established.

Whilst the Scottish monarchs and their clergy were thus amicably united in their resolutions to establish the independence of the church, the internal relations which united the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and the good understanding subsisting between the crown and this great branch of the state, were little interrupted by those fierce contentions which disturbed the repose of many other European kingdoms; and the superior information and influence of the church was employed by our monarchs as a means of improving the savage habits of their people, and as a counterpoise to the exorbitant power of the great feudal nobles. It was amongst the clergy alone, that at this early period we find any thing like a progress in the arts and in literature, if indeed the learning of our country during this age deserves so high a name. In their profound disquisitions in scholastic theology, in an acquaintance with the civil and canon law, in the studies of alchemy and judicial astrology, and, in some rare instances, in a knowledge of the Oriental languages and the mathematics, the clergy of Scotland were not far behind their brethren of Europe. There were a few individual instances, in which the subtil, fervid, and indefatigable mind, which, according to Galileo, marked the Scots at the era of the revival of letters, was to

be seen amongst the Scottish scholars and philosophers of this remote age.¹ John Duns Scotus, a name which is now associated with feelings of unmerited ridicule, who was the founder of a school which extended its ramifications through every country in Europe; for the encouragement of which, princes lavished their treasures, and the most noted universities were ready to devote their exclusive patronage, was undoubtedly a Scotsman, born in the Merse in the latter end of the reign of Alexander the Third. Unable to procure instruction in any of the higher branches of knowledge in his own country, he pursued his studies at Oxford, and from this school of learning repaired to Paris, where he found an asylum at the time that the arms of Edward the First had gained a temporary triumph over the liberties of his native country. The labours of this indefatigable schoolman, shut up in twelve folios, once handled with reverential awe, enjoy undisturbed repose upon the shelves of many a conventual library; yet his genius undoubtedly impressed itself strongly and lastingly upon his age, and the same mind, if fallen on better days, might have achieved less perishable triumphs, and added to the stock of real knowledge.²

It has been already remarked, that in those dark days, in Scotland as well as in every other country in Europe, the whole stock of learning and science was shut up in the church; and as the great body

¹ This curious fact will be found mentioned in Sir R. Sibbald, *Historia Literaria Gentis Scotorum*, p. 30. MS. in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh.

² Cave, *Hist. Literaria*, vol. ii. p. 3 of the Appendix.

of the Scottish clergy received their education in the universities of Oxford or Paris, for as yet no great seminaries of learning had arisen in our own country, we must look for the intellectual acquirements of this influential body in the nature of the studies which were then fashionable in the schools. That period of time which elapsed from the commencement of the thirteenth to the beginning of the fourteenth century, has been distinguished in the history of human knowledge, by the title of the scholastic age; and a very slight view must convince us how wofully dark a picture it presents. It is marked by the rise of the second age of the scholastic theology, in which the Aristotelian logic and metaphysics were for the first time introduced into the demonstrations of divine truth, and employed as an aid in the explanation of the Holy Scriptures.

The compilation of voluminous and intricate systems of divinity which was introduced in the Greek church, as early as the eighth century, by John of Damascus, and in the Latin by the unfortunate Abelard, seems to have suggested to Peter Lombard the idea of compiling what he termed his Four Books of the Sentences, which he extracted from the writings of the fathers, and more especially of St Augustine.¹ This work acquired in a short time a very extensive reputation, and its author, known by the name of the Master of the Sentences, became the founder of the scholastic theology; but this great system continued for a

¹ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 221. Spanheim, *Epitome Isagogica ad Hist. Novi Test.* p. 394.

century comparatively pure and unsullied, nor was it till its second age that we meet with the perpetual reference to the dogmas of Aristotle, which, with equal absurdity and impiety, were quoted as giving strength and authority to the word of God. In progress of time the error gained strength, and poisoning the sources of truth and knowledge, transformed the pure doctrines of the Scriptures, as they are found in the Bible, into an unmeaning rhapsody of words. Under both these ages of the scholastic theology, Scotland produced scholars whose reputation stood high in the schools. Richard, a prior of St Victor, at Paris, and Adam, a canon regular of the Order of Premonstratenses illuminated the middle of the thirteenth century by very voluminous expositions upon the Prophecies, the Apocalypse, and the Trinity, by treatises on the threefold nature of contemplation, and soliloquies on the composition and essence of the soul; while, during the second age of the scholastic theology, John Duns delivered lectures at Oxford to thirty thousand students.¹ In the exact sciences, John Holybush, better known by his scholastic appellation, Joannes de Sacrobosco, acquired during the thirteenth century a very high reputation, from his famous treatise upon the sphere, as well as by various other mathematical and philosophical lucubrations; and although claimed by three different countries, the arguments in favour of his being a Scotsman are not inferior to those asserted by England and Ireland. Like

¹ Cave, Hist. Liter. vol. ii. p. 228. Ibid. Appendix, p. 3.

his other learned brethren, who found little encouragement for science in their own country, he resided in France; and even at so late and enlightened a period as the sixteenth century, and by no less a scholar than Melancthon, was Sacrobosco's work, the *Comptus Ecclesiasticus*, esteemed worthy of the editorial labours of this reformer. Another very extraordinary person, who figured in those remote times, and over whose life and labours superstition has thrown her romantic and gloomy light, was Michael Scott, the astrologer of the Emperor Frederic the Second, and the great assistant of that monarch in his plan for restoring the works of Aristotle, through the medium of translations from the Arabic, to the learned world of Europe. Previous to his reception at the Court of Frederic, Michael had studied at Oxford, and he afterwards visited France, Italy, and Spain, in the unwearied pursuit of such knowledge as the great universities of those countries afforded to the students of the thirteenth century. Mathematics, astronomy, and the sister art of astrology, were his favourite pursuits; and in Spain, then partly in possession of the Arabians, and assuredly at this time the most enlightened portion of Europe, he acquired that intimate acquaintance with the Arabic, which, in the general ignorance of the Greek language, was the only source from whence a knowledge of the Aristoleian philosophy could be derived. In obedience to the injunctions of the Emperor, Michael Scott commenced his labours; and from the manuscripts which he has left, and which have reached our times, it is

probable that he did not conclude them until he had translated and commented on the greater part of the works of the Stagyrite.¹ From the plan of Frederic, however, or the versions of the Scottish philosopher, little real benefit could be derived to science, for the Arabians had themselves greatly corrupted Aristotle; and we need not wonder that translations from such sources, and made in utter ignorance of the language of the original, must have retarded rather than accelerated the progress of real knowledge. Accordingly, Roger Bacon, a man whose genius was infinitely superior to the age in which he lived, is not unsparing in his censure, and, in no very measured phrase, accuses the wizard of being at once a plagiarist and an impostor.² As a mathematician and astronomer, he is entitled to less dubious praise; and his commentary on the "Sphere of Sacrobosco," was thought worthy of being presented to the learned world of Italy at so late a period as 1495.³ It may be conjectured, therefore, that Michael owes much of his fame to his assumption of the character of a prophet and a magician; and that if the greatest of our Scottish minstrels had not embalmed him in his imperishable poem, and the high-

¹ Jourdain *Recherches Critiques sur l'age des Traductions Latines D'Aristotle*, pp. 132, 133.

² "Michael Scotus, ignarus quidem et verborum et rerum; fere omnia quæ sub nomine ejus prodierunt ab Andrea quodam Judæo mutuatus est." Roger Bacon apud Jourdain, p. 141. This learned Oriental scholar conjectures, that in the above passage, for Andrea, we should read *Avendar Judæo*.

³ Panzeri *Annales Typogr.* vol. i. p. 231.

wrought superstition of his country interwoven his dreaded predictions into the body of her romantic legends, his name might long ago have sunk into oblivion.¹ He was Baron of Balwearie in Fife, and must have been born previous to the year 1217.² The name of John Suisset, whose profound mathematical attainments are commemorated by Scaliger and Cardan, completes the brief catalogue of those philosophers and men of science whom Scotland, in that remote age, sent out to contest the palm of intellectual superiority with their brethren of Europe; and when we consider, that every thing which could afford an encouragement to letters or to science was then a desideratum in our country, it is honourable to find, by the acknowledgment of the scholars of Italy, "that the barbarians were considered not inferior in genius to themselves."³

In turning, however, from such rare examples of talent in the church, to the literary attainments of the nobility, or to the means of instruction possessed by the great body of the people, the prospect is little

¹ "Michael iste dictus est spiritu prophetico claruisse; edidit enim versus, quibus quarundam Italiae urbium ruinam variosque predixit eventus." Pipino apud Jourdain, p. 131. See also Benvenuto da Imola's Commentary on the Inferno, book xx. v. 115.

² This is evident from a Latin MS. at Paris, which bears to have been translated by Michael Scott at Toledo, anno Christi MCCXVII.

³ In speaking of Suisset and John Duns, Cardan, in his Treatise De Subtilitate, p. 470, observes, "Ex quo haud dubium esse reor, quod etiam in libro de Animi Immortalitate scripsi, barbaros ingenio nobis haud esse inferiores, quandoquidem sub brumæ cælo divisa toto orbe Britannia duos tam clari ingenii viros emisit." Irving's Lives of the Scottish Poets, p. 31.

else than a universal blank. During the long period from the accession of Alexander the Third to the death of David the Second, it would be impossible, I believe, to produce a single instance of a Scottish baron who could sign his own name. The studies which formed the learning of the times were esteemed unworthy of the warlike and chivalrous spirit of the aristocracy, and universally abandoned to the church. Yet there is ample evidence in the Cartularies that Scotland, although possessed of no college or university, had schools in the principal towns, which were under the superintendence of the clergy, and wherein the youthful candidates for ecclesiastical preferment were instructed in grammar and logic. We find, for example, in the Cartulary of Kelso, that the schools in Roxburgh were under the care of the monks of Kelso during the reign of David the First; and that the rector of the schools of this ancient burgh was an established office in 1241.¹ Perth and Stirling had their schools in 1173, of which the monks of Dunfermline were the directors; and the same authentic records introduce us to similar seminaries in the towns of Ayr, South Berwick, and Aberdeen.²

It seems also probable that, within the rich and splendid monasteries and convents which, at this period, were thickly scattered over Scotland, there were generally to be found schools, taught by the monks,

¹ Cartulary of Kelso, pp. 1, 258, 343.

² Sir L. Stewart's Coll. Ad. Lib. No. 45. Cart. of Paisley, p. 284. Cart. of Aberdeen, pp. 74, 80, 81. Caledonia, vol. i. p. 767.

who were in the habit of receiving and educating the sons of the nobility.¹ It is certain that, attached to the cathedral church belonging to the Monastery of St Andrews, there stood a lyceum, where the youth were instructed in the Quodlibets of Scotus;² and that, as early as 1233, the schools of St Andrews were under the charge of a rector. A remarkable instance of this is to be found in the Cartulary of Kelso, where Matilda, the Lady of Moll, in the year 1260, grants a certain rent to be paid to the abbot and the monks of this religious house, under the condition, that they should board and educate her son with the best boys who were intrusted to their care.³

In the Accounts of the Chamberlain of Scotland we find an entry of twenty shillings, that were given by Robert Bruce in 1329, to the support of the schools at Montrose;³ and the same record recounts a charitable donation of L.13, 6s. 8d. presented, by this monarch, to Master Gilbert de Benachtyn, for his support in his studies.⁴ Yet the instances of eminent Scottish scholars which have been already noticed prove, very convincingly, that their own country could, at this period, afford them little else than the bare rudiments of education; and the consequent resort of

¹ Ant. Augustini Epitome Juris Pontificii Veteris, vol. ii. p. 34.

² Martin's Reliquiæ Divi Andreae, p. 187.

³ Cart. of Dunferm. M'Farlane's Transcript, p. 579.

⁴ Compot. Camerarii Scotiae, pp. 95, 96. See also p. 413, for this singular entry in the time of David the Second, anno 1364. "Et in victu et vestitu unius pauperis scholaris consanguinei dni nostri regis apud Edinburgh de mandato regis, 4 lbs."

students to France led to the foundation of the Scots College at Paris, in the year 1325, by David, Bishop of Moray,—an eminent seminary, which was soon replenished with students from every province in Scotland.¹

In addition to the Scholastic Theology, both the Civil and the Canon Laws were ardently cultivated during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,—an eminence in these branches being considered the certain road to civil and ecclesiastical distinction. The titles of Doctor decretorum, Licentiatus in legibus, and Baccalaureus in decretis, are found, not unfrequently, subjoined to the names of our dignitaries in the church; and the Records of the University of Paris afford evidence that, even at this early period, the Scottish students had not only distinguished themselves in the various branches of learning then cultivated, but had risen to some of the highest situations in this eminent seminary.² From these foreign universities they afterwards repaired to their own country, bringing with them the learning, the arts, and the improvements of the Continent. There is evidence, in the history of the various foundations of our religious houses, by our early monarchs, that the clergy who were educated abroad were especially favoured at home; and after their settlement in the

¹ Irving's *Lives of the Scottish Poets*, Prefatory Dissertation, p. 61. Nicholson's *Scottish Hist. Library*, p. 77.

² Bulæus. *Hist. Univers. Parisiens*, vol. iv. pp. 960, 968, 974, 989. Keith's *Catalogue of Bishops*, pp. 82, 83, 84. Mylne, *Vitæ Episcoporum Dunkeldensium*, p. 17. Editio Bannatyniana.

church, a constant intercourse with their Continental brethren enabled them to keep pace, in intellect and knowledge, with the great family of the churchmen of Europe. For such learning as then existed in the world, the monasteries afforded, in Scotland as in other countries, a sacred receptacle ; and although the character of the theology there taught was low and puerile, and the state of the other branches of human learning deformed by superstition and error, yet, without the feeble spark preserved in the religious houses, and the arts of life which were there cultivated and improved by the clergy, the state of the country, during the period of which we are now writing, would have been deplorable indeed. Much that we know of the authentic circumstances of the times we owe to the monkish annalists, who employed their leisure in the composition of those rude chronicles which, distant as they are from the model of a grave or enlightened history, often convey to us very striking pictures. In every monastery in Scotland it appears to have been the custom to compile three sorts of register books ; specimens of which having been saved from the wreck of time, enable us to form a pretty correct idea of their nature and contents.

The first was a general register, compiled in the shape of a chronicle, or book of annals, containing the events arranged under the years in which they happened. Such are the fragments entitled, “*Chronica de Origine Antiquorum Pictorum*,” the “*Chronicon Sanctæ Crucis*,” the “*Chronicle of Melross*,” the short

fragment of the "Chronicle of Holyrood," the "Liber Pasletensis," and various other ancient "chronica," which were written anterior to the fatal year 1291, when Edward collected and carried away the historical records of the country.

The second species of monkish register was a bare obituary; in which we find recorded the decease and the interment of the various abbots, priors, and benefactors of the monastery. And the third was the Cartulary, in which the charters of the kings, or other great men who favoured the religious house; the bulls of the Popes; the revenues of their lands; the leases granted to their vassals or dependents; the history and the proceedings of the various lawsuits in which they were engaged; the taxes which they paid to the crown; and many other minute and interesting particulars, are recorded.¹ The collection of these last is fortunately much more complete than we should have anticipated from the lamentable havoc and destruction which occurred at the period of the reformation. Many of the original Cartularies are preserved in that noble repository of manuscripts which is the property of the Faculty of Advocates; others have been discovered in the libraries of ancient families, or of private collectors; and it is in this great storehouse of authentic records that there is to be found, although in a shape very barbarous and repulsive to the general reader, the most fresh and living pictures of the manners of the times.

¹ Nicholson's Scot. Hist. Library, p. 77.

This period, however, besides these monkish annalists, produced one writer of original genius. I mean Barbour, the metrical historian of Bruce, of whose work it is difficult to say whether it ranks highest as a faithful history of this great monarch, and of the manners of his age, or a graphic and spirited poem, full of noble sentiment, and occasionally varied with beautiful descriptions of natural scenery. It is in every respect a very remarkable production for so early an age as the middle of the fourteenth century, and contains many passages, which, in the strength and purity of the language, in the measured fulness of the rhythm, and the richness of the imagery, are not inferior to Chaucer.¹ Its author was born about the year 1316, and after having received the rudiments of his education in his own country, pursued his higher studies at Oxford, and afterwards in France.² On his return to his native country, he rose to a considerable preferment in the church, and devoted the leisure which he spared from the duties of his archdeanery, to the composition of his great national poem, for which he was rewarded by a pension from Robert the Second.³ Another work of this writer was a history or genealogy of the Kings of Scotland, compiled, in all probability, from Wace, or Geoffrey of Monmouth, and entitled the Brute. It is mentioned in Winton's Chronicle,⁴ but

¹ Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, p. 318.

² Jameson's Memoirs of the Life of Barbour, p. 6. ³ Ibid. p. 8.

⁴ Winton's Chronicle, book 3. c. 3. v. 139. vol. i. p. 54. Ellis's Specimens of the Early English Poets, vol. i. p. 228.

has not reached our times. Winton himself, and his brother historian Fordun, both writers of great value, do not properly belong to this period.

Considerably prior, in point of time, to Barbour, was the celebrated Thomas the Rhymer, or Thomas of Ercildoune, the author of the romance of Sir Tristrem, a poem which enjoyed the highest celebrity, not only in his own country and in England, but throughout Europe. It has been observed as a very remarkable circumstance, that while, prior to the period of Chaucer, there is to be found no English romance which is not a translation from some earlier French original; and at the time when the progress of the English language in the country which has given it its name was retarded by many powerful obstacles, the poets of the south of Scotland appear to have derived their romantic fictions from more original sources, and to have embodied them in a dialect of purer English, than the bards of the sister kingdom. In the romance of Sir Tristrem, written about the middle of the thirteenth century,¹ and in two other more ancient Scottish romances, Gawen and Gologras, and Goloran of Galloway, so very scanty are the traces of any thing like a French original, that, according to the conjecture of the great writer to whom we owe the publication of the first and most interesting of these early relics, it is probable they have been originally extracted from that

¹ Introduction to the Romance of Sir Tristrem, by Sir Walter Scott, p. 12. Ibid. p. 54.

British mine of romantic fiction from which have proceeded those immortal legends of Arthur and his Knights, which took such a hold on the youthful imagination of Milton. The names of all the important personages in the story are of British origin; and it is conjectured, upon data which it would be difficult to controvert, that in Tristrem himself, however transformed by the poetic colouring of Thomas of Ercildoune, we are to recognise an actual British warrior, who, in the last struggles of the little kingdom of Cornwall against its Saxon invaders, signaled himself by those exploits which have given the ground-work to this poetic romance.¹ In England, the Norman conquest, and the consequent prevalency of the Norman-French, which became the language of the court, and the medium in which all legal proceedings were carried on, necessarily corrupted the purity of the Saxon language. "In England," to use the words of Sir Walter Scott in his Introduction to Sir Tristrem, "it is now generally admitted, that after the Norman conquest, while the Saxon language was abandoned to the lowest of the people, and while their conquerors only deigned to employ their native French, the mixed language now called English existed only as a kind of lingua Franca, to conduct the necessary intercourse between the victors and the vanquished. It was not till the reign of Henry the Third that this dialect had assumed a shape fit for

¹ Introduction to the Romance of Sir Tristrem, by Sir Walter Scott, pp. 52, 53.

the purposes of the poet; and even then it is most probable that English poetry, if any such existed, was abandoned to the peasants and menials, while all who aspired above the vulgar, listened to the *lais* of Marie, the romances of Chrestien de Troyes, or the interesting *fabliaux* of the Anglo-Norman *trouveurs*. The only persons who ventured to use the native language of the country in literary compositions were certain monkish annalists, who usually think it necessary to inform us that they descended to so degrading a task out of pure charity, lowliness of spirit, and love to the ‘*lewed men*,’ meaning the lower classes, who could not understand the Latin of the cloister, or the Anglo-Norman of the court.”

Whilst such was the case in England, the formation of the language spoken in the sister country took place under very different circumstances; so that, instead of considering the language in which Thomas of Ercildoune and his successors have written as a daughter of the Anglo-Saxon, it would be more correct to regard it as an independent stream derived from the great fountain of the ancient Gothic, but coming to us in Scotland through purer channels than those wherein it flowed into England. Into the great controversy regarding the origin of the Pictish people it would be entirely out of place to enter at present; although a careful examination of the original authorities, upon both sides of a question which has been agitated with an asperity peculiarly inimical to the discovery of the truth, inclines me to consider them as a race of Gothic origin; an opinion supported

by the united testimony of Bede, Nennius, Gildas, and the Saxon Chronicle.¹ Every hypothesis which has been adopted to account for the introduction of the Saxon language into Scotland, from England, by the gradual influx of Saxon and Norman nobles, by the multitude of English captives taken in war, or by the marriage of Malcolm Canmore with a Saxon princess, seems extremely unsatisfactory ; and it appears a far more tenable theory to suppose, that in the great kingdom of Strathclyde, which came at last to be wrested from the original British tribes by the Saxons, in the large district of the Lothians and of Berwickshire, which was entirely peopled by Saxons, and in the extensive dominions of the Picts, a race of people descended from the same Gothic stem, there was formed, in the progress of centuries, a Gothic dialect which we may call the Scoto-Saxon, similar to the Anglo-Saxon in its essential character, but from the circumstances under which its formation took place, more unmingled with any foreign words or idioms. It was this Scoto-Saxon language, called by Robert de Brunne "strange Inglis," or "quaint Inglis,"² which appears to have been spoken by the Scots from the beginning of the twelfth century, and continued the language of the court and of the people down to the time of Barbour and Winton. It was in this language that the wandering minstrels of

¹ Jamieson's Dissertation on the Origin of the Scottish Language, pp. 2, 4, 26.

² Introduction to Sir Tristrem, p. 66.

those days composed their romantic legends of love or war ; and that the higher bards, who, to use the words of the ancient chronicler above quoted, wrote for “ pride and noblye,” and to satisfy their thirst for fame, composed the romances which were then popular in Scotland, and came, through the medium of translations into Latin and Norman-French, to be famous throughout Europe.¹ That the Gaelic was the language of the great body of the Celtic people, who at a very remote period overspread the greatest part of Scotland, and that it was understood and spoken by Malcolm Canmore himself, is a fact resting on the most undoubted evidence ; but it is equally certain, that such is the radical difference in the character and construction of these two tongues, that they have continued from the earliest period to the present day totally distinct, refusing to blend or amalgamate with each other. In like manner, the Norman-French, although understood by the Scottish monarchs and their nobility, and frequently employed in their diplomatic correspondence, seems never, as in England, to have usurped the place of the ancient national dialect of the Scoto-Saxon ; whilst the Latin, the language of science, of theology, of all civil and ecclesiastical contracts and legal proceedings, was solely understood by the monks and the clergy. It may be conjectured, therefore, on pretty strong grounds, that the mass of the people, to the south of

¹ Sir Walter Scott's Introduction to the Romance of Sir Tristrem, pp. 74, 75, 76.

the Firth of Tay, spoke the *Scoto-Saxon*, and that this “*quaint Inglis*,” as it is called by Robert de Brunne, was a purer stream from the Gothic fountain than the English spoken or written at the same period in the sister country. Of this language very few specimens have reached our times in a genuine and uncorrupted state. The constant alterations which took place in early orthography, and in the gradual introduction of new idioms, render it impossible to quote any fragment as a correct specimen of the language of the period, which is only preserved in a writer of a later age, and is not itself written at, or at least within, a very short time of its real date. Thus we cannot say for certain that the little song or monody which has already been quoted, composed on the death of Alexander the Third, as preserved by Winton, is exactly in its genuine state, as the earliest manuscript of Winton, now extant, could not have been written prior to 1420 or 1421 ;¹ and in the long period of nearly a century and a half, a very great change must have taken place in the language. The manuscript of Thomas of Ercildoune’s poem is, on the contrary, of great antiquity, and has been pronounced by able antiquaries to belong to the middle of the fourteenth century ;² but it appears to have been transcribed in England, and must consequently have undergone many changes from its original pu-

¹ M’Pherson’s Preface to Winton’s Chronicle, p. 31.

² Dr Irving’s MS. History of Scottish Poetry, p. 27. See *postea*, p. 367.

riety. It still, however, contains many idioms which are at this day used in Scotland, although they have long ceased to be English, and its language exhibits, perhaps, the nearest approach to the genuine Scoto-Saxon which is to be found prior to the time of Barbour and Winton. The description of Roland Ris, the father of the good Sir Tristrem, is as follows :

“ He was gode and hende,
 Stalworth, wise, and wight ;
 Into this londes ende
 Y wot non better knight ;
 Trewer non to frende,
 And Rouland Ris he hight ;
 To batayl gan he wende ;
 Was wounded in that fight,
 Full felle :
 Blaunche Flower the bright
 The tale them herd she telle.”¹

The style of the poem is throughout exceedingly abrupt and elliptical ; and there is a concentration in the narrative, which, by crowding events into small room, produces an obscurity which renders it difficult to follow the story ; but there are some fine touches of nature ; and it is highly valuable for its pictures of ancient manners.

There is every reason to believe, that many other romances, written in the ancient Scottish, or Scoto-Saxon, were composed at this period, and that their authors were in high estimation, encouraged by kingly

¹ Sir Tristrem, p. 15.

patronage, and welcomed in the halls and castles of the feudal nobility. It unfortunately happened, that the art of printing was not yet discovered, so that the few written copies of such "gests and romances," which must have thrown such rich and striking lights upon the genius and manners of our ancestors, have long ago perished. The simple names of the authors, or "makars," with a brief and unsatisfying notice of the subjects of their composition, are all that remain. Amongst these shadows we find a venerable poet commemorated by Winton, in his Chronicle, under the name of "Hucheon of the Awle Ryall," or "Hugh of the Royal Court," whose great work was entitled the "Gest of Arthure." He appears, however, to have been a voluminous writer for those early days; as, in addition to "Arthure," he composed the "Geste of the Brute," the "Aventures of Sir Gawyn," and the "Pistil of Sweet Susan."¹ Of these works, the last, a short poem, founded on the story of "Susannah and the Elders," has reached our times. It is composed in a complicated alliterative stanza, in the use of which the bards of the "north countrée" are reputed to have been especially skilful; but it undoubtedly contains no passages which, in any degree, support the high character given of its author by Winton. "It becomes all men," says this historian, "to love Huchone; who was cunning in literature, curious in his style, eloquent and subtile; and who clothed his

¹ Winton's Chronicle, vol. i. p. 121.

composition in appropriate metre, so as always to raise delyte and pleasure.”¹ If any reader, with the help of a glossary, will consent to labour through the “Pistil of Sweet Susan,” he will probably be disposed to come to the conclusion, either that it is not the identical composition of the bard of the “Awle Ryall,” or that his merits have been infinitely overrated by the partiality of Winton. His great historical romance, however, or “Gest Historical,” was, we may presume, a superior composition. In it he treated of subjects which were dear to the feelings and imaginations of our ancestors; of the doughty deeds of Arthur, of his worship and prowess, his conquests and royal estate, his round table and twelve peers; and it was, probably, in listening to these tales of love and war, that the ladies and knights of Winton’s days experienced that “plesans and delyte,” which we in vain look for in the only composition of his which has reached our days. It has been asserted by Chalmers, that in Hucheon of the “Awle Ryall” we are to recognise Sir Hugh de Eglinton, whose death is lamented by Dunbar, in his pathetic “Lament” for the death of the Scottish poets who had preceded him; but the grounds on which the opinion is founded appear exceedingly slight and superficial.²

¹ Winton’s Chronicle, vol. i. p. 122.

² “I think there cannot be any doubt, whether Sir Hugh de Eglynton were not Hucheon of the ‘Awle Ryale.’” Letter of Mr Chalmers to David Laing’s Introduction to the Pystyl of Swete Susan.—It has been acutely observed by Dr Irving, in the third chapter of a History of Scottish Poetry, not yet published, but

Besides these higher poets of established excellence and fixed habitation, there can be no doubt that Scotland, from a very early period, produced multitudes of errant minstrels, who combined the characters of the bard and the musician, and wandering with their harp from castle to castle, sang to the assembled lords and dames those romantic ballads of love and war which formed the popular poetry of the day. It was impossible, indeed, that it should be otherwise. The Gothic tribes which, at a very early period, possessed themselves of the Lowlands; the Saxons and Northumbrians who dwelt on the Border; the Scandinavians or Norwegians, who for several centuries maintained possession of the islands, and of Ross and Caithness; and the Normans, whose original love for romantic fiction was cherished by their residence in France, were all passionately addicted to poetry. They possessed a wild imagination, and a dark and gloomy mythology; they peopled the caves, the woods, the rivers, and the mountains, with spirits, elves, giants, and dragons; and are we to wonder that the Scots, a nation in whose veins the blood of all those ancient races is unquestionably mingled, should, at a very re-

which it is to be hoped he will not long withhold from the world, “that when the author of *Gowan and Gologras* introduces the name of Hugh, he does not exhibit it in the form of Hucheon, but that both he and Winton exhibit it in the form of Hew.” I have great pleasure in acknowledging the polite and liberal feeling with which Dr Irving communicated to me the three first chapters of his manuscript, and the assistance I have derived upon this, and many other occasions, from his learning and research.

mote period, have evinced an enthusiastic admiration for song and poetry, that the harper was to be found amongst the officers who composed the personal state of the sovereign, and that the country maintained a privileged race of wandering minstrels, who eagerly seized on the prevailing superstitions and romantic legends, and wove them in rude but sometimes very expressive versification into their stories and ballads; who were welcome guests at the gate of every feudal castle, and fondly beloved by the great body of the people? We learn from a curious passage in Giraldus Cambrensis, which has been quoted by Sir Walter Scott in his introduction to *Sir Tristrem*, that the country situated beyond the Humber and the limits of York, in remote times undoubtedly a part of the kingdom of Scotland, acquired much fame for a peculiar mode of singing in parts, which Giraldus describes with great minuteness, and in terms of high admiration. This ancient style appears to have been nothing more than a skilful combination of two voices, a base and a treble, “*una inferius submurmurante, altera vero superne demulcente pariter et delectante.*”¹

In the reign of David the First, at the battle of the Standard, which was fought in 1138, minstrels, posture makers, and female dancers, accompanied the army;² and there can be little doubt that in Scotland, as in France and England, the profession of a minstrel combined the arts of music and recitation,

¹ *Sir Tristrem*, Introduction, p. 70.

² *Ethelredus de Bello Standardi*, p. 342.

with a proficiency in the lower accomplishments of dancing and tumbling.¹ In Giraldus Cambrensis, there is a remarkable testimony to the excellency of the Scottish music, during the reign of Henry the Second, who was contemporary with William the Lion. "In Ireland," says he, "they use for their delight only two musical instruments, the harp and the tabor. In Scotland we find three, the harp, the tabor, and the horn. In Wales they have also three, the harp, the pipe, and the horn. The Irish employ strings made of brass wire, instead of the gut of animals. It is the opinion of many at this day, that Scotland has not only equalled her mistress, Ireland, in musical skill, but has far excelled her, so that good judges are accustomed to consider that country as the fountainhead of the art."²

It seems to have been a custom in Scotland, as old at least as Alexander the Third, that when the sovereign made his progress through the country, minstrels and singers received him on his entrance into the towns, and accompanied him when he took his departure; and we find Edward the First, in his triumphal journey through the land in 1296, paying certain sums of money as a remuneration for the same melodious reception. Whether Bruce was himself a proficient in music, the favourite accomplishment of many a

¹ Bishop Percy's *Essay on the Ancient Minstrels*, p. xxv. and *Notes*, p. 62, note F.

² *Camdeni Anglica. Hiber. Normann*, p. 739. I have introduced *cornu* for *choro* in this sentence, perhaps too rashly; but it makes sense, whereas *choro* is unintelligible.

knight in those days, is not known, but he undoubtedly kept his minstrels; and we have already seen that, upon the marriage of David his son to the Princess Joanna of England, there is an entry in the accounts of the great chamberlain, which shows that the royal nuptials were cheered by Scottish and English minstrelsy;¹ and that the minstrels of the King of England having accompanied their youthful mistress into her new dominions as far as Dunbar, were there dismissed, with a largesse of four pounds from the king. At the coronation of David the Second, the minstrels again make their appearance; and, from the higher sums which are then given, it may be conjectured that a more numerous band had attended upon this joyous occasion, than at the nuptials at Berwick. They are presented with twenty pounds by the king, and receive ten from his consort.² There can be no doubt that, in many instances, these minstrels, besides being harpers or musicians, who sang and recited the popular poetry of the country, were themselves poets, who composed extemporaneous effusions, or, in more frequent instances, altered some well-known ditty of love or war to suit the taste, and, by a skilful change of name, to flatter the family pride, of the feudal baron in whose hall they experienced a welcome. It is difficult, unless we admit the existence of some such system of poetic economy, to account for the perpetual recurrence of the same individual stanzas, or at least of the same expressions, in many

¹ Chamberlain's Accounts. *Compotus Camerarii Scotiæ*, p. 96.

² *Ibid.* p. 228.

were much delighted with tragedies, comedies, ballads, and romances, founded on the story of Robin Hood and Little John, which the bards and minstrels used to sing, in preference to all others of the same kind of compositions.¹ These popular songs and ballads, of which we can merely trace the existence, were in all probability written by the minstrels and harpers, who not only crowded the castles of the great, but roamed over the country, and were welcome guests at every cottage door. Nor is it difficult to ascertain the cause why nearly every trace and relic of these ancient ballads has now perished. The clergy of those remote days were the only men who committed any thing to writing, and it is certain that the clergy were the bitter enemies of the minstrels, whom they considered as satirical rivals and intruders, who carried off from the church the money which might have been devoted to more pious and worthy uses. They talk of them as profligate, low-bred buffoons, who blow up their cheeks, and contort their persons, and play on horns, harps, trumpets, pipes, and Moorish flutes, for the pleasure of their lords, and who moreover flatter them by songs, and tales, and adulatory ballads, for which their masters are not ashamed to repay these ministers of the prince of darkness, with large sums of gold and silver, and with rich embroidered robes.²

¹ Forduni Scotichronicon a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 104.

² The proofs of this will be found in Ducange, voce *Ministrelli*. Rigordus, de rebus Gestis Philippi Agusti, ann. 1185. St August. tract. 100 in Joann. c. 6. *Compotus Hospitii Ducis Normanniæ*, ann. 1348.

From this natural antipathy of the clergy to the singers and minstrels, it has unfortunately happened that many a monkish Latin rhyme, composed in the miserable taste of the age, has been preserved with affectionate care, whilst the historic tales and ballads of this early period of our history have been consigned to what was then deemed a just and merited oblivion. And yet a single ballad on the death of Wallace, or the glory of Bruce, preserved as it then fell from the lips of a Scottish minstrel or a Scottish maiden, were now worth half the proud volumes of those pedantic schoolmen.

It is extremely difficult to collect any authentic information upon the musical instruments, or the character of the music, of this remote period. The only specimens of the musical instruments of the age, are to be found upon the rich stone carvings which ornament the pillars of the Gothic churches, and the tracery of the borders, windows, and gateways. Amongst these we meet with the figures of musicians, some of them so entire, as to give us a pretty correct idea of the shape at least of the instrument they hold in their hands. The flute with six holes, the bagpipe with a single drone, the viol with four strings, and the sounding holes above the bridge, and the lute, or at least an instrument approaching it in its shape, with six strings, are all discernible in the carvings of Melrose Abbey, and some of them appear in the beautiful specimen of the florid Gothic to be seen in Roslin Chapel.¹ What

¹ Statistical Account, vol. ix. p. 90. "On the south-east of this church are a great many musicians, admirably cut, with much plea-

was the particular style and character of the music performed by these instruments, or of the songs which they accompanied, it is now impossible to determine; and although the opinion of Ritson that none of our present Scottish melodies can be traced, upon any thing like authentic evidence, farther back than the Restoration, appears somewhat too sweeping and positive, it is nevertheless true, that, in the total want of authentic documents, it would be idle to hazard a conjecture upon the airs or melodies of Scotland at the remote period of which we now write. The church music, however, was in a different situation; and, owing to the constant intercourse of the great body of our clergy with the Continent, the same style of sacred music which had been introduced into the religious service of Italy, France, and England, must have been imported into our own country. If we may believe Dempster, a writer of somewhat apocryphal authority, Simon Taylor, a Scottish Dominican friar, as early as the year 1230, became the great reformer of the church music of Scotland, and by his inimitable compositions brought this noble art to vie with the music of Rome itself.

In 1250, when the body of St Margaret was removed, with much ecclesiastic pomp, from the outer church, where she was originally interred, to the choir beside the high altar, the procession of priests and abbots, who carried the precious load upon their santness and gaiety in their countenances, accompanied with their various instruments."—Dalzel's *Desultory Reflections on the State of Ancient Scotland*, p. 56.

shoulders, moved along to the sounds of the organ, and the melodious songs of the choir, singing in parts.¹ It has been asserted, indeed, by my late venerable grandfather, in his Dissertation on Scottish Music, that we owe the first introduction of organs, and of a choral service, into the cathedrals and abbeys of Scotland, to James the First; but this can only be understood as applicable to the improved organs of the days of James the Fourth,² as we see there is certain evidence of the instrument, in its first rude state, existing in Scotland at a much earlier period. It would have been singular indeed, if the same invention, which is found in England as early as the reign of Edgar, and in Ireland during the ninth century, should not have made its way into Scotland till the reign of James the First.³ Accordingly, in Fordun's account of the splendid nuptials of Alexander the Third, there is a minute description of a masque, which proves that in those days the Scottish musical instruments were not only of various sorts, but that some of those instruments were similar to the *organs* used in the performance of the tragedies, or mysteries, which were then frequently enacted by the clergy for the amusement and edification of the people.⁴ The wise partiality of our early kings to the manners and customs of Eng-

¹ Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 83.

² Dissertation on Scottish Music, by William Tytler, Esq. of Woodhouselee. Antiquarian Transactions, vol. i. p. 482. "*Organa qualia nunc sunt*," is Boece's expression.

³ M'Pherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. i. p. 252.

⁴ Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 128.

land, the enthusiasm which David the First evinced for the erection of churches and monasteries, and the introduction of all the magnificence and solemnity of the Catholic worship amongst his rude and barbarous subjects, entitles us to conjecture, on strong grounds of probability, that the church music of Scotland, during the reign of this monarch, would be a pretty close imitation of that which was then to be found in the sister country. Ethelred, an author of high authority, and a friend and contemporary of David the First, gives us the following minute and curious account of the church music in his own days :—“ Since all types and figures are now ceased, why so many organs and cymbals in our churches? Why, I say, that terrible blowing of the bellows, which rather imitates the frightsomeness of thunder than the sweet harmony of the voice? For what end is this contraction and dilatation of the voice? One restrains his breath—another breaks his breath—and a third unaccountably dilates his voice; and sometimes, I am ashamed to say, they fall a quavering like the neighing of horses. Next they lay down their manly vigour, and with their voices endeavour to imitate the softness of women. Then, by an artificial circumvolution, they have a variety of outrunnings. Sometimes you shall see them with open mouths and their breath restrained, as if they were expiring and not singing, and by a ridiculous interruption of their breath, they appear as if they were altogether silent. At other times, they look like persons in the agonies of death; then, with a variety of gestures, they per-

sonate comedians ; their lips are contracted, their eyes roll, their shoulders are moved upwards and downwards, their fingers move and dance to every note. And this ridiculous behaviour is called religion. And when these things are most frequently done, then God is said to be most honourably worshipped.”¹ From this state of complicated perfection to which the religious music of England had arrived at so early a period, we may be permitted to attribute a considerable knowledge, if not an equal excellence, in the same science to our own country ; for we know that the Scottish clergy, in the cultivation of the arts which added solemnity and magnificence to their system of religious worship, were, in few respects, behind their brethren of the South. Yet this is certainly conjectural, and not founded upon accurate historic proof.

The churchmen of those remote times did not only monopolize all the learning which then existed. They were the great masters in the necessary and ornamental arts ; not only the historians and the poets, but the painters, the sculptors, the mechanics, and even the jewellers, goldsmiths, and lapidaries of the times. In a particular manner, from their proficiency in mathematical and mechanical philosophy, they were the principal architects of the age ; and the royal and baronial castles, with the cathedrals, mo-

¹ Aelred, *Speculum Caritatis*, b. ii. c. 20. Duaci, 1631, 4to, quoted in Pinkerton's *Introductory Essay to the Maitland Poems*, vol. i. p. 68.

nasteries, and conventual houses throughout Scotland, were principally the work of ecclesiastics.

Into the numerous and elegant arts then practised by the clergy it is impossible to enter ; but no apology will be required for submitting a few remarks upon the last-mentioned subject, the domestic and the religious architecture of the times ; as the question, In what sort of houses or fortalices were our ancestors accustomed to live ? is not one of the least interesting which presents itself in an enquiry into the ancient condition of the country.

At a very remote era, the fortifications in the Lowland counties of Scotland, inhabited by tribes of Gothic origin, were, in all probability, the same as the castles called Anglo-Saxon in England. Their construction partook of the rude simplicity of the times in which they were built. They consisted of an inner keep, or castle, surrounded by a strong wall, beyond which was a ditch, or deep fosse, sometimes twenty or thirty yards in breadth ; and beyond this again was raised an outer vallum or rampart, of no great height, and apparently composed alone of earth.¹

¹ Strutt's Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants of England, vol. i. p. 25. " The ground-work of another of these Saxon castles is yet remaining at Witham, being between the church and the town ; the form and size of it are yet very visible. This castle was likewise built by Edward the Elder, who resided at the castle of Maldon while this was completing, which was about the year 912 or 914. The middle circle contains the keep or castle, and is about 160 yards in diameter, and 486 yards round ; the ditch is, in its present state, 260 feet in breadth, and beyond the ditch is the external vallum, which is yet in a very perfect condition, full four feet

They were generally placed on the brow of a steep hill, on a neck of land running into a river, or some such situation of natural strength; and, as the art of war, and the attack of fortified places, had made then but little progress, the security they conferred was equal to the exigences of the times.

In the earliest age of Saxon architecture, or at times when a temporary fortification was speedily required, it was common to build the walls round the castles of strong wooden beams. We learn, for instance, from the *Scala Chronicle*, that “*Ida caused the castle of Bamborow to be walled with stone, that afore was but inclosed with woode;*”¹ and the castle of Old Bale, in Yorkshire, is described by Camden as being, at first, fortified with thick planks of wood, eighteen feet in length, and afterwards encircled with a wall of stone. These stone walls were constructed in a singular manner. They were faced, both without and within, with large square blocks; and the space between the facings was filled with a deposit of small rough flint stones or pebbles, mixed up with a strong cement of liquid quick-lime.²

In the progress of years, the Saxons made great improvement in the art of building; and, in point of strength and security, their castles were capable of

high, and 18 or 20 feet in breadth, the circumference of the whole being about 1000 yards.”

¹ Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. i. p. 514.

² Will. Malmesbury, lib. ii. cap. 6. speaking of King Athelstan, “*Urbem illam (Exeter) quam contaminatæ gentis repurgio defæcaverat turribus munivit, muro ex quadratis lapidibus cinxit.*”

sustaining a very creditable siege; but the apartments were low, ill lighted, and gloomy: and it is not till some time after the conquest that we find the Norman style of architecture introduced, and a more lofty and magnificent species of structures beginning to arise in England, and to make their way, with the arts and the manners of this great people, into Scotland. Owing, however, to the remote era in which the Scoto-Norman castles were built, time, and in some instances the tasteless and relentless hand of man, have, in our own country, committed great ravages. The necessary policy, too, of Bruce, who dismantled and destroyed most of the castles which he took, has been fatal to the future researches of the antiquary and the historian; and few fragments of those ancient strengths remain, which can, on satisfactory grounds, be pronounced older than the reign of this monarch. Yet the records of the Chamberlain's Accounts, and the incidental notices of our early historians, furnish us with ample evidence that, in the building of castles and fortalices, and in the erection of those magnificent churches of which little but the ruins remain, Scotland had made great progress during the thirteenth century.

We have already seen the effectual precautions against attack which were taken by Alexander the Third, when it became certain that Haco, the King of Norway, had determined to invade his kingdom. The castles on the coast of Scotland were carefully inspected; and from the details regarding their repairs, which are to be found in the few extracts that

remain of the Chamberlain's Accounts under this monarch, some interesting information may be gathered.

The northern coast of Scotland was defended by a series or chain of strong castles of stone, fortified by towers and draw-bridges, and containing a dungeon, provided with iron fetters for the prisoners, accommodation for the stores and warlike engines, guard-rooms for the garrison, and a great hall or state apartment where the baron or chastelain resided and entertained his vassals. The situation of these castles was generally chosen with great skill. If on the coast, advantage was taken of the vicinity of the sea; if in the interior, of some river or hill, or insulated rock, which rendered the approach on one side exceedingly arduous and difficult, while care was taken to fortify the remaining sides by a deep fosse, and strong walls, with towers at each angle. Caerlaverock, a strong castle of the Maxwells, is thus described by an eye-witness in the year 1300, when it was besieged and taken by Edward the First: "Its shape was like that of a shield, for it had only three sides all round, with a tower on each angle; but one of the towers was a double one, so high, so long, and so large, that under it was the gate with the draw-bridge, well made and strong, and a sufficiency of other defences. It had good walls and good ditches, filled to the edge with water; and I believe there never was seen a castle more beautifully situated, for at once could be seen the Irish sea towards the west, and to the north a fine country, surrounded by an arm of the sea, so that no living man could approach it on two sides

without putting himself in danger of the sea. Towards the south the attack was not easy, because there were numerous dangerous defiles of wood and marshes ; besides ditches where the sea is on each side, and where the river makes a reach round, so that it was necessary for the host to approach it towards the east where the hill slopes.”¹ This minute description of Caerlaverock may, with very slight alterations, introduced by the nature of the ground, or suggested by the fancy and ingenuity of the architect, be applied to most of the Scottish castles of the period. Two principles were to be followed out in their construction. They were to be fitted in the first place, for strength and resistance ; whilst, according to the rank of the feudal baron, provision was to be made for his being comfortably or splendidly accommodated ; and although the first requisite was invariably made to regulate and control the second, yet it is impossible not to admire the skill and ingenuity with which the genius of those ancient architects contrived to combine the two. The earliest specimens of the strong Anglo-Norman castle present us with a single square tower ; and it is evident that the lowest story of the castle, being most exposed to attack, was required to be formed in the strongest manner. We find, accordingly, that the walls in this part of the building which formed the chambers where the stores were kept, and the dungeons for the pri-

¹ Siege of Caerlaverock. Edited, with Notes, by Mr Nicholas, pp. 61, 62.

soners, were invariably the strongest and thickest part of the building. These lower apartments were not lighted by windows, but by small loop-holes in the solid stone, so ingeniously constructed, that it was nearly impossible from without to discharge into them any arrow or missile, so as to injure the soldiers within. The wall itself, which was here about twelve feet thick, was built in the same way as those of the Saxon castles, being cased within and without with strong large square blocks of hewn stone, and filled up in the middle with flints embedded in fluid mortar; and we know that the same mode of building was employed in both countries, not only by an examination of the Scoto-Norman castles which remain, but by the evidence of the entries in the Chamberlain Accounts.¹ The entrance or principal door leading into the castle, was not in the lower story, but, for the purpose of security, generally placed pretty far up the wall, and communicating by a draw-bridge,² with a flight of steps or staircase of strong masonry. The door itself was not only secured by a strong gate of thick oak, with iron knobs, but by a portcullis or grating composed, some-

¹ Thus in the Chamberlain Accounts, Temp. Alex. III. p. 64. "Item in conductione cementariorum, et hominum fragmentum lapides fabrorum, et aliorum operariorum. In pastu et ferrura Equorum cariancium lapides, in calcem et in aliis minutis expensis factis circa constructionem Castri de Strivelin." 94 lib. 17 d. See Statist. Ac. vol. xviii. p. 417; Description of Kildrummie Castle, and of Dundargue, vol. xii. p. 578.

² See the Description of the Ancient Castle of Donaverty in Argyle, in which Bruce took refuge. Statist. Acc. vol. iii. p. 365.

times wholly of iron, sometimes of timber fenced with iron, furnished at the bottom with sharp spikes, and so constructed as to slide up and down in a groove of solid stone-work, made within the body of the wall, in the same way as we see a sash window slide in its frame.¹ Within the doorway, and built in the thickness of the wall, was generally a stone seat where the warder stationed himself, whose duty it was to keep castle guard, and who could at pleasure pull up the draw-bridge and lower the portcullis when he suspected an attack, or wished to have a safe parley with a suspicious guest. On the second floor were the apartments where the soldiers of the garrison had their residence and lodging, and which, as it was much exposed to attack, had generally no windows at all in the front wall. The rooms were lighted by loop-holes in the three remaining sides, which, surrounded by the strong wall enclosing the ballium or outer court of the castle, were more secure from the missiles of the enemy. The third floor contained the apartments of state, the hall of the castle where the baron lodged his friends and feasted his vassals. It was lighted by Gothic windows, highly ornamented, and was commonly hung with arras or rich tapestry, and adorned by a roof of carved oak. At each end of the apartment was a large recess in the wall, forming an arched fire-place, highly ornamented with rich carving, and frequently formed so

¹ Mr King's Observations on Ancient Castles, published in the *Archæologia*, vol. iv. p. 364, containing a most acute and ingenious examination of this interesting subject.

as to have a stone seat all round ; and in the middle of the hall was an oaken table, extending nearly the whole length of the apartment, and supported on beams or pillars of oak.

One of the finest specimens of the ancient feudal hall is still to be seen at Darnaway, which was the seat of the great Randolph. Its roof is supported by diagonal rafters of massive oak ; its height must originally have been above thirty feet, and its remaining proportions are eighty-nine feet in length, by thirty-five in breadth. At one end is a music gallery ; and in the middle of this magnificent apartment still stands the baron's board or table, supported on six pillars of oak, curiously bordered and indented with Gothic carving. His ancient oaken chair, in form not unlike the coronation chair at Westminster, and carved with his arms and the insignia of his office,¹ is still seen ; and although this description of Randolph's hall is not to be understood as applicable to the state apartment of all, or even of most, of our feudal castles ; yet, making allowance for the difference in the proportions, the plan and disposition of the room is the same in all, and was singularly well adapted for that style of rude and abundant hospitality, when every man, who followed the banner of his lord, found a seat at his table, and every soldier who owned a jack and a spear, might have a place at his hearth. The uppermost story in the castle was composed of rooms of smaller dimensions, which were lighted by windows of consi-

¹ Statist. Acc. vol. xx. p. 224.

derable size ; and in this highest floor, as from the great height there was little precautions to be taken against attack, the architect was at liberty to indulge his fancy in ornamenting the windows and the battlements ; so that it is not unfrequent, in the most ancient feudal castles, to find the windows in the floor next the roof of the largest dimensions, and with the richest carving of any in the building. It was in these highest rooms, that, during a siege, the catapults, balistæ, war-wolfs, and other instruments of annoyance and destruction, were placed ; and there was a communication between this highest story and the roof, through which they could be drawn up upon the leads of the castle as the exigences of the siege required.

Such was the general construction and disposition of the feudal castles of those remote times ; and any one fond of antiquities, and interested in the history of the country, may, in the course of a short tour in Scotland, convince himself of the truth of the description. Some, of course, were of larger dimensions, and covered a much greater extent of ground than others ; and according to the required strength and importance of the station, and the nature of the ground, to many was added an outer or base court, surrounded by walls and flanking towers. Besides this, the castle itself was commonly encircled by a strong outer wall, communicating with a tower, the interior of which formed a kind of vestibule to the principal entrance of the castle ; whilst, beyond the wall, was a broad breast-work or barbican, and a moat, which encircled the

whole building. In 1325, Bruce had commanded the castle of Tarbart to be inspected and repaired ; and a very minute account of the expense laid out in increasing the breadth of the walls, building a new tower, and fortifying the approach by a fosse, is to be found in the Chamberlain Accounts. The repairs appear to have occupied seven months ; and, during this period, there was a consumption of seven hundred and sixty chalders of burnt lime, the expense of the whole work being four hundred and thirty pounds, ten shillings, and fivepence.¹

Besides these stone buildings, adapted principally for strength and defence, it was extremely common to construct halls and other apartments of wood, within the outer court, and even to build castles and fortifications entirely of that perishable material. In the hall, the wooden frame-work, composed of strong beams of oak, was covered with a planking of fir, and this again laid over with plaster, which was adorned with painting and gilding,² whilst the large oak pillars supporting the building rested in an em-

¹ The items of the accounts will be found printed in the Appendix. Chamberlain's Accounts, *Compot. Const. de Tarbart*, pp. 3, 4.

² Chamberlain's Accounts, pp. 6, 38. "In servicio duorum carpentariorum arca levacionem Aule in Castro . . . In servicio portancium et cariancium lutum et sabulonum pro parietibus Aule, et servicio diversorum operariorum circa easdem, et servicio tauberiorum et coopiencium, cum servicio duorum cimentarionum subponencium postes Aule cum petris et calce 15sh. 8d." *Ibid.* p. 38. "Item in VI. petris crete empt. pro pictura nova Camerae apud Cardross." See also Strutt's *Manners and Customs of the People of England*, vol. ii. p. 95.

bedment of strong mason-work. When the Earl of Athole was assassinated by the Bissets at the tournament at Haddington, in the early part of the reign of Alexander the Third, the hospitium in which he slept and was murdered, seems to have been a wooden building; and after the deed, the perpetrators burnt it, and a manour and palace connected with it, to the ground.¹

There is a curious passage quoted by Camden, which, in describing the siege of Bedford Castle, during the reign of Henry the Third, throws considerable light on the disposition of these ancient buildings; and as the account is written by an eye-witness of the siege, the information is valuable and authentic. "On the east side was one petrary and two mangonells daily playing upon the tower, and on the west were two mangonells battering the old tower; as also one on the south, and another on the north part, which beat down two passages through the walls that were next them. Besides these, there were two machines constructed of wood so as to be higher than the castle, and erected on purpose for the slingers and watchmen; they had also several machines where the slingers and cross-bowmen lay in wait; and another machine called cattus, under which the diggers that were employed to undermine the castle, came in and went out. The castle was carried by four assaults. In the first was taken the barbican; in the second they got full possession of the outer ballia; at the

¹ Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 72.

third attack, the wall by the old tower was thrown down by the miners, from which, by a vigorous attack, they possessed themselves of the inner ballia through a breach. At the fourth assault, the miners set fire to the chief tower on the keep, so that the smoke burst out, and the tower itself was cloven to that degree as to show visibly some broad rents, whereupon the enemy surrendered.”¹

In the various sieges which occurred in Scotland during the war of liberty, the same mode of attack was invariably adopted, by mining and battering the walls, and wheeling up to them immense covered machines, divided into different stages, from which the archers and cross-bowmen attacked the soldiers on the battlements of the castle.

With regard to the houses within burgh, which were inhabited by the wealthy merchants and artisans, and to the granges and cottages which formed the residence of the free farmers, the *liberi firmarii*, and of the unfortunate class of bondmen or *villeyns*, they appear to have been invariably built of wood. In the year 1243, eight of the richest burghs in Scotland were consumed by fire, and reduced to ashes;² and in the Chamberlain's Accounts, we constantly meet, amongst the items of royal expenditure, with the sums paid to the carpenter, and the moneys laid out in the purchase of wood, for the construction of

¹ Camden, in Bedfordshire, p. 287, quoted in Strutt's *Manners and Customs*, vol. i. pp. 94, 95.

² Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 75.

new granges, sheds, and cottages, upon the various manors possessed by the king. In 1228, Thomas de Thirlestane, one of those Lowland barons who had made his way into Moray, was attacked and slain in his stronghold, by Gillescop, a Celtic chief, who afterwards destroyed several wooden castles in the same country, and consumed by fire a great part of Inverness;¹ and we know that the practice of building of wood the houses within burgh continued to a very late period, both in England and Scotland. We generally connect the ideas of poverty, privation, and discomfort, with a mansion constructed of such a material; but the idea is a modern error. At this day the mansion which Bernadotte occupied as his palace when he was crowned at Drontheim, a building of noble proportions, and containing very splendid apartments, is wholly built of wood, like all the houses in Norway; and from the opulence of the Scottish burghers and merchants during the reigns of Alexander the Third and David the Second, there seems good reason to believe, that their mansions were not destitute either of the comforts, or what were then termed the elegances, of life.

I come now to say a few words upon the third, and by far the noblest class of buildings, which were to be seen in Scotland during this remote period,—the monasteries, cathedrals, and religious houses. Few who have seen them will not confess that, in the grandeur of their plan, and the extraordinary skill

¹ Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. pp. 57, 58.

and genius shown in their execution, they are entitled to the highest praise; and if we read the description given, in a monkish chronicle in the British Museum, of the earliest church at Glastonbury,¹ composed of wooden beams and twisted rods, and turn from this to the cathedral of St Magnus in Orkney, to the noble pile at Dunfermline, to the more light and beautiful remains of Melrose Abbey, or to the still more exquisite examples of the Gothic architecture in England; the strength of original genius in the creation of a new order of architecture, and the progress of mechanical knowledge in mastering the complicated details of its execution, are very remarkable. There cannot be the least doubt, that we owe the perfection of this noble style to the monks; and although the exact era of its first appearance, either in England or in our own country, is difficult to be ascertained with precision; yet there are some valuable and interesting notices in our early historians, which make it very probable that our first masters in the art of building churches in stone were the Italians. It may have happened that, when they had once acquired a degree of skill in the management of their materials, some of those master minds which appear in the darkest times, struck out the idea of imitating in stone the wooden edifices of the time; and when working from models of twisted willow rods, the pliable material of which the walls and ornaments of our most ancient religious houses were

¹ Cotton MS. tib. A. V. Bede, Hist. Eccles. Gentis Anglorum, p. 169.

constructed,¹ the ideas of the arch, the pillars, the groined roof, and the tracery of the windows, began gradually to develop themselves in a manner shown, by a most able and acute writer,² to be perfectly natural and intelligible. Indeed, when the idea was once seized, and it was found that the limited knowledge of working in stone, and of the mechanical powers which the age possessed, was yet sufficient to reduce it to practice, we can easily conceive that its future progress towards perfection may have been tolerably easy and rapid. The infinity of beautiful Gothic forms which are capable of being wrought, and which almost necessarily suggest themselves to an artist working in willow, and the admirable skill in carving and imitating in stone which was acquired by the monkish artists at a very early period, produced an action and re-action on each other; and the same writer already mentioned has shown, by a careful analysis of every portion of a Gothic church, that there is not a single ornament in its structure and composition which does not serve to corroborate this idea. As to our earliest Norman builders being instructed by the Italians, there is historical evidence. In the year 1174, the cathedral church at Canterbury was destroyed by fire; and in a description by Edmer, a contemporary writer, it is expressly stated, that this ancient edifice was built by the assistance of Roman

¹ Simeon Dunelm. p. 27.

² Sir James Hall's Essay on the Origin, History, and Principles of Gothic Architecture.

artists, after the model of the church of St Peter's at Rome.¹

That the most ancient churches in Britain were constructed of pillars and a frame-work of oak, covered with reeds, or twisted rods, we know from the most authentic evidence; and it is asserted by Gervas, in his account of the rebuilding of the church of Canterbury, after its destruction by fire, that, whereas in the ancient structure the roof had been composed of wood, and decorated with exquisite painting, in the new church it was constructed of an arch, built of stone, and light tuffe-work.² Nay, even the name of the adventurous artist who first seems to have conceived the bold idea of working the ribbed and vaulted ceiling in stone, in the same way in which it had formerly been executed in wood, has been preserved to us; it was William of Sens, a French artist. He invented, also, as we learn from the monkish historian who was an eye-witness of his labours, most ingenious machines for the loading and unloading the ships which brought the stones from foreign parts, in all probability from Normandy, as well as for raising aloft the immense weights of lime and of stone which were required in the building; he furnished the stone-cutters with working planes, or models, which guided them in their nice and difficult operations; and he began to work the ribbed arches and vaulted panels upon a frame-work of timber, to

¹ *Chronica Gervasii, Pars Prima, de Combustione et Reparatione Durobornensis Ecclesiæ.*

² *Gervasii Chronica, p. 1298.*

which was attached the scaffolding where the masons stood. As the work proceeded, this scaffolding unfortunately gave way, and the adventurous artist was incurably maimed; but he had struck out the idea, and it was more successfully carried into execution by an English architect, who succeeded him.¹ It is the opinion of the acute writer who has pointed out this first and most important step in the progress of our ecclesiastical architecture, that the idea of ornamenting the great pillars with groups of smaller columns surrounding them, was introduced at the same period, and by the same artist.²

The art of executing very large and magnificent buildings in timber frame-work, was carried to high perfection in the northern countries of Europe during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. It had made great progress in England, and was there known and practised in the building of churches, under the name of the Teutonic style. Owing, however, to the perishable nature of the materials, and to accidents by fire, these churches were frequently either destroyed, or reduced to a state of extreme decay; so that the ruinous state of the ecclesiastical edifices in the northern parts of Europe, became a serious subject of enquiry at Rome about the commencement of the thirteenth century, and measures were taken to obviate the grievance. These measures were of a very singular nature. The Pope created

¹ See *Archæologia*, vol. ix. p. 115. Governor Pownall on Gothic Architecture.

² *Ibid.* p. 116.

several corporations of Roman and Italian architects and artisans, with high and exclusive privileges, especially with a power of settling the rates and prices of their labour by their own authority, and without being controlled by the municipal laws of the country where they worked. To the various northern countries where the churches had fallen into a state of decay were these artists deputed; and as the first appearances of the Gothic architecture in Europe was nearly coincident with this mission of Roman artists, and, as has already been observed, the new style of imitating the arched frame-work of wood by ribbed arches of stone was known by the name of the Roman style, there arises a presumption that we owe this magnificent style of architecture to these travelling corporations of artists, who, in consequence of the exclusive privileges which they enjoyed, assumed to themselves the name of Free Masons, and under this title became famous throughout Europe.¹ These same corporations, from their first origin, possessed the power of taking apprentices, and admitting into their body such masons as they approved of in the countries where their works were carried on; so that, although the style may have originated amongst Italian artists, it is perfectly possible it may have been brought to perfection by other masters, who were natives of the different countries to which these Roman workmen were sent; and this will account for the fact, that the

¹ Sir James Hall's *Essay on Gothic Architecture*, pp. 109, 114.

church at Canterbury, in which the ribbed arch of stone is supposed to have been introduced, for the first time, into England, was originally the work of a Norman, and afterwards completed by an English architect.

In speaking of these corporations of architects of the middle ages, Sir Christopher Wren has given, in his *Parentalia*, the following account of their constitution: "The Italians, with some Greek refugees, and with them French, Germans, and Flemings, joined into a fraternity of architects, procuring Papal bulls for their encouragement, and particular privileges; they styled themselves Free Masons, and ranged from one nation to another as they found churches to be built, for very many, in those ages, were everywhere in building, through piety or emulation. Their government was regular; and where they fixed near the building in hand, they made a camp of huts. A surveyor governed in chief; every tenth man was called a warden, and overlooked each nine; and the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, either out of charity, or commutation of penance, gave the materials and the carriages. Those," adds Sir Christopher, "who have seen the accounts, in records, of the charge of the fabrics of some of our cathedrals, near four hundred years old, cannot but have a great esteem for their economy, and admire how soon they erected such lofty structures."¹

¹ *Parentalia*, pp. 306, 307. I must observe, that I have in vain looked for the original authorities upon which Sir Christopher Wren

This new and noble style of ecclesiastical architecture found its way into Scotland about the beginning of the twelfth century; and, fostered by the increasing wealth of the church, and by the superstition and munificence of our early monarchs, soon reached a pitch of excellence not far inferior to that which it had attained in England and in France. Besides fourteen bishops' sees, to most of which was attached a Gothic cathedral and palace, there existed, at the time of the Reformation, a hundred and seventy-eight religious houses, consisting of abbacies, priories, convents, and monasteries, most of which were very richly endowed, situated in the midst of noble woods, surrounded by spacious gardens, parks, and orchards, and exhibiting, in the style of their architecture, specimens of the progressive improvement of the art, from the simple and massy Saxon, to the most florid Gothic. It is subject of deep regret, that some of the strong-minded and strong-handed spirits, whose wrath God overruled to introduce the Reformation into the country, adopted the erroneous idea, that these noble edifices were inconsistent with the purity of the worship which they professed; and that they permitted, or, as some authors have asserted, encouraged, the populace to destroy them.

and Governor Pownall have founded this description of the travelling corporations of Roman architects.