

THE CATHEDRAL.

The antiquity, the completeness, and the fine state of her records, give to Glasgow the first place in the history of Scotch bishoprics. The care with which these records were preserved, the interest that gathered round them when they were regarded as the prop of Stuart and royal legitimacy, their danger during the French Revolution, and their fortunate restoration to Scotland, form an interesting chapter for the antiquary, but cannot find room here.¹

There is no reason to doubt, that about the middle of the sixth century, Saint Kentigern, deriving his faith and consecration from Servanus and Palladius, having been obliged for some time to seek shelter in Wales, returned and settled his colony of converts at Glasgow, a place then within the dominions of a petty prince of Cumbria. This little Christian family, which the monks of a later age chose to name a monastery, devoted themselves to rural industry, and learned, with their first lessons of a purer faith, many of the arts of peaceful life. Their founder and guide had at first perhaps no larger diocese. He was one of those *Episcopi Britannorum*² who are mentioned from time to time in the history of the Church;

¹ See Appendix I.

² In the letter of Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Pope Calixtus II., written between 1119 and 1122, against the encroachments of York, claiming to be a metropolitan see, the Archbishop argues that the claim must be unfounded, since it is absurd to speak of a metropolitan without suffragan bishops. It appears that Thurstan of York, to meet

this argument, had claimed Glasgow and Durham as his suffragans, to which Ralph's reply is as follows:—"At vero de Glesguensi breviter intimandum, quod est antiquorum Britonum episcopus, quos beatus pater Gregorius singulatim episcopo Cantuariensi subjectos fore decrevit, cujus viz. ecclesie episcopus sicut a majoribus natu illorum traditur usque ad hec Normannorum tempora,

but always with a vagueness, marking the distance and obscurity of the people amongst whom they exercised their ministry. Of his successors we unfortunately know little, until the period embraced by the venerable Register of the Diocese ; for the names of some intermediate bishops appear to have been mustered in suspicious circumstances, at any rate without sufficient evidence, for the purpose of supporting a disputed claim of the See of York.¹ The full light of history first falls upon Glasgow at the restoration of the diocese by Saint David, which is recorded in the remarkable instrument standing first in the *Ancient Register*. It is a memoir or *notitia*, which, although not without parallel in Scotch records, is much less common with us than in the registers of religious houses abroad.² In this instance, the document is very solemnly witnessed, and records an investigation directed by David,

vel ab Episcopo Scottorum vel Gualensium Britonum consecrari solebat. . . . Is itaque (Thomas Cant. Arch.) quendam Britonem Glesguensi ecclesie ordinavit episcopum, que jam pene preter memoriam non habuerat episcopi solatium. De quo episcopo sciendum, quia, sicut predictum est, si antiquorum Britonum episcopus est, secundum B. Gregorii decreta Cantuar : ecclesie suffraganeus est : quod si forte propter provinciarum viciniam, licet mutato et loco et populo, idem *Pictorum* episcopus debet putari, nihilominus ecclesie Cant : suffragatur utpote institutus et creatus a Theodoro archiepiscopo, sicut Beda testatur. Veruntamen sicut in gestis sanctorum virorum Columbe viz. presbyteri et abbatis, qui Beda referente ante adventum B. Augustini in Britannia primus Scottorum et Pictorum populis Christum predicavit, et venerabilis Cantugerni episcopi qui primus Glesguensi ecclesie prefuit, invenitur, non iste est Candide Case Epis-

copus quem Theodorus instituit sed unus de illis antiquis Britanorum episcopis fuit, quos sicut sepe dictum est singulatum beatus Gregorius ecclesie Cant : subjugavit."—*Twisdlen X. scriptores II. 1742-6.*

¹ Magsuen, 1057 ; Johannes, 1059 ; Michael, 1109 ; *Stubbs de Archiep. Ebor.*—*Ibid.*

² This inquisition was printed by Sir James Dalrymple (*Coll.* p. 337), from the imperfect copy in the Advocates' Library. Sir James disliked it as a piece of Episcopacy ; and he was entitled to question the narrative of the foundation of the see, which could only be rested on tradition, and such records as Archbishop Ralph, however almost contemporary, quoted as authoritative. But, while he admitted the authenticity of the instrument, Sir James, in his own peculiar manner, scatters doubts and insinuations against statements contained in it, which must stand or fall with the instrument itself.

while Prince of Cumbria, regarding the lands and churches belonging to the Episcopal Church of Glasgow. The narrative, at its commencement, does not claim the same authority with the subsequent verdict of the five *juratores*,—*seniores homines et sapientiores totius Cumbriæ*. It is simply a statement made by the framers of the instrument, in the presence of the Prince and his Court, of the tradition and belief of the country at that time. They first relate the foundation of the Church of Glasgow, and the ordination of St. Kentigern as bishop of Cumbria. They mention the death of Kentigern, and that he was succeeded by many bishops in the see; but that the confusion and revolutions of the country at length destroyed all traces of the Church, and almost of Christianity. Within the knowledge of all present was the restoration of the bishopric by David, and the election

Thomas Innes strenuously supports it; and, after applying the tests of the severest criticism, it is scarcely possible now to doubt its authenticity.

Of such instruments, the learned fathers of St. Maur have observed:—

“Quant à la nécessité des notices, il suffit pour la faire sentir, de rapporter encore un texte de notre auteur [Lobineau], tiré du même endroit. ‘Il a été un tems (ce sont ces paroles) où ces sortes de notices ont été absolument nécessaires: parcequ’il y a eu beaucoup de donations, qui ne se sont faites que verbalement, et en présence de témoins, sans écritures; et l’on ne pouvoit en conserver la mémoire à la postérité, qu’en écrivant fidèlement ce qui s’étoit passé.’ Mais bien des notices ont été dressées sur des chartes plus anciennes. Les dates précises qu’elles portent de faits éloignés d’un siècle ou d’un demi-siècle, en pouvoient faire la preuve.

“M. Ménage ne s’explique pas avec

assez de justesse ni de précision, sur les dates des notices; lorsqu’il en parle en ces termes. ‘La plupart des notices des Abbaies (il devoit ajouter et des autres Eglises) ne sont point du tems de leur date: ce qui a été très véritablement observé par M. Pavillon dans ses curieuses remarques sur son histoire de Robert d’Arbrissel. Et c’est particulièrement à cause de ces sortes de titres, qu’on a dit que dans les monastères il y avoit un Dom Titrier. . . . Mais toutes les choses contenues dans ces titres narratifs, ne laissent pas d’être véritables, à la réserve de la date: ce qui a été encore très véritablement observé par M. Pavillon.’

“Parmi les notices privées, dont il s’agit ici, on en voit qui sont munies de dates: et c’est le plus grand nombre. D’autres en sont entièrement dépourvues: plusieurs renferment deux sortes de dates; l’une d’un fait ancien, dont on veut conserver la mémoire par un

and consecration of John, who is commonly called the first Bishop of Glasgow. Proceeding to the main object of their inquiry, they record the ancient possessions of the church of Glasgow as returned upon the oath of the *juratores*. The names of these places have been a fruitful subject of discussion.¹ It cannot, however, be disputed, that the province of Scotch Cumbria and the diocese of Glasgow, which, at least at the date of the inquisition, seem to have been synonymous, included many places, described as the property of the Church, in Dumfriesshire on one side, and far down in Teviotdale on the other. The date of the inquisition is not given, but it is ascertained to be about 1116.² We have no more certain date for the next deed, which records a gift of Earl David to the Church at the period of its restoration and building—certainly earlier than 1124, the year of his succeeding to the throne of his brother, Alexander I.

We know, that on the nones of July 1136,³ the newly built church of Glasgow was dedicated. On that occasion the king, David I., gave to the church the land of Perdeyc, which was soon afterwards erected, along with the church of Govan, into a prebend of the cathedral.

titre subséquent : l'autre de l'acte même de la notice, qu'on dresse. Cette dernière espèce de date se trouve presque toujours aussi exactement vraie, que celle des diplomes les plus authentiques."—*Nouveau Traité de Diplom.* I. 301.

¹ Our earlier antiquaries had to contend with the mistaken readings of twice copied transcripts. Chalmers, who had the best authority in his hands, perhaps could not read it with ease; and he had not learned to distrust his own knowledge of the Celtic dialects. Among his

mss., now in the Advocates' Library, there is a laboured disquisition on these places, in which he does not convince the reader at all so much as he seems to have satisfied himself.

² Keith states, but without quoting his authority, that Bishop John was consecrated by Pope Paschal II. in 1115. The date of the instrument is necessarily between the period of his consecration, and the accession of Earl David to the throne in 1124.

³ *Chron. Mailros et S. Crucis.*

In addition to the long list of possessions restored to Glasgow upon the verdict of the assize of inquest, this saintly king granted to the bishop the church of Renfrew; Govan with its church; the church of Cadihou; the tithe of his kain, or duties paid in cattle and swine throughout Strathgrif, Cuningham, Kyle, and Carrick, except when required for the maintenance of his own household;¹ and the eighth penny of all pleas of court throughout Cumbria. The bishop also acquired the church of Lochorwort, now Borthwick, in Lothian, from the Bishop of St. Andrews, the king and prince present and consenting.²

Bishop John had been tutor to King David, and was for some time his Chancellor. He had a long contest with Thurstan, Archbishop of York, by whom he was put under sentence of suspension in 1122. He then went to the Holy Land; but the next year, by order of the Pope, returned to his see. In 1125, he went to Rome to endeavour to obtain the *pallium* for the Bishop of St. Andrews, against the influence of the Archbishop of York. He is said to have retired among the Benedictine monks, and he did not return to Glasgow till recalled to his diocese by Alberic, the legate, in 1138. He died 28th May 1147.

Herbert, the next bishop, formerly Abbot of Kelso,

¹ Nisi quando ipse illuc venero, perendinans et idem meum chan comedens.

² St. Kentigern is said to have dwelt for eight years at Lochorwort, and some actual facts seem to connect the Apostle of Strathelyde with that part of Lothian. The churches of Borthwick, Penicuik,

and Currie, were dedicated to him, and the spring in the manse garden at Borthwick is still "St. Mungo's Well." Peniacob, now Eddleston, in the glen of the Peebles water, was also part of the ancient patrimony of the see of Cumbria.

was consecrated by Pope Eugenius III. at Auxerre, in the same year. He died in 1164.

In the reign of Malcolm, the church of Glasgow acquired by gifts from the Crown the church of Old Roxburgh, with endowments it had received from King David; from William de Sumervil three acres of Lintun; and, from Walter the Steward, two shillings yearly from the duties of his burgh of Renfrew. The bishop had also several royal and papal writs for enforcing the payment of tithes, especially in Galloway, and on lands which the king had granted to his barons and knights, Richard de Morevil and Alan the Steward, and others. He had a gift of Conclud, to compensate for the king's transgression against the Church, in granting these lands without sufficiently securing the Church in its dues, "up to the day when he took the staff of pilgrimage of St. James." The Pope issued an injunction to the clergy and people of the diocese to visit the Cathedral church of Glasgow yearly, according to the custom of St. Andrews and other neighbouring sees, and likewise confirmed a constitution of the Dean and Chapter, declaring, that on the demise of a canon, his prebend, for one year, should go to pay his debts (*pro re honesta contracta*), or to the poor.¹

Bishop Herbert was succeeded by Ingelram, who had a bull for his consecration notwithstanding the vehement opposition of the Archbishop of York, 1st November

¹ In the following reign the Chapter gave to its canons the right to bequeath one year's fruits of their prebends; or, if the canon died intestate, the year's

fruits to be applied, first to payment of his debts, and the residue among his parents and the poor; but books and Church vestments to go to the Cathedral.

1164,¹ and a papal precept for his reception. He was previously Archdeacon of Glasgow and Chancellor of the kingdom. He resisted strenuously and effectually the pretensions of the Archbishop of York to metropolitan superiority, and died 2d February 1174.²

The reign of William is the era of the rise of free burghs in Scotland; and, whilst the Sovereign was founding them on his domains, the great Lords of the Church obtained privileges of the same nature for the cities erected around their Cathedrals. Such was the origin of the burgh of Glasgow. The royal charter, which granted to the bishop and his successors the privilege of having a burgh at Glasgow, with a market on Thursday, and with freedoms and customs of the king's burghs, is dated at Traquair; and, from the witnesses, it was granted between the years 1175 and 1178.³ The king granted to the Bishop of Glasgow a toft in each of his royal burghs of Munros, Dumfries, Forfar, and Stirling.⁴ In the early part of this reign, the Cathedral possessed twenty-five churches, seventeen of which seem to have been mensal; and during it, the bishop acquired large accessions of property, in lands and churches, in Ashkirk, Gillemoreston, Stobhou, Carnwath, Kilbride, Anandale, Hottun, Muckart, Lillisclef, Wilton, Campsy,

¹ He was consecrated at Sienna by Pope Alexander III., 28th November 1164.

² *Chron. Mailr.*

³ The original grant gave to the burghesses the king's peace—*firmam pacem per totam terram in eundo et redeundo*. A subsequent charter granted a yearly fair to be held for eight full days after

the octaves of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul (6th July); and the king granted his peace to all frequenting the fair.

⁴ Those grants of tofts in infant burghs were to enable the great Church lords to accompany the sovereign in his frequent changes of residence. They also secured responsible and improving tenants for the Crown property in the new burghs.

and Cardross. The land of Balain was granted to the bishop, in compensation of excesses committed by the king against St. Kentigern and his church, after the decease of Bishop Ingelram.

In this reign was the beginning of the complaints regarding the cleric patrons of parish churches neglecting to supply parsons for the cure of souls;¹ a complaint which, in different shapes, gave rise to a large proportion of the controversies and transactions between churchmen for several centuries. The evils which arose from appeals to the Church of Rome, led to some measures intended to mitigate the abuse. There are several proceedings illustrating the origin and privileges of parish churches, and the jealousy with which their holders watched the growth of chapels interfering with the numerous offerings and dues of the Mother Church, which were only of inferior importance to its tithes. The great Cathedral feud had already begun between the chapter and the bishop. A transaction between the cathedral vicars and the chapter, serves to show that the election of the bishop was not yet a merely nominal right of the chapter. We find churchmen interdicted from pledging their benefices for money borrowed from Jews. Churches are not to be granted till vacant. The sons of priests occupying the same churches which their fathers had held are to be removed.²

¹ When, in after times, the necessity of supplying vicars in parishes held by the clergy, whether regular or secular, came to be admitted, the dispute took the shape of a question of amount of stipend; the appropriator and the vicar standing in the relation to each other

which the heritor and the minister in Scotland now hold.

² *Nisi forte aliquem propter probatam honestatem et diutinam possessionem sub dissimulatione videris transeundum.*

One charter of this reign helps to ex-

Jocelin, Abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Melros, was the next bishop, "*a clero, a populo exigente et rege ipso assentiente, ad ecclesiam Glasguensem presul eligitur, 10. kalendas Junii [1174] apud Pert in Scotia; vir mitis et morigeratus, vir mansuetus et moderatus.*"¹ He was consecrated at Clairvaux on the 1st of June 1175. Like his predecessors, he resisted the encroachment of York, and obtained from the Pope, who favoured the Cistercian order, a command that the bishops of Scotland should yield no obedience to the Archbishop of York, notwithstanding that Henry of England had compelled them to swear obedience to the Anglican Church. In 1182, Jocelin went to Rome, and obtained from Pope Lucius III. the absolution of his royal master from Church censure.² He was required by the succeeding Popes to admonish the king, chiefly in regard of his neglect to enforce the dues of the Church with the power of the Crown.³ William, indeed, was a zealous churchman, a worthy grandson of David, but he was of the party that had already begun to resist the domination of Rome. Pope Innocent III. exhorted him in fine language to take care that he who had presented his morning offering fail not to render his evening sacrifice, but finish a bright day with a clear evening. Between 1189 and 1192, we find Jocelin anxiously engaged in the restora-

plain the term of *forinsec* service, which has puzzled the Scotch antiquary; and by it may, perhaps, be explained the Saxon phrase "utware."

The patronage of the parish church of Hodelm was resigned by Udardus, by symbol of book.

¹ *Chron. Mailr.*

² *Bullarium ad an.*

³ *Bullarium.* "*Sollicite provisurus ut offerre Domino vespertinum sacrificium non omittat qui matutinum dicitur obtulisse, ac sic clarum mane vespere sereno concludat.*"

tion of his Cathedral Church. The original church of Bishop John, built, perhaps, chiefly of wood, had been recently destroyed by fire; and Jocelin founded a society to collect funds for its restoration, for which he obtained the royal sanction and protection.¹ He must have proceeded with extraordinary energy and success, since, on the 6th of July 1197, his new church was sufficiently advanced to be dedicated.² After a long episcopate, Jocelin retired to his old Abbey of Melros, died among his brethren of the convent on the 17th March 1199, and was buried on the north side of the choir.³

His successor was Hugh de Roxburgh, the Chancellor, who died two months after his election, probably unconsecrated.⁴

William Malvoisin, the Chancellor, succeeded; elected 1199; consecrated in France by the Archbishop of Lyons in 1200. He was translated to St. Andrews in 1202.

The next bishop was Florence, the son of that gallant Count Florence of Holland, the hero of the crusaders at Damietta, by Ada the granddaughter of David I. of Scotland. His uncle King William made him his chancellor; and he was at the same time elected to this bishopric, in which he continued for five years without

¹ The king expresses himself in terms of great affection for the Church of Glasgow,—*Mater multarum gentium exilis antehac et angusta, ad honorem Dei ampliari desiderat, et preterea in hiis diebus nostris igne consumpta ad sui reparationem amplissimis expensis indigens et nostrum et plurimum proborum hominum subsidium exoptulat.*

² "*Jocelinus episcopus Glasguensis Cathedrallem ecclesiam suam, quam ipse novam construxerat, pridie nonas Julii, die dominica, anno episcopatus sui xxiiij, dedicavit.*"—*Chron. Mailr.*

³ *Chron. Mailr.*—Hoved.

⁴ Fordun.

consecration, and resigned his charge in 1207. The causes of his not being confirmed, and of his resignation, are equally unknown.¹

Walter, *capellanus regis*, was elected bishop on the 5th of the Ides of December 1207, and consecrated by papal license at Glasgow on the 2d November 1208. He attended a General Council (the Lateran) at Rome in 1215, along with the Bishops of St. Andrews and Moray; and three years afterwards accompanied the Bishops of Moray and Caithness, when they obtained the papal absolution from the interdict of the Legate Gualo. He died in 1232.

In the following reign the Chapter acquired the church of Dalziel as a common church from the Abbey of Paisley. The bishop obtained the church of Hottun by a transaction with the canons of Jedburgh, and had a grant of the patronage of the churches of Annan, Lochmaben, with its chapel of Rokele, Cumbretrees, Gretenhou, Rempatrick, Kirkepatric, and the chapel of Logan, from the monastery of Gyseburne, to which they had been given by Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale.² Affrica of Nithsdale granted to the Bishop the church of St. Bride of Wintertonegan; and by transactions, some of which amounted to a purchase, he acquired the church of Merebotle and the

¹ *Chron. Mailr.*—Fordun.—The seal of Florence, representing the bishop seated, as not yet entitled to appear in the act of episcopal benediction, with the legend, *Sigillum Florentii Glasguensis electi*, is engraved among the collection of beautiful seals appended to the chartulary of Melrose, the contribution of the Duke of Buccleuch to the Bannatyne Club.

² The original grant of Robert Bruce *le meschin* to the canons of Gyseburne is preserved among the Harleian Charters in the British Museum. The seal, on green wax, is still entire, and represents a knight on horseback; on his shield and the housings of his horse, the chief and saltire of Bruce; the legend, **Esto ferox ut leo.**

lands of Ingoliston. The families of Carrick and of Lennox, from whose wild dominions it was in last reign so difficult to obtain the dues of the Church, had now become its dutiful children. In 1225, Earl Duncan of Carrick, in a chapter celebrated at Ayr, solemnly undertook to pay all his tithes and dues, and to use his power with his men and tenants for the same purpose. He promised no longer to oppress the clergy of Carrick with tallies or exactions;¹ to enforce Church censures by confiscation and temporal penalties; and he granted that the clergy should have a right of pasturage through his whole land, "according to the traditions of our fathers and the statutes of the Church;"² and the Earl's son compounded for injuries he had perpetrated against the Glasgow churches during the war in Galloway, by a donation of a church, which seems to be that of Stratton, with land in the parish. Besides these, the Church acquired small additional revenues from Rutherglen and Cadihou, Ashkirk, Buthlull, now Bonhill, Roxburgh, Goklyn, and Mosplat in the bailiary of Lanark. The provision for parochial vicars still continued a fertile subject of dispute and transactions. In one of these, we find the unusual stipulation that the stipend shall increase in proportion to the revenues of the churches—an element that

¹ He particularly exempts them from a certain *corredium ad opus servientium suorum qui kethres nuncupatur*, which, notwithstanding the term, must have differed from the *corody* of the English law, and may perhaps receive some illustration by the etymology of its Celtic synonym.—See Jacob's *Law Dictionary v. Corody*; and Kemble's *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, Introduction, liij.

A grant in similar terms was made by Maldoveni, Earl of Lennox.

² It was in this way the Church obtained the execution of this and others of its statutes, which Lord Hailes remarks would require the intervention of the legislature. I have lost the reference to Lord Hailes's remark.

seems to have been carefully excluded in other transactions of this nature. The amount of *procurations*, or dues payable to bishops on visitation, seems not to have been so much disputed in the diocese of Glasgow as in the other bishoprics of Scotland. The transactions regarding such disputes are comparatively few.

On a statement, that in a certain part of the diocese some barbarous tribes were destitute of spiritual instruction, the Pope, to support the expense of the bishop's visitation there, granted him the church of Drivesdale *in usus proprios*. To meet the pressure of debts affecting the Church, the whole clergy of the diocese were commanded to contribute a subsidy; and the Pope allowed the bishop to appropriate the revenues of two churches for three years.

Great efforts were made to obtain enforcement of ecclesiastical decrees by the arm of the civil power, and to a certain extent successfully. At the same time the whole authority of Rome was used to prevent the clergy from pleading in a lay court. A number of papal privileges show us that the two great grievances of the bishop were, being forced to admit to benefices or pensions upon the dictation of the Pope, and the liability to be summoned in Church cases out of the kingdom.

The bishop had a very early exemption for himself and his people from toll and custom for their own chattels, which was renewed in this reign. It brought the citizens of Glasgow into collision with the ancient royal burgh of Rutherglen, and with the more modern one of Dumbarton. Against the latter the bishop prevailed,

and secured for his burgesses a free trade in Argyle and Lennox ; but Rutherglen was more powerful ; and all that could be obtained was a protection against the royal burgh levying toll and custom within the town of Glasgow, or nearer than the cross of Schedenestun.¹

The custom of judicial combat, one branch of that system of ordeal which appealed all questions between man and man to the direct decision of Providence, was still in considerable observance. It appears that in Scotland, as well as England, this law was extended to churchmen, and Innocent III. found it necessary to fulminate a bull against so pestilent a custom.²

The Cathedral, though dedicated in the episcopate of Bishop Jocelin, cannot have been completed then. But the cathedral of Saint Kentigern was of national interest, and the General Council of the Scotch Church came to its assistance. In 1242, it was ordained that, from the beginning of Lent till the octaves of Easter, the matter of the building of the church of Glasgow should be recommended to the parishioners in every church on Sundays and festivals, after mass, and the indulgence granted to those assisting the building, written up in church, and expounded in the vulgar tongue ; and that no other collection be allowed to interfere with it during that period.³

¹ Schedenestun is now Shettleston.

² *Pestifera consuetudo.*

³ "Statuimus firmiter observandum, quod a principio quadragesimæ usque ad octavas Paschæ negotium fabricæ ecclesiæ Glasguensis, omnibus diebus dominicis et festivis, fideliter et diligenter, in singulis ecclesiis post evangelium missæ,

parochianis exponatur, et indulgentia eidem fabricæ subvenientibus concessa, quam in qualibet ecclesia scriptam esse precipimus, aperte et distincte eisdem parochianis vulgariter dicatur, et elemosynæ eorundem, ac bona decedentium ab intestato, ac etiam pie legata, secundum consuetudinem hactenus approbatam,

It was the work of many years, notwithstanding, and the length of time occupied in erecting this great church accounts for some curious changes of style, which must have taken place while the work was in progress.

In this reign the diocese is said to have been divided into two archdeaconries, Glasgow proper, and Teviotdale.¹

Walter's successor in the bishopric was the Chancellor, William de Bondington, a courteous, liberal man—*vir dapsilis et liberalis in omnibus*²—who was consecrated at Glasgow on the Sunday after the nativity of the Virgin, 1233.³ He is said to have finished the Cathedral.⁴ He resigned the office of Chancellor about the period of the king's death. He seems to have preferred his native Borders—not yet a lawless district, uninhabitable for men of peace—and latterly resided much at his pleasant house of Alnecrum,⁵ and died there on the

fideliter colligantur et decanis locorum in proximis capitulis sine diminutione assignentur; et infra dictum terminum nullus questionem pro negotiis aliis in ecclesiis parochialibus admittat."—*Char-tul. Aberdon.—Wilkins Con.—Hailes.*

¹ 1268.—*Mailr.—Fordun.* Some new arrangement of the archdeaconries may have taken place. But an Archdeacon of Teviotdale occurs long before.—*Reg. Passel. Lib. de Melr.* The chronicler of Lanercost gives a story, *causa ludi*—that is, to have a jibe at the odious church inquisitor—which should be remembered. A certain knight of Robertston had an estate in Annandale, the tenants of which, running riot from too much prosperity—*præ opibus lascivientes*—committed allsorts of offences, which brought them to the Official's court, and filled the purse of the Archdeacon with their fines. At length the landlord declared that for any such offences the

tenants should be ejected from his land, which produced a great reformation and a diminution of the Archdeacon's profits. The Archdeacon met the knight, and accosting him *superbo supercilio*, asked him who had constituted him judge for the reforming of such matters. The knight replied that he had made the rule for the sake of his property, and not as interfering with the churchman's jurisdiction, but added, "I see if you can fill your bag with their fines, you have no care who takes their souls." *Ad hæc conticuit exactor criminum et amator transgressionum.*—*Chron. Laner. 1277.*

² Fordun, x. 11.

³ *Chron. Mailr.*

⁴ Boece.

⁵ Many of his charters are dated there. He obtained from Ralf Burnard a right of fuel in his peateries of Faringdun, for the use of his house of Alnecrumbe, to himself and his successors for ever.

10th November 1258. He was buried at Melros, near the high altar.¹

The reign of Alexander III. is not so important in the history of the diocese for any great acquisition of property, as for an important change in the constitution of the Church. Isabella de Valloniis, the widow of David Comyn, lord of Kilbride, granted to the Church a territory in the forest of Dalkarn. Dervorguilla, co-heiress of Alan of Galloway, and widow of John de Balliol, gave to it Torhgil in Cunyngham, Ryesdale, and other lands and pastures in her domain of Largs. The patronage of the parish church of Smalham was obtained from David Olifard. John Comyn, lord of Rulebethok, gave to the Church his land of Rulehalch.

William de Bondington, who had previously regulated the archdeaconry of Teviotdale, in the last year of his bishopric and of his life, by the consent of the Chapter, established the liberties and customs of Salisbury as the future constitution of the Cathedral of Glasgow. The ritual of Sarum, arranged by Bishop Osmund in 1076, had been very generally adopted, even beyond the authority of the English Church.² This naturally led to the adoption also of its constitution and customs. With the view of ascertaining these accurately and authoritatively, the Chapter obtained from the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury a formal statement of their constitution, which ever after formed, as it were, the charter of privileges of the

¹ *Chron. Mailr.*

² A.D. 1076. Osmund episcopus Sarum composuit librum ordinalem eccle-

siastici officii quem *consuetudinarium* vocant, quo fere tota nunc Anglia, Wallia, et Hybernia utitur.—*Jorval-Knyghton.*

Glasgow Chapter.¹ This important measure was preceded by a charter of the bishop, granting to the canons the free election of their dean (which must probably be held as a declaration of their previously existing right); and it was accompanied by a gift of Hottun, as an addition to the common churches of the chapter, and by the foundation and endowment of a body of *vicarii de residentia*, or cathedral vicars.²

By a right which the church purchased from the lord of Luss in 1277, we learn two interesting particulars;—that the territory of that lord then abounded in wood, and that the Church of Glasgow was at that time collecting materials for building a steeple and treasury—*campanile et thesauraria*.³ The increasing number and consequence of the Chapter rendered necessary other alterations of the cathedral buildings; and on two occasions during this reign, we find a project for removing the bishop's palace to make way for the dwellings of the canons.⁴

¹ The adoption by the canons, of the untried constitution is singularly guarded. It takes place after the death of Bishop Bondington, and whilst no successor has yet been appointed. The canons, in their oath of adherence, reserve a power to change any of the constitutions, if the majority of the Chapter think proper; and while they bind themselves, in virtue of their oath, firmly to observe such change, they add the saving clause—*nisi dicta mutatio nobis reperiatur damnosa*.

² Great confusion has arisen from confounding the vicars parochial, who formed, in fact, the great body of the acting clergy with cure of souls, with these vicars residentiary, established for the decorum and solemnity of Cathedral service, who are often called *stallarii*, and in Glasgow, as well as in other

cathedrals, had ultimately a regular constitution under the title of Vicars of the Choir.

³ The grant is very minute. Maurice, lord of Luss, for a certain sum of money sells and grants to God and Saint Kentigern, and the Church of Glasgow, the whole timber that shall be required for the steeple and thesaurary of the church, until the same shall be perfectly completed in wood work. He gives the workmen leave freely to enter his lands, to fell and prepare whatever timber in his woods they think expedient, and to remain there, and have free pasture for their horses and oxen during its manufacture and carriage. Granted at Perth on Tuesday next after the Assumption of the Virgin, 1277.

⁴ First, in 1228, at a meeting of the Chapter, whilst the see was vacant after

The drains of church property to Rome were perhaps scarcely more heavy, in the shape of avowed taxation or contribution, than in the sums continually transmitted for securing patronage, and keeping up influence at the papal court. We have instances of both in the transactions of this reign.¹

After the death of Bishop William de Bondington, the election of the Chapter fell upon Nicolas de Moffet, the Archdeacon of Teviotdale, who was prevented from obtaining consecration by the intrigues of some members of his Chapter. The Pope not only rejected him, but appointed in his place, and consecrated, John de Cheyam, an Englishman. Nearly all we know of him is, that he claimed as of ancient right to exercise his diocesan jurisdiction as far as Rere Cross on Stanmore,² and that, equally unacceptable to the king and his Chapter, he retired from his diocese and from Scotland, and died in France in 1268.³

Upon his death, Nicolas de Moffet obtained possession of the see, but died without consecration in 1270.

the death of Bondington, the canons agreed that if any of them should be elected bishop, he should remove the palace which stood without the castle—*pallatium quod est extra castrum Glasguense*—and give its site, with other ground adjoining, for houses for the canons. On a vacancy occurring exactly ten years afterwards, a meeting of canons came to the same resolution. It is probable that the second was not more effectual than the first undertaking.

¹ We have a sum of £200 borrowed from merchants, "*pro arduis nostris negotiis in curia Romana promovendis*;" with a discharge for sixty marks sterling,

the arrears of an annual duty paid by Glasgow to the Church of Rome.

² The old boundaries, since—

"The King Dawy wan till his crown
All fra the watty of Tese of brede
North on til the watty of Twede,
And fra the watty of Esk be Est
Til of Stanemore the Rere-cors
West."

Wyntoun, vii. 6.

³ *Chron. Lanerc.* 65, 387. The Chapter complained of his intrusion; the king, that he pretended a right to the revenues before taking the oath of fealty—contrary to the custom of Scotland.

William Wischart, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and Chancellor of Scotland, was elected to succeed him, but was in the same year postulated to the See of St. Andrews.¹

Robert Wischart, Archdeacon of Lothian, elected his successor, was consecrated at Aberdeen by the Bishops of Aberdeen, Moray, and Dumblane. During the peaceful reign of Alexander, he had leisure for a dispute with his Chapter concerning the lands of Kermyl, with which John de Cheyam and the Chapter had endowed three chaplains in the cathedral.² The latter transactions of his life were of a different character.

The short reign of the maiden of Norway, and the troubled interregnum that followed, were not favourable to the Church. The only transaction of consequence recorded during that period was a decision or arrangement between Sir William of Moray, lord of Bothuile, and the Chapter; Moray taking the church of Smalham, and the Chapter the church of Walliston, *in proprios usus* or as a common church.

Edward I. spent a fortnight at Glasgow in the autumn of 1301. He resided at the Friars Preachers, but was constant in his offerings at the High Altar and the shrine

¹ “*Et mirum multis visum est quod vir tam magnæ opinionis, qui fuit, ut dictum est, electus Glasguensis et Sancti Andree Archidiaconus, domini Regis cancellarius, ac rector sive præbendarius viginti duarum ecclesiarum, captus fuit tanta ambitione, quod hæc omnia eidem non sufficerent, quin, potius simulatione quam religione, plus regis timore quam sui amore, episcopatum Sancti Andree sibi usurparet. Is de illis apparet esse et est, de quibus Juvenalis,*

“*Non propter vitam faciunt patrimonia quidam
Sed, vitio cæci, propter patrimonia vivunt.
Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit.*”

Fordun, Lib. x. p. 133.

It is not often that our chroniclers quote Juvenal.

² *Episcopus per suam industriam, de pecunia tamen ipsius capituli, acquisierat.*

of Saint Mungo. Of the building spacious enough to receive the monarch's train, there are now no vestiges. A few years later we find by a charter still preserved in the archives of the University, the Bishop and Chapter granted to the Friars preachers of Glasgu a spring called the Meadow-well, rising in the Denside, to be conducted into the cloisters of the Friars.¹

The reign of Robert was scarcely more fortunate for Glasgow. The Church has no recorded acquisition of property in this reign, except small annual rents given by the family of Avenel,² and by John, Abbot of Holyrood.³ The prebend of Barlanark was granted by the king in free warren. On the other hand, the Chapter parted with two of its churches at the request of the king, giving Eglismalesock to Kelso, and Watstirker to Melros.⁴ Deeds are here preserved in favour of the Abbey of Paisley and the Church of Ayr. A transaction is recorded, in which Roger de Auldton, by a gift of a considerable property, purchased the privilege of burial for himself and his spouse in the choir of the church of St. James of Roxburgh.⁵ I may likewise mention an instrument, recording the precautions taken upon the loss of the bishop's seal of cause; and a curious indenture, in which Walter Fitz Gilbert, the first of the family

¹ *Fontem quendam qui dicitur meduvel in loco qui dicitur Denside scaturientem in perpetuum conducendum in claustrum dictorum fratrum ad usus necessarios eorundem.* The grant by the Bishop, dated 16 kal. Sep. 1304, is confirmed by the Chapter *die lune in festo S. Bartholomei apostoli*, 1304.

² Forty shillings out of Tunregeyth.

³ Four marcs out of Dalgarnoc.

⁴ The charter of Ochiltree is only an episcopal confirmation of a gift of Eustachia de Colvil.—*Liber de Melros*, 403.

⁵ From the Rector, the abbot of Kelso, *quæ sine nostri licentia tanquam rectoris dictæ ecclesiæ, firmitatem habere nequeunt.*

of Hamilton, grants to the Church certain vestments and plate, under reservation of the use of them four times in the year in the chapel of Machan.¹

The affectionate sympathy expressed by the king for the bishop would serve to give us some insight into his character, even if the history of Robert Wischart were not so well known.² "We feel in our heart as we ought," says Bruce, "the imprisonments and chains, the persecutions and vexatious delays which the venerable father Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, has endured, and still endures with patience, for the rights of the church and of our kingdom of Scotland." Bruce, the mirror of chivalry, felt no horror of the churchman's breaches of promise. It was a time when strong oppression on the one side, made the other almost forget the laws of good faith and humanity. Our bishop did homage to the Suzerain, and transgressed it; he swore fidelity over and over again to the King of England, and as often broke his oath. He kept no faith with Edward. He preached against him;³ and, when the occasion offered, he buckled on his armour like a Scotch baron, and fought against him.⁴

But let it not be said he changed sides as fortune

¹ Here we find the chapel of the Virgin described as *in ecclesia inferiori*, and that of Saint Kentigern *in bassa ecclesia*; and there were many other altars and chapels in the crypts.

² *Nos corditer attendentes ut tenemur, incarcerationes et vincula, persecutiones et tœdia quæ venerabilis pater dominus Robertus Dei gratia episcopus Glasguensis pro juribus ecclesiæ et regni nostri Scotiæ hactenus constanter sustinuit et adhuc sustinet patienter.*

³ *Le dit évesque est alé prechant parmy le pays pour faire les gentz lever contre*

la foy et la pees notre seigneur le Roy, pour meyntener la partie et l'estat du dit Counte de Carrik, en amonestant le poeple . . . et les asseure sur son peril qu'ils porront a tant fair meryt de estre de l'acord le dit Counte et de meintener la guerre contre le roy d'Engleterre come d'aler en le service Dieu en la terre seinte.—Documents illust. Hist. of Scotland, p. 348.

⁴ *Le dit évesque come hom contre la pees vint armez son corps od tote sa gent.—Documents illust. Hist. of Scot. p. 343.*

changed.¹ When the weak Balliol renounced his allegiance to his over-lord, the Bishop, who knew both, must have divined to which side victory would incline;² and yet he opposed Edward. When Wallace, almost single-handed, set up the standard of revolt against the all-powerful Edward, the Bishop of Glasgow immediately joined him. When Robert Bruce, friendless and a fugitive, raised the old war-cry of Scotland, the indomitable Bishop supported him. Bruce was proscribed by Edward, and under the anathema of the Church: The Bishop assoilzied him for the sacrilegious slaughter of Comyn, and prepared the robes and royal banner for his coronation.

Wischart was taken prisoner in the castle of Cupar, which he had held against the English, in 1306, and was not liberated till after Bannockburn.³ It was in the midst of that long confinement that we find Robert commiserating his tedious imprisonment, his chains, and persecutions so patiently endured for the rights of the church and kingdom of Scotland. The Bishop had grown blind in prison. He survived his liberation two years, and died in November 1316.⁴ One charge of Edward against Bishop Wischart was, that he had used timber which he had allowed him for building a steeple to his

¹ Sir F. Palgrave's *Introduction*.—*Documents of Scotland*, clxxvi.

² *Ha! ce fol felon tel folie faict!* were the words of Edward when he heard of the impotent resistance of Balliol.—*Hailes An.* 1296.

³ He was exchanged, along with the Queen and Princess, for the Earl of Hereford, taken in Bothwell castle by Edward Bruce, immediately after the battle.

⁴ It must be confessed Bishop Wischart

is said to have savoured of the laity in more than wearing armour. When forced to make submission to Edward after the capitulation of Irvine (1297), he drew down on his house the vengeance of Wallace. The patriot leader, *iratus animo perrexit ad domum Episcopi, et omnem ejus suppellectilem, arma et equos, filios etiam Episcopi nepotum nomine nuncupatos secum abduxit*.—Hemingford, cited by *Hailes ad an.* Has the English

cathedral,¹ in constructing engines of war against the king's castles, and especially the castle of Kirkintilloch.

Master Stephen de Donydouer, a canon of Glasgow, and chamberlain to King Robert, was elected on the death of Wischart, but through the influence of Edward II. with the Pope, his confirmation was delayed, and he died in 1318, without having been consecrated.

Considerable confusion now surrounds the history of the see. John de Lindesay and John de Wischart were both Bishops of Glasgow between 1318 and 1334; but it is not easy to distinguish their episcopates. It would rather seem that John de Wischart, who was previously archdeacon, was elected Bishop in 1319, and Lindesay succeeded him in 1321.

It was therefore probably Bishop John de Lindesay who figured in a curious deed of the latter part of this reign.² Whoever he was, he certainly had previously held a prebend in the cathedral of Glasgow. On his confirmation and consecration, the Pope reserved the prebend so vacated to his own collation. But immediately on the bishop's arrival from the Roman court, the king claimed the presentation, according to the custom of Scotland, as of a benefice in the bishop's gift, fallen vacant before the bishop had taken the oath of fidelity to the king—and presented Master Walter de Twynham. The bishop was evidently most reluctant; but Bruce was not to be trifled with; and Master Walter

chronicler done the *traitor* bishop's morals wrong? Altogether, we should like to have this remarkable person's character from a less prejudiced pen than that of the secretary of Edward.

¹ *Avoit doné merym pour faire le clocher de sa eglise cathedral de Glasgu.—Documents of Scotland, p. 348.*

² Anno 1324.

was admitted by ring, as use is, with a protestation saving the Pope's right ; which was apparently all the satisfaction afforded his Holiness ; for his nominee, Nicholas de Guercino, had evidently put in his claim ineffectually long afterwards. The same instrument gives evidence of a general council held at Perth in 1324.

About the feast of the Assumption in the year 1337, two ships, coming from France to Scotland, were encountered and taken after a stout resistance, by John de Ros, the English admiral. On board were John de Lindesay, Bishop of Glasgow, and with him many noble ladies of Scotland, and men-at-arms, and much armour, and £30,000 of money, and the instruments of agreement and treaty between France and Scotland. The men-at-arms were all slain or drowned in the sea. The Lord Bishop and part of those noble ladies, for very grief, refused to eat or drink, and died before the fleet made the land. Their bodies are buried at Wytsande in England.¹

The long reign of David II. is, as might be expected, barren of events affecting the church. There is evidence of a heavy papal contribution in 1340, of which I have found no other trace ; of a dispute between the bishop and chapter in 1362 ; and of nothing else of properly ecclesiastical events of higher consequence than the foundation of a chantry or an altarage.

But the church records here supply a few events of secular interest. The Bishop adhering to the party of Edward Balliol, we have an interesting charter of Edward

¹ *Chron. Lanerc.* Honest Walsingham tells a different story ; the Bishop was knocked on the head like the rest—

Episcopus obiit lethaliter in capite vulneratus. He places the event in 1335. But as to the date, he is mistaken apparently.

granted at Glasgow, "on the first day of the second year of his reign"—1333, where some of the disinherited lords appear as witnesses.

A foundation of a chaplainry in 1361, by David Fitz-Walter, knight, lord of Kinniel, gives the second generation of the family of Hamilton, not yet bearing the name, but blazoning the three cinque-foils, the well-known family arms.¹

The successor of John de Lindesay was William Raa, of whose life and conduct during that period of confusion little is known.² He is said to have built the stone bridge over the Clyde at Glasgow ;³ but we should require some evidence of such an undertaking being completed in a time of so great national depression. In his days Margaret Logy became queen of Scotland ; and the imperious young beauty, not content with ruling the king, seems to have interfered more than was lawful in the affairs of the bishopric. She exacted concession of church property for one favourite, and a benefice for another, and actually averred that the king had made her a grant of the bishopric of Glasgow *in part*.⁴ Bishop William died in 1367.

His successor was Walter de Wardlaw, archdeacon of Lothian, and secretary to the king ; consecrated 1368.

¹ Thomas Innes's note of the original charter and its seal;—*super scutum tria quinquefolia*.

² The see was vacant on the 8th February 1335, and John was then spoken of as *nuper Episcopus*. Keith asserts he was then dead, and says his successor was bishop in 1335. I have not found the authority he quotes. It is possible

that John de Lindesay was in some way ousted from the bishopric before his death.

³ *Keith*, apparently following M'Ure.

⁴ She asserts that the hospital of Polmadie was in her gift by reason of the king's grant of the bishopric—*ex concessione Regis de episcopatu Glasguensi in parte nobis facta*.

He was much employed in foreign embassies, and received the honour of the cardinalate and the office of legate *a latere* for Scotland and Ireland, in 1385, from the antipope Clement VII., to whom the Scotch Church adhered. He died in 1387.

The reign of Robert II., though equally barren of deeds regarding the church, furnished to the charter scholars of the Scotch college their most valued evidence and their greatest triumph. After setting forth the proofs of the legitimacy of Robert III. contained in the charters, founding a chaplainry in consideration of a papal dispensation for the marriage of his father with Elizabeth More, and detailing the preservation of these charters in France, Thomas Innes, with an excusable mixture of loyalty and patriotism with grateful affection for the country of his adoption, celebrates the glory of FRANCE, who—united to Scotland by their ancient league, and often affording a hospitable reception to her royal family—hath now happily preserved at once the hope and heir of the kingdom—the hundred and tenth inheritor of the crown—and the unchallengeable proofs of the legitimacy of his race !¹

¹ *Ita Francia Scotis fœdere conjuncta, regiæque familiæ hospitio non semel nobilis, ut spem et hæredem centesimum et decimum regni Scotorum, ita etiam titulum indubitatæ auctoritatis, quo eadem familia ab omni deterioris originis suspicionem vindicatur, feliciter conservavit.*—*Mabillon*, App. p. 10. Innes, of course, only dealt with the objection as he found it in Boece and Buchanan, who asserted that Robert married Elizabeth More, not till after the death of his queen, Euphemia Ros, and then ob-

tained the legitimation of children whom he had had by Elizabeth before his marriage with Euphemia, in exclusion of the children of his lawful marriage. That fiction is certainly overthrown by these deeds, proving the dispensation, marriage, and death of Elizabeth, ten years before the death of Euphemia. It was reserved for the ingenuity of later writers to raise other objections after the whole disputes have fortunately taken their proper rank as mere subjects of antiquarian curiosity. The dispensa-

Upon the death of the Cardinal, the Pope endeavoured to intrude John Framisden, a friar minor, into the see of Glasgow, and craved the assistance of Richard II. for his settlement by force.¹ The attempt, however, entirely failed, and Matthew de Glendonwyn, a canon of the cathedral, obtained the bishopric peaceably. In his episcopate, the steeple, built of timber from the banks of Lochlomond, was burnt down. He made preparations for rebuilding it of stone, but had not commenced it when he died 10th May 1408.

A statute for taxing prebends to supply robes and ornaments for the cathedral service ; and some proceedings regarding the hospital of Polmadie, which had lately become the property of the bishop, are the only records of events of the unfortunate reign of Robert III.

tion referred to in these charters which is dated Nov. 22, 1347, was found in the Vatican by Andrew Stewart. Under the disguise of strange mis-spelling, for persons of such quality, it informs us *quod dudum ipsis Roberto et Elizabeth ignorantibus quod dicta Elizabeth et . . . Ysabella Boucellier in tertio et quarto, ac Elizabeth et Robertus prefati in quarto, consanguinitatis gradibus sibi invicem attinerent, idem Robertus dictam Ysabellam primo, et postmodum predictam Elizabeth carnaliter cognovit, et quod ipse Robertus et Elizabeth diu cohabitantes, prolis utriusque sexus multitudinem procrearunt,*—and then it grants the desired dispensation for the marriage, and declares the children previously born legitimate. A fine point has been raised by a learned writer, as to whether the papal legitimation could render these children born “in incestuous concubinage,” *capaces successionis in regnum.*—*Riddell on Peerage and Consist. Law*, I. c. 6. Perhaps the modern inquirer will be better satisfied

with the legislative act in their favour (Parliament 1373). But, for the zealous antiquary who does not despise such inquiries, I would suggest (1.) that it is by no means proved or certain that there was not a formal marriage between the parties before the birth of those children, though the papal dispensation is bound to assume that a marriage which *ex concessis* was uncanonical, did not exist. But (2.) this *incestuous concubinage*, in plain language, the connexion of parties related within the fourth degree of consanguinity (which might be said if they were the great-grandchildren of cousins-german), with the other objection more shadowy still, are not impediments *lege nature*, nor by the law of Leviticus, but imported by the canons ; and what the canons could create, the authority of the papal rescript could dispense with. This the canonists and all other lawyers admitted.

¹ Nicolas' *Proceedings of Privy Council*, I. 95.

The period embraced by the reign of James I. in the Register of the Bishopric begins with a remarkable proceeding in a parliament holden at Perth in 1415, where the Chancellor of Scotland, in name and behalf of the three estates, required to have formally exemplified, the famous charter of Edward III. of England declaring the independence of Scotland, lest by the loss or destruction of the original letters, and in defect of proof of their contents, the king and kingdom suffer loss. Those instruments themselves are now well known to the historian;¹ but it might afford an interesting subject of speculation to conjecture the end or motives of their solemn publication at that time, when the young king was still a prisoner in England, and the government in the hands of the aged Albany.

The return of James from captivity restored order and some degree of prosperity to Scotland, which could not fail to produce an effect on the state of the church. An amicable settlement of the clashing jurisdictions of the archdeacon and the bishop, the acquisition of the church of Libberton by the chapter,² and the erection of seven new prebends in the cathedral³ follow quickly

¹ *Hales ad an. 1327.* The editors of the late edition of the *Fœdera*, in reprinting them seem to have used this register.

² It was declared a common church, or one, the fruits of which went to the common fund of the Canons.

³ Cambuslang, of which the patron was Archibald, called the third Earl of Douglas; Tarboltoun, a church of Sir John Stewart of Darnlie; Eglisname, of Sir Alexander de Montgomerie; Luss, of John Colquhoun; Kirkmocho, of

Margaret Lady Forrester and Sir William Stewart, her son; Kyllern, of Patrick le Graham. Polmadie and Strablane. It is particularly worthy of notice that the pension of the vicar was fixed at 20 merks in each of five of these churches.

I fear it is impossible to consider the record of the erection of these prebends as anything more than a *memoria*, or memorandum. Some of the patrons named could scarcely be brought together at once.

upon the restoration of security and good government. A grant of church ornaments by Sir Allan Stewart of Darnlie ; a careful inventory of the relics, jewels, vestments, and books of the cathedral ; and the formation of codes of statutes for the decorous government of the canons and their cathedral vicars ; all show like effects produced by the leisure and security, and perhaps encouraged by the example or directions of James's government. These statutes are extremely interesting to the church antiquary, and it may interest any one who studies the progress of society, to observe the union of a provision for magnificent religious solemnities with the antique simplicity of life and manners in the actors in the pageant.¹

On the death of Bishop Matthew, William de Lawedre was provided to the bishopric by Pope Benedict XIII. without the election of the Chapter, who, however, did not dispute his appointment. He had previously been Archdeacon of Lothian. His parents were Robert and Annabella de Lawedre ;² and from the arms often repeated on the cathedral and found on his seal, he must have been of the ancient family of the Lauders of the Merse.³ He was appointed chancellor in 1423, and died 14th

¹ *Secundum veterem consuetudinem hujus ecclesie*, the deacons and subdeacons assisting in the office of the mass at the high altar on great festivals, are to have their *esculenta et poculenta* of the day, from the Canon on duty, or 18d. each, for their expenses.

² Crawford and Keith are mistaken as to this bishop's parentage. They both say his father was Sir Allan Lauder of Hatton. I have given their story of the manner of his appointment to the see,

because, though they both quote Fordun, who does not mention it, I find it in Spottiswood. It may be questioned, notwithstanding. Spottiswood says he was the first whom the Pope ever appointed of his mere authority to that see—certainly a mistake.—*Crauf. Off. of State. Keith's Bishops. Spottiswood.*

³ “Three bars within an escutcheon, with mitre, crozier, and the badges of his episcopal dignity.”—*Crauf. Off. of State.*

June 1425. He built the crypt below the chapter-house, and the steeple, with the battlements of the tower.

John Cameron succeeded him in the bishopric as well as in the office of chancellor, after the see had been vacant for a year. He had previously been Secretary of State and provost of Lincluden. He continued chancellor till 1440. He built the "great tower" of the Bishops' Palace in Glasgow, on which his arms were to be seen in the last century; and also the Chapter-house, begun by Bishop Lauder. He has been accused of great avarice and oppression, not on very good evidence. Buchanan relates the manner of his death (which took place at Lochwood on Christmas-eve 1447), with some prodigious circumstances, represented as a judgment on his wicked life.¹

The period of the next reign is now chiefly interesting to us as giving birth to the most important offspring of the Episcopal Church of Glasgow, its University. It was constituted by a bull of Pope Nicholas v., dated on the 7th of the Ides of January 1450, and had a charter of privileges and exemptions from the king, and another from the bishop and Chapter, 1453.

The general jubilee proclaimed in 1450, on the termination of the great papal schism, was extended to Scotland, and penitential visits and offerings at the Cathedral of Glasgow declared equally meritorious with those at Rome; the offerings on the occasion being distributed, one portion to the fabric of the church of Glasgow, one to

¹ "Tam perspicuum divinæ ultionis exemplum ut neque temere affirmare nec refellere est animus. Ita cum ab aliis

sit proditum et constanti rumore pervulgatum; omittere visum non est."
—*Lib. XI.*

other pious uses in Scotland, and a third to Rome. An indulgence with regard to Lent, and a royal concession that bishops might make testaments, are common to all Scotland, and very well known. A new protection to the burgh, and an extensive grant of regality to the bishop, mark the greatness of his influence.

Of mere church economy—we find the patronage of Polmadie secured ; Lilisclive disjoined from the common stock of the Chapter, to be speedily afterwards reunited ; the prebend of Ashkirke enlarged ; Glencairn given to the Chapter as a common church, the vicar being secured in a stipend of twenty merks. By the decision of the Dean and Chapter, as arbiters between the bishop and the Archdeacon of Teviotdale, the archdeacon of that district was declared to have exactly the same jurisdiction in it as the Archdeacon of Glasgow in his part of the diocese.

James Bruce, the Lord Chancellor and Bishop of Dunkeld, was elected Bishop of Glasgow after the death of Bishop Cameron, but died before confirmation or investiture.¹

William Turnbull, Archdeacon of Lothian, and keeper of the privy seal, was the next bishop.² During a short incumbency he procured valuable privileges, papal and royal, for his bishopric and city ; and he will ever be regarded with affectionate gratitude as the founder of the University of Glasgow. He died 3d September 1454.

Andrew Muirhead, a canon, was next elected bishop,

¹ The see was vacant in October 1447.

² “ In that saym yer (1449) master

William Turnbull said his first mess in Glasgue the 20 day of September.”—*Auchinl. Chron.*

and consecrated in the year 1455. He founded the hospital of St. Nicholas, near his episcopal palace, and repaired the north aisle of the cathedral. He was a member of the regency during the minority of James III.; several times a commissioner to treat with England; and one of the ambassadors to negotiate the marriage of James with Margaret of Denmark. He died 20th November 1473.

The reign of James III. is not productive. It yields us little more than a new constitution and improved stipends of the vicars of the choir; a dispute between the bishop and the chapter; a "reservation" of patronage and provision following on it, by the Pope;¹ an extension of the jurisdiction of regality.

John Laing, the Lord Treasurer, was provided by the Pope to the see of Glasgow, upon the recommendation of the king, on the 7th March 1473. He was made chancellor in 1481, and died 11th January 1482.

George Carmichael, treasurer of the diocese, was elected bishop, but died unconfirmed in the year 1483.²

Robert Blacader, Bishop of Aberdeen, and previously a prebendary of Glasgow, was the next bishop, 1484. He was much employed in the affairs of the government, went several embassies to England, probably made some journeys to Rome, and died, according to Lesley, on his way to the Holy Land on 28th July 1508.

James IV., full of enthusiastic religion, had become a

¹ I notice this only as a correct style of such a transaction. The thing itself was abundantly common, and I imagine will be found to have been attempted by the Pope almost invariably, when the

death of a beneficed churchman happened at the Roman court.

² Alive in February (28) 1483-84, and in 17th May 1484.—*Act. Parl.* II. p. 166.

canon of the Chapter of Glasgow at an early period of his life, and loved to show favour to the cathedral of which he was a member. In the first year of his reign, it was "concludit and ordanit be our soverane lord and his three estatis, that for the honour and gud public of the realme, the sege of Glasgw be erect in ane archibischoprik, with sic privilegiis as accordis of law, and siclik as the archibishoprik of York has in all dignitez emunitis and privilegiis."¹ To this change not only the Archbishop of St. Andrews, but the Chapter of Glasgow, was much opposed, fearing for their privileges, from the increased power of their prelate. The king, however, pressed the measure, and he, as well as the bishop, guaranteed the privileges of the canons to their fullest extent. The bull declaring the see of Glasgow metropolitan was dated 5th of the Ides of January 1491. Its suffragans were the Bishops of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway, and Argyle.

The king renewed and extended the privileges and exemptions, and much valued civil jurisdiction of the bishop, with expressions that show both his attachment to Glasgow and the commencement of that high character of its Chapter which afterwards drew to the Diocesan court of Glasgow a great proportion of civil business.³

The Chapter acquired the church of Glasfurd as a common church during this reign. The erection of Lochvinyok is a valuable specimen of the early constitution

¹ *Act. Parl.* ii. 213.

² *Pro specialibus favore et delectione quos habemus erga . . . Robertum . . .*

Episcopum prelatum dicte ecclesie, suumque insigne capitulum quod inter regni nostri collegia secularia sibi primum locum vindicat.

of the collegiate churches. The chancellor's vindication of his patronage of the grammar school, and his monopoly of teaching, against master David Dwne—who actually set himself to instruct scholars in grammar *et juvenes in puerilibus*—is not merely a subject of amusement. It illustrates both the state of education of the period, and those privileges of the church regarding schools, which enter into some weighty discussions touching the constitution of Universities.¹

The preliminary proceedings in a criminal court of the archbishop's regality are evidently recorded only for preserving the protest against the court being held out of his jurisdiction. The trial ended in the conviction and capital sentence of Alexander Lekprevik; but he had a royal pardon.²

James Bethune, Bishop-elect of Galloway, was postulated to the see of Glasgow, 9th November 1508, and consecrated on the 15th April 1509, at Stirling. He was previously Lord Treasurer, but resigned that office

¹ 13th September 1494.—The complaint of Master Martin the chancellor bore that he and his predecessors, chancellors of the church of Glasgow, according to the statutes and custom of the church of Glasgow, were beyond memory of man in the peaceable possession of instituting and removing the master of the grammar school of the city, and of having the care and government and mastership of the said school; also that without the license of the chancellor for the time being, no one might hold a grammar school or instruct scholars in grammar, or youths in the elements of learning, alone or together, publicly or privately, within the said city or university—yet, nevertheless,

Master David Dwne actually gave himself to teaching and instructing scholars in grammar, and youths in the elements within the said city and university of Glasgow, openly and avowedly, without licence of Master Martin the chancellor, nay, in his despite.

To this Archbishop Robert responded and decreed that the said Master David Dwne ought not to keep a grammar school, or teach scholars grammar, or youths the elements within the said city and university, either alone or in company, publicly or privately, without the chancellor's leave asked and obtained. And, therefore, judicially put Master David to silence in the premises for ever.

² *Pitcairn, Crim. Trials*, p. 62*, 110*.

on his being preferred to the archbishopric. He held other great church benefices, as the abbacies of Arbroath and Kilwinning. He was made chancellor of the kingdom in 1515, and took a leading part in the politics of the time against the party of the Douglasses. In 1523, he was translated to the see of St. Andrews.

The chief proceedings recorded in the reign of James v. are connected with the claim of the archbishops of Glasgow to independence, and the assumption of superiority by the Archbishop of St. Andrews as primate, a dispute which gave rise to the most unseemly proceedings at home, and contentions and pleas in the court of Rome "of the quhilkis pleyis," in the words of Parliament, "the expensis is unestimable dampnage to the realme."¹

The formula of the oath of obedience by a suffragan to his metropolitan is not without interest.²

Gavin Dunbar, the nephew of the Bishop of Aberdeen of the same name, and tutor to James v., was, on the promotion of Bethune, elected Archbishop of Glasgow, and consecrated at Edinburgh on the 5th of February 1525. He was appointed chancellor of the kingdom, 21st August 1528, which office he held till 1543, and died in April 1547. His character and the transactions of his life are matter of history, known to every reader. If he has been roughly handled by Knox, his greatest admirer could not wish for him a more elegant panegyric than that of Buchanan.³

¹ *Acta Parl.* 1493, II. p. 232.

² See Appendix.

³ *Cœna Gavini Archiepiscopi Glasguensis.—Epiqr.* I. 43.

The records of the church in the short reign of Mary are few and unimportant. We find a crowd of deeds marking the successive promotions of the last Catholic archbishop; a bond by the Duke of Chatelherault on being appointed the archbishop's bailie of regality; a memorandum of the form of election of bailies of the city under the archbishop; and the celebrated protest made by the archbishop in name of all the prelates in Parliament, against the act allowing "that the halie write may be usit in our vulgar tongue."¹

On the death of Archbishop Dunbar, Alexander Gordon, brother to the Earl of Huntly, was chosen in his room, but resigned the office in 1551, and was immediately succeeded by James Bethune, then Abbot of Arbroath, who was consecrated at Rome in 1552. In 1560, he withdrew to France. Having served Mary faithfully as her ambassador or agent at the court of France, he was employed in the same capacity after her death by James. In 1598, by an Act of Parliament setting forth "the greit honouris done to his majestie and the coun-trey be the said archbishop, in exerceising and using the office of ambassadoir"—he was restored to his heritages, honours and dignities, and benefices, notwithstanding any sentences affecting him, and "notwithstanding that he hes never maid confession of his faith, and hes never acknowledgeit the religion profest within this realme."² We owe to him the preservation of the records of his church. He died very aged in 1603.

¹ It is to be found also in the records of Parliament.

² *Acta Parl.* IV. 169.

The city of Glasgow, which we have seen founded and rising under the protection of its powerful prelates, had maintained a successful struggle with the neighbouring royal burghs of Rutherglen, Renfrew, and Dumbarton, even before the bishop's acquisition of extended jurisdiction gave his city the privileges of a burgh of regality.¹ With the privileges derived from their superior's enlarged jurisdiction, and by the influence of increasing wealth and consequence, Glasgow had made some approach to an independent constitution before the Reformation.² The flight of the archbishop gave an opportunity not to be neglected. The council proceeded to the election of magistrates,³ and the burgh then, in fact, achieved its independence, though still for some time subjected to claims of superiority by the Protestant archbishops, and by the family of Lennox, the heritable bailies of the regality.⁴ Though represented in Parliament like other church burghs so early as 1546, the city did not become

¹ Previous to 1450, Glasgow was simply a bishop's burgh, or burgh of barony. In that year, the same in which he founded his University, Bishop William Turnbull obtained a charter of regality of his city and territory. The increased consequence of the magistrates is immediately apparent. An indenture between them and the friars preachers, dated 18th December 1454, runs in the name of "ane honorabyll mane John Steuart, the first provost that was in the cite of Glasgw."—*In archiv. Universit.*

² This is apparent even from the care with which the archbishop in 1553 recorded the form of his selection of magistrates from the leet presented by the community. Only next year, the archbishop sued the community for "alleging itself to be doted and infest be the

bishop's predecessors in certain privileges and liberties, and to be infest be the kings," and for refusing to pay certain duties to the bishop. In that suit the burgh was assoilzied.—*Decree 10th Dec. 1554, in archiv. Civit. Glasg.*

³ There is preserved a notarial instrument, ult. Sept. 1561, setting forth that search had been made by the town of Glasgow for the archbishop, in order to the election of magistrates, and protesting that, he being absent, the council may elect.—*Ibid.*

⁴ There is a royal letter, subscribed also by the Duke of Lennox, "overgiving the Duke's claim of superioritye in the election of the magistrates of the burgh," dated at Hampton Court, 27th November 1605.—*Ibid.* But in the same archives there are many documents show-

legally a *burgh royal* till the charter of Charles I., confirmed in Parliament 1636, declared its duties payable directly to the Crown.¹

The bishop of old dwelt in his castle of Glasgow, occupying I believe the site of the modern Infirmary. As the necessity of defence gave way to considerations of convenience, it was extended into a palace with gardens and courts.² The houses of the Dean and canons and of the Cathedral vicars were in the neighbourhood, and chiefly along the street bearing the ancient ecclesiastical name of Rottonrow.³

The bishop is said to have had, from a very ancient period, a country palace on the pleasant bank of Perthie, where the Kelvin falls into Clyde. It is a remarkable proof of the peaceful state of the Borders in the middle

ing that the disputes concerning the election of magistrates continued for many years. In 1655, Esme Duke of Lennox was served heir to his father in "the title of nomination and election of the proveist, baillies, and other magistrates and officers of the burgh and citie of Glasgow."—*Ret. Lan.* 259.

¹ Even then certain rights were reserved, on which questions arose, until in 1690, a charter of William and Mary, ratified in Parliament, ordained that the city of Glasgow and town-council thereof shall have power and privilege to choose their own magistrates, . . . as fully and freely in all respects as the city of Edinburgh, or any other royal burgh within the kingdom enjoys the same.

² It was in its "inner flower garden," the archbishop received the magistrates in 1553. I am not acquainted with its history after the Reformation. Among the scattered leaves saved from the fire at the Exchequer in Edinburgh, is a Representation to the Barons, by "Ro-

bert Thomson, merchant in Glasgow," dated 1720, which sets forth that "the Castle formerly possess by the Archbishops is, throw its not being inhabited thes many years past, become wholly ruinous. . . And also that some bad men are become so barbarous and unjust as to carry of the stones, timber, sklates and other materials belonging thereunto, and apply the same to their own particular use, to the shame and disgrace of the Christian religion. . . Which the said Robert Thomson, as living neer to the said castle, thought his duty to represent to your Lordships."

Two views of the ruined palace are given in Dr. Smith's *Burgh Records of Glasgow*, neither of which convey an idea of much splendour.

³ It will be observed that the framers of these deeds adopted the popular etymology—*via ruttonum*. The name is now generally supposed to be derived from Routine row—an unsatisfactory etymology.

of the thirteenth century, that we find Bishop Bondington making his usual residence at his house of Ancrum, in "pleasant Teviotdale," a place still bearing many marks of old cultivation, and where a portion of the building, and until lately some remains of an antique garden, might without violence be attributed to its old episcopal masters. In the next century they had a house at their "manor of the Loch," still called Lochwood, in the parish of Old Monkland. The bishops, who were so frequently Officers of State, had necessarily a residence in the capital. The first Bishop Bethune's Edinburgh house is still pointed out at the foot of Blackfriars' Wynd.

There is no reason in the thing, why these rough and true outlines of episcopal history should be thus repulsively void of life and colour. There are materials enough for the artist who could sympathize with the life of a bygone time to paint many pictures from them. Take one day of episcopal Glasgow, the day of the foundation of the University. Fill that old High Street with its historical associations; remove the smoke and squalor that in our days gather about the eastern extremities of cities; restore the quaint architecture—the burghers' houses thrusting their tall gables and "fore-stairs" to the street, the line broken with here and there a more ornate front of a friary or hospital, or the residential house of some dignified canon: dress the people in the picturesque dress of the fifteenth century—the merchant sallying forth in his gown and bonnet of peace, the women in snood and kirtle decking their windows and outer stairs

with green boughs, and hanging bright carpets and banners from their balconies. The merchants' stalls are mostly closed, for it is holiday. The few booths open display commodities to tempt the rural visitors—gay cloths and silks of Flanders and Italy—a suit of Milan armour, long swords and daggers of Toledo temper—sheaves of bow-staves and tall spear shafts—so tall, that poor bare Scotland has no wood fit to make them, and they are from over sea. The country people are gathering in fast, all in holiday garb, “kindly tenants” of “the barony ;” sturdy yeomen from the upper wards, mounted, and with their dames on pillions behind them, willing to see the grand ceremony, and to pleasure their lord the Bishop, who takes mighty interest in its object. A dozen lords of neighbouring manors ride in—Maxwells and Hamiltons, Douglasses and Colquhouns—some of them with a dim vision of the matter in hand, and of the effects that may result from this day's work to future generations. Each of these rural lords is attended by a little troop of men-at-arms, flaunting their leader's banner, and making gay the street with the clang and splash of their chargers.

The different bands meet at the Cross, and all press up the High Street, until, near the summit, and when the grey cathedral comes in sight, they find the church procession already formed. The Bishop is there in pontifical robes and mitre, preceded by his cross-bearers, and followed by the dignitaries and whole chapter in full canonicals, all the choral vicars, hundreds of chaplains, acolytes, and officers of the cathedral, with the banners of the church, and all the pride and pomp which the old

church was so skilful in throwing around her proceedings. There, too, came some lines of friendly friars, black and grey, so much interested in the occasion that some are preparing their great refectory as the most convenient hall for the first lectures, and others furnish the most esteemed and popular of the teachers of the new University.

From the street to the Cathedral, and that vast nave is filled at once ; while, in the choir, after a solemn mass has been celebrated, amid the pealing of the organ, the clang of trumpets and clouds of incense, the stately prelate in person promulgates the Papal bulls of erection and privilege, and solemnly inaugurates the University.

Then there is high feasting at the palace. The Bishop and his noble guests, Master David Cadyow, first Lord Rector of the University, the dignitaries of the chapter, the priors and provincials of the friars, and heads of religious houses, on the dais ; lower down, the body of the clergy and laity deemed worthy to partake of the solemn feast.

There is a play, too, for the commons, a "scripture history" represented by the clergy, and, I fear, in the church itself, where prophets and apostles are made to speak to the level of the vulgar, and sacred things are seasoned with the buffoonery that brings down, without fail, the laughter of the simple people.

History scarcely affords more striking contrasts than the past and the present of some of our Scotch towns. Call up, for instance, Edinburgh on the fearful night that brought the news of the king and his army slaughtered

at Flodden (1513), and take the same city as it was lately seen when the Queen reviewed the volunteers in the park of Holyrood (7th August 1860). But in all material progress the change has been yet more extraordinary, from the Bishop's little burgh clustered round the cathedral of Glasgow, to the great city which, in the pride of her beauty and riches, and the struggle for more, takes little thought of her grey old mother the Cathedral in one smoky corner, and her nurse the University in another. Yet Glasgow has not since seen a day so full of the hopes and destinies of her history, as the day when good Bishop Turnbull proclaimed the freedom of her University.

Our next sketch of cathedral life shall be taken from a wilder region.

When the Bishopric of Caithness was founded, whether by Alexander I. or by his brother King David, the Scotch monarch exercised but a partial and uncertain sway over the territory of the new northern diocese. The peninsula beyond the Moray Firth was for long afterwards in the hands of the Norsemen, who acknowledged their allegiance to the kings of Scotland only when it suited them to resist the more distant authority of the crown of Norway, or when divisions among themselves rendered it impossible to assert an absolute independence.

The Dalesmen of Caithness and Sutherland, however, unlike their island neighbours, drew their ecclesiastical institutions from Scotland;¹ and this must have been one

¹ The legendary history of the Church in Caithness, pointing to a time before the Northmen had any footing there,

connects it still more with the missionaries of Ireland and Scotland.

The legend of St. Fimbar, or St. Barr,

means of preserving the connexion between them and Scotland proper, when the authority of the Crown was little felt so far. David I., early in his reign, addressed a letter to Rognvald Earl of Orkney, and to the Earl (he does not name him) of Caithness, and to all good men of Caithness and of the Orkneys, praying that, for love of him, they would favour the monks who dwelt at Dornoch in Caithness, and protect them wherever they came within their bounds, and not permit any to do them injury or shame.¹

The Abbey of Scone was from an early period peculiarly connected with Caithness and Sutherland. Harald, styling himself Earl of Orkney, granted a mark of silver yearly to the canons of Scone, for the weal of the souls of

the bishop, "qui in Cathania magno cum honore habetur" (*Brev. Aberdon. mense Septemb.* fol. cxv.) is plainly identical with that of St. Fimbar, first Bishop of Cork, who has been rudely transplanted to Scotch ground, with all his miracles and renown—marking, perhaps, the early settlement of some Irish colonists, bringing with them the veneration they had rendered in their old country to the patron saint of their tribe or province.

Saint Duthac was connected with Caithness. He is said to have wrought a miracle at Dornoch, on the festival of St. Fimbar, to whom, perhaps, that cathedral was of old dedicated.—*Brev. Aberdon. mense Marc.* fol. lxxv.

Saint Fergus, bishop and confessor, is likewise numbered among the missionaries who preached the faith in Caithness. He was consecrated to the episcopal office in Ireland, from whence, sailing with a few priests and clerks to the western parts of Scotland, he reached Strogeth. There, for some time, he led a solitary life; but seeing the land that it was good, he put his

hands to the work, and founded and endowed three churches there. Thence he retired into Caithness, still preaching Christianity and converting the people, not more by his eloquence than by the lustre of his virtues. From Caithness he sailed to the shores of Buchan, to a place known to the vulgar as Lungley, where he built a church that still bears his name. Last of all, he came to Glamis, in Angus, where he chose his place of rest. There he died and was buried; but his relics, after many years, were translated to the Abbey of Scone, where they did many famous miracles.—*Brev.* fol. clxiv. Certain other of his relics were preserved in the treasury of the cathedral church of Aberdeen.—*Regist. Aberdon.* II. 143, etc. The ultimate deposit of the bones of the saint of Caithness in the church of Scone marks their early connexion. It is remarkable, that the great house of Le Chene, so much connected with Caithness, was proprietor of the parish in Buchan, which derived its name of St. Fergus from the Caithness saint.

¹ *Regist. Dunferm.* 23.

him and his wife, and for the souls of his predecessors.¹ In the reign of Alexander II., when the king's writ was of some potency, the Abbot of Scone obtained a royal precept to the sheriffs and bailies of Moray and Caithness, for the protection and defence of the ship belonging to the convent, while on her voyage within their jurisdictions. These transactions prepare us for finding the Abbey, at a somewhat later period, the proprietor of the church of Kildonan, with the lands of Borubol, which were the subject of a curious bargain in 1332.²

The first of the bishops of the northern diocese, of whom we have any knowledge, was Andrew. He cannot have resided much in his bishopric, and indeed appears to have been in almost constant attendance on the court of King David I., and his grandsons, Malcolm and William. He was present, however, at one memorable transaction, the beginning of great calamities to his diocese. In the time of Pope Alexander III., Earl Harald, for the redemption of his sins, granted to the Roman see a penny yearly from each inhabited house in the earldom of Caithness;³ and that grant was attested by Bishop Andrew, and other nobles of the land. Bishop Andrew was once a monk of Dunfermline. Deriving probably a scanty revenue from his bishopric, he had a

¹ *Liber de Scon.* 58.

² *Liber de Scon.* 162.

³ *Epist. Innoc. III.* I. No. 218. A similar grant was made to the Monks of Paisley by the Lords of the Isles in the twelfth century—*singulis annis unum denarium ex qualibet domo totius terre sue unde fumus exit.*—*Regist. Passelet*, 125. It was an imitation of the hearth-

tax, called Peter's Pence, or *Romfeoh*, in Saxon England. The same principle of assessment prevailed in the vexatious petty rents that so long oppressed the Orkneys, and some of which are yet known among us, as "kain." It is not yet beyond memory, even on the mainland, that each fire-house of a barony paid its "reek hen"—*unam gallinam de qualibet domo unde fumus exit.*

grant of the land of Hoctor common from David I., and held the church of the Blessed Trinity of Dunkeld ; which was bestowed by Malcolm IV. upon the Abbey of Dunfermline, as soon as it should fall vacant by his death.¹ He was undoubtedly a person of eminent qualities, were we to judge only from his being so constantly attached to the court and person of a monarch like David I., and his grandsons.² He is quoted, as an authority on the geography of his country, by the English author of the little fragment, “*De situ Albanie*,” which has been attributed to Giraldus Cambrensis.³ Andrew was bishop from about the year 1150,⁴ and he held the see till his death, on the 3d of the kalends of January 1185.⁵

The next Bishop of Caithness was John. It appears that at first he declined to exact the Papal contribution ; but the Pope (Innocent III.) summoned him to obedience, and even granted a commission to the Bishops of Orkney and Rosmarky to compel him to levy the tax, by the heavy censures of the church.⁶ Whether the poor bishop complied, or attempted to enforce the exaction of the tax, we are not informed ; but his subsequent fate, as narrated

¹ *Regist. de Dunfermlin.*

² There is much reason to think he was a man of property, and that the Church of Dunkeld was his of inheritance. Bishop Richard of Dunkeld confirmed to Dunfermline “*donationem regis Malcolmi et Andree episcopi Katenensis secundum quod eorum carte testantur, ecclesiam s. trinitatis de Dunkelde et omnes terras juste ad eam pertinentes.*”—*Denmylne Col. of Orig. Ch. No. 81.*

³ “*Sicut mihi verus relator retulit Andreas videlicet vir venerabilis Kata-*

nensis episcopus natione Scottus et Dunfermelis monachus.”—*T. Innes's Critical Essay*, App. I. Innes's reference is now antiquated. The fragment still exists, however, in the Royal Library at Paris.—*MS. Reg. 4126*, fol. 16. A collation by M. Teulet of the *Archives de l'Empire* has furnished very few and unimportant corrections of the text as settled by Innes, and none that affect the sense of this curious piece of antique geography.

⁴ *Regist. Glasg.* 11.

⁵ *Chron. Mailr.*

⁶ *Epistol. Innoc. III.* I. No. 218.

in the wild sagas of the Norsemen, might appear incredible, were it not singularly corroborated by a Roman record. Earl Harald Madadson, who had been deprived of his Caithness possessions by William the Lion, resolved to recover them by force, and crossed from his Orkney kingdom to Thurso, with a great fleet. There was no force capable of resistance. The bishop, who was residing in his palace of Skrabister, went out to meet him, as the intercessor for the poor Caithness men; but the savage Earl took him and cut out his tongue, and dug out his eyes with a knife.¹ The saga goes on to tell us, that Bishop Ion recovered the use of his tongue and his eyes, by the miraculous intervention of a native saint, written Tröllhæna.

The latter part of the story is not vouched by any good authority; but some part of the barbarity of the Earl, and the bishop's sufferings, is confirmed by the following letter of Pope Innocent, ascribed to the year 1202, addressed to the Bishop of the Orkneys:—"We have learnt by your letters that Lomberd, a layman, the bearer of these presents, accompanied his Earl on an expedition into Caithness; that there the Earl's army stormed a castle, killed almost all who were in it, and took prisoner the Bishop of Caithness; and that this Lomberd (as he says) was compelled, by some of the Earl's soldiery, to cut out the bishop's tongue. Now, because the sin is great and grievous, in absolving him according to the form of the church, we have prescribed this penance for satisfaction of his offence, and to the

¹ *Orkn. Saga*, 414.

terror of others—That he shall hasten home, and, bare-footed, and naked except breeches and a short woollen vest without sleeves—having his tongue tied by a string, and drawn out so as to project beyond his lips, and the ends of the string bound round his neck—with rods in his hand, in sight of all men, walk for fifteen days successively through his own native district, the district of the mutilated bishop, and the neighbouring country; he shall go to the door of the church without entering, and there, prostrate on the earth, undergo discipline with the rods he is to carry; he is thus to spend each day in silence and fasting until evening, when he shall support nature with bread and water only; after these fifteen days are passed, he shall prepare within a month to set out for Jerusalem, and there labour in the service of the Cross for three years; he shall never more bear arms against Christians; for two years he shall fast every Friday on bread and water, unless, by the indulgence of some discreet bishop, or on account of bodily infirmity, this abstinence be mitigated. Do you then receive him returning in this manner, and see that he observe the penance enjoined him.”¹

William the Lion did not fail to exact the penalty of such an outrage. In 1197, he collected a mighty army, crossed the Oikel, and, perhaps for the first time, entirely subdued and intimidated the provinces of Northern Caithness and of Sutherland. As usual, the blow fell upon the people. The guilty chief made terms, and left

¹ *Epist. Innoc. III. III. No. 77.*

his Caithness subjects to pay the enormous fine of a fourth of their whole possessions.¹

In the midst of such fierce manners, civilisation held the same course here as in the southern districts of Scotland. The Church had taken the lead—laying her hand heavily indeed upon the poor victims, but through all obstacles vindicating the supremacy of the spiritual power. Following as her ally, the sovereign used the policy of his grandfather, and introduced into his new province settlers of a different race. The chief of these were the family which soon began to be known by the surname of *De Moravia*, transplanted from the opposite shore of the Moray Firth. The first whom we find beyond the Firth, Hugh Freskyn, must have been possessed of a wide territory, if not the whole of Sutherland, in the reign of William, when he bestowed extensive estates there on his kinsman, Gilbert, then Archdeacon of the diocese of Moray, under the condition, that they should be destined by the churchman to some of his own lineage. William, the son of Hugh Freskyn, was styled “Lord of Sutherland;” and it was probably for him that Alexander II. erected the earldom out of this “Southern land” of old Caithness. His son, undoubtedly, was Earl of Sutherland, from whom the land and territorial honour have descended in an unbroken line to the present day.

It was, perhaps, some time before the province was reduced sufficiently to bear the experiment of another tithe-gathering bishop. At least, we hear of none intermediate between John (who is supposed to have died of

¹ *Orkn. Saga*, 416; Fordun; Hailes.

the effects of his mutilation) and Adam, who was elected Bishop of Caithness on the nones of August 1213, and consecrated by the Bishop of St. Andrews on the day of St. Mamertus, the 11th of May 1214.¹

He had been previously Abbot of Melrose. The Orkney Saga tells us, that no one knew the family of Bishop Adam, for he was a foundling exposed at a church door.² King William, however, imitating his grandsire, in zeal for the church, and labouring to enforce the payment of tithes in the remotest and most barbarous districts,³ found the Abbot of Melrose a fit person for his purpose, and placed him over the northern diocese. It was the established usage of Caithness, that for every score of cows a *span* of butter should be paid to the bishop. Bishop Adam was not contented with this proportion, and at first exacted the same quantity from fifteen cows; then from twelve; and at length demanded a *span* for every ten cows.⁴ Here the en-

¹ *Chron. Mailr.*

² In opposition to this statement, one authority makes Bishop Adam the son of King Alexander II., by his second wife, Queen Mary—a very glaring anachronism; but the note, if worth attention at all, may point either to another king or another bishop.—*Erroll MS.*, quoting “An anonymous ms. History of Scotland, writ under James V., a copy of which is now in the King’s College, Aberdeen.”

³ As in the wilds of the diocese of Moray.—*Regist. Morav.* Nos. 1, 5; in Carrick and Lennox—*Regist. Glasg.*

⁴ It must be observed, that this is given differently by our Scotch chroniclers. Wyntoun tells the story :—

“ Adam the byschape of Catenes
That abbot of Melros before wes,
For he denyid hys tendis then
For til set til hys awyne men ;
Thre hundyre men in cumpany
Gaddryt come on hym suddanly,
Tuk hym owt quhare that he lay
Of his chawmyre befor day,
Modyr nakyd hys body bare ;
Thai band hym, dang hym and
woundyt sare
In-to the nycht, or day couth dawe.
The monk thai slwe thare, his falawe,
And the child that in hys chawmyr lay,
Thare thai slwe hym before day.
Hymself bwndyn and wowndyt syne,
Thai pwt hym in his awyn kychyne ;
In thair felny and thare ire
Thare thai brynt hym in a fyre.”—

duration of the people ceased. They assembled in a threatening manner on a hill near the bishop's manor of Haukirk, in Thorsdale. The Lögmadhr, or lawman, besought the bishop to yield, and to spare his oppressed people, but Bishop Adam was not to be moved. The Earl refused to interfere for reconciling the difference. The populace rushed to the house, in a loft of which the bishop and his party were *drinking* (says the Saga). A monk, his prime adviser, Serlo of Newbottle, went to meet them at the door. Him they fell upon, and threw back his dead body into the loft. The chronicler of the bishop's old monastery of Melrose maintains that Adam coveted martyrdom, and preferred death to abandoning the rights of the church, or to allowing the flock intrusted to him to remain longer in error. The Skald of the north tells us, that, after his councillor's death, he entreated Rafn, the lawman, to endeavour to make terms; and the wiser part of the people met him joyfully. But it was too late. As the bishop came out to confer with them, the violent part of the crowd became infuriated, seized him, thrust him into a hut, some say his own kitchen, and set fire to it; and thus miserably perished Bishop Adam, on Sunday, the octaves of the Nativity of the Virgin, 1222.

At these tidings, says the saga, King Alexander of Scotland was so wroth, that men still remember the dreadful vengeance he took on Caithness for the burning of the bishop; harrying the land, slaying or expelling the inhabitants.¹

¹ *Orkn. Saga*, 424; *Chron. Mailr.*; *Extr. e Var. Chron.*; Fordun, &c.

After all these deeds of violence, it became necessary to set a new bishop in the see of Caithness; and while it must have been difficult to find a fit person for the office, the fate of the former bishops had not been such as to render churchmen in general ambitious of it. The person chosen was Gilbert, the Archdeacon of Moray—a member of the great family of De Moravia, and himself already possessed of great estates in Sutherland, by the gift of his kinsman Hugh Freskyn. Gilbert was son of the Lord of Duffus, one of the chief castles of the family of De Moravia before they left their native province;¹ and although his father's name is nowhere precisely given, it may be asserted, without much doubt, that he was the son of William de Moravia, Lord of Strabrok and Duffus, and thus cousin-german of William Lord of Sutherland. The policy of selecting a man so connected, if otherwise eligible, for a bishopric in the difficult circumstances of Caithness, is sufficiently obvious; and Bishop Gilbert appears to have turned to account for the diocese all the means which his position and connexion put in his power. He wielded not only the influence of his family and his own possessions, but the power of the Crown. He administered the affairs of government in the north, and superintended the building and fortifying of several royal castles for the security of the country.² He exercised his influence with Alexander to mitigate the severity of the punishment of the Caithness people

¹ “*Iste Gilbertus erat filius domini de Duffus*”—marginal note on the ancient chartulary of Moray.

² Sir R. Gordon, the historian of the

Earldom of Sutherland, mentions a tradition, that he was the builder of the Castle of Kildrummy, in Mar—the noblest of northern castles.

for the burning of their bishop, his predecessor. He built the cathedral church of his see at Dornoch at his own expense, and its endowments were evidently of his gift, or procured by his means.

In the charter-room at Dunrobin is his charter of constitution of his newly built or projected cathedral. It is not dated, and its era can only be limited by the period of Bishop Gilbert's episcopate, extending from 1223 to 1245. About the same time many Chapters were engaged in defining and authenticating their cathedral constitutions ; and we have recorded acts of this kind, of Aberdeen, and of the great Cathedral of Glasgow, whose Chapter sent to Salisbury for the model of its constitution. But the diocese of Moray was the one to which the Bishop of Caithness would naturally look for his example, as his native diocese, in whose Chapter he had held a dignified office, and where the present bishop, Andrew de Moravia, was of his own kindred.

As Salisbury had furnished the model adopted by the Chapter of Glasgow, so the Chapter of Moray took Lincoln for its guide and rule ; and, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, Bishop Bricius of Moray had despatched the Dean Freskyn and Andrew de Moravia, the Chancellor of his diocese (destined to be his successor), to learn accurately the customs and privileges, the constitution and order observed in the Cathedral of Lincoln. In framing his constitution for his northern diocese, again, Bishop Gilbert followed that of Moray in all particulars but one. There were the same number of canons, the same dignitaries in each ; but in Moray, as

in others of the Scotch cathedrals, the bishop sat in the Chapter as a simple canon, without pre-eminence of rank or authority. In Caithness, the bishop, legislating for himself, and dealing with endowments of his own granting, determined it otherwise.

Our record bears that, in the times preceding the episcopate of Bishop Gilbert, such was the poverty of the place, and so much had it suffered by continual wars, that in the cathedral church there was but a single priest celebrating service. The bishop, desirous to set forth more worthily the Divine worship, determined to rebuild the cathedral at his own charges, and to erect it into a conventual church, with such endowment as his narrow means admitted.

The Chapter of the Cathedral of Caithness was declared to consist of ten members, the Bishop being the chief and pre-eminent, and receiving the fruits of six parish churches (unluckily not named) for his use. Of the other five dignitaries, the Dean had for his prebend the church of Clun (*Clyne*), the great tithes of the city of Dornoch and of the town of Ethenboll (*Embo*), with a fourth of the altarage of Dornoch and the whole land of Nethandurnach. The Precentor had the church of Creich, the parsonage tithes of Pronci, Auelech (*Evelix*), Strathormeli (*Strachormlary* or *Achormlary*, in *Dornoch parish*), Askesdale (*Ausedale*), and Rutheverthar (*Rhiarchar*), the fourth of the altarage of Dornoch, with the whole land of Huctherhinche at Dornoch. The prebend of the Chancellor was the church of Rothegorth (*Rogart*), the parsonage tithes of the twelve dauachs of

Scelleboll (*Skelbo*), and another fourth of the altarage of Dornoch. The Treasurer's consisted of the church of Larg (*Lairg*), the rectorial tithes of Scitheboll (*Skibo*) and Sywardhoch (*Sydera or Cyderhall*) (except those of Strathormeli), and the remaining fourth of the altarage of Dornoch. The Archdeacon had for his prebend the churches of Bauer and of Watne (*Bower and Watten*). Of the undignified canons, the first had the church of Olrich for his prebend; the second the church of Donot (*Dunnet*); and the last the church of Cananesbi (*Canisbay*). The churches of Far and Scynend (*Skinnet*), the lands of Pethgrudie (*Pitgudie in Dornoch*), two Herkenhyis, and the common pasturage of Dornoch, were common to the prebendaries, and assigned in an artificial manner, in the view of securing cathedral residence. The canons had each a toft and a croft in the city of Dornoch. The dean was obliged to residence for half the year; the other canons to three months yearly of residence. The bishop and dignitaries were bound to provide *priests* as their cathedral vicars or stallers; of whom the bishop's vicar alone had a provision from the cathedral—the rectorial tithes of Thoreboll (*Torboll*) and of Kynald, and twenty acres of land at Dornoch, with a toft and croft there. The simple canons were allowed to find vicars in *deacons'* orders. The church of Dyrnes (*Durness*) was bestowed upon the cathedral, to find light and incense. A singular part of the constitution of the Chapter was, that the Abbot of Scone was of right a canon of the cathedral, although not bound to give residence. His prebend was the church of Keldu-

ninach (*Kildonan*), the property of the monastery of Scone.¹

It is not merely the love I bear to a beautiful old charter—though that is something—nor the interest that gathers round the good Bishop Gilbert, nor the taste I confess for a bit of Christian antiquity of any sort—not to speak of such a perfect specimen of early diocesan constitution—that leads me to copy these details with such minuteness. There is something, I find, infinitely attractive in this first *record* of civilisation, forcing its way through the black barbarism of the North; to see Bishop Gilbert's cathedral rising, but a few years after the savage murder of his predecessor; to find churches and parishes now established on the rocks of Cape Wrath and the desert of Reay, and all through the former dominions of the fierce old Jarls, looking to the little cathedral city as their mother and guide. Even the requirement of cathedral residence—depriving those remote parishes for a time of their ministering teachers—had some compensation when the rustic priest was the only organ of communication with the outer world, and brought back yearly to his wild home some rumours of the events and speculations that were agitating Christendom.

As regards the little city and its cathedral society, it is difficult for a Scotchman now to call up to his ima-

¹ The places in the charter are for the most part easily identified. Helgedall is now Halladale. Ra is the parish of Reay, partly in Sutherland, partly in Caithness. Herkhenyis is not known. Scynend is the church of St. Thomas of Skinnet. Sytheraw now figures as Cyder hall, a place near Dornoch. It

will be observed, that besides receiving the seals of the Bishop and his Chapter, both of which are now gone, the deed has been prepared for their subscription of their names, which was much more unusual. Neither the Bishop nor the Canons, however, have actually subscribed.

gination the cathedral towns of old Scotland, even of a much later period than we are glancing at. The effect of such a society of dignified churchmen, holding a high position for influence and example, cultivating letters, preaching peace, and (for the most part) practising it, must have been great and beneficial in any rural district, and at any time; but a glance at the past history of Caithness enables us to appreciate better the benefits conferred upon Dornoch by the establishment of its bishop, its cathedral, and its chapter.

There are a good many mistakes in the common lives of Bishop Gilbert de Moravia.¹ It does not appear that he ever held the office of High Chamberlain of Scotland, though he probably administered the Crown property in the north. The story of his having distinguished himself at the Council of Northampton in 1176, and thereby winning a rapid promotion to his bishopric, when his election to the see of Caithness happened forty-seven years after that Council, needs no refutation. He had better titles to respect. He had a large share in civilizing his rude province. He interposed between the vengeance of the king and the ignorant multitude. He made himself popular and beloved where his predecessors had been murdered; and, for whatever other miracles he was canonized, for these benefits he deserved to live in the affectionate memory of his people as "Saint Gilbert." His festival was celebrated on the first day of April; and Saint Gilbert was among the Scotch saints restored to the kalendar of the Scotch church

¹ Spottiswood, Keith, etc.

in the ill-starred Service Book of King Charles the First.¹

Our last sketch for illustrating the old cathedral life of Scotland, shall be taken from the annals of the bishopric of Aberdeen, though its saintly bishops—Elphinstone and Forbes—came too late for canonizing.

An ancient biography of Saint Columba informs us, that one of his Irish disciples, named Machar, received episcopal ordination, and undertook to preach the gospel in the northern parts of the Pictish kingdom. The legend adds, that Columba admonished him to found his church, when he should arrive upon the bank of a river, where it formed, by its windings, the figure of a bishop's crosier. Obeying the injunctions of his master, Machar advanced northwards, preaching Christianity, until he found, at

¹ It would appear that the relics of St. Gilbert were had in reverence till a recent period. On the 23d day of April 1545, in presence of John Earl of Sutherland; of Thomas Murray, Precentor, and Thomas Stewart, Treasurer of the Cathedral church of Caithness; of Duncan Chalmer, Chancellor of the Cathedral church of Ross, and Paul Freser, pensioner of the Deanery of that church—in the chapter-house of the said Cathedral church of Caithness, appeared John Gray of Kilmaly, and made oath, *touching the relics of the blessed Saint Gilbert*, that he was altogether innocent of the coming of the servants and accomplices of Donald M'Ky of Far, within the bounds of the Earldom of Sutherland, and of the slaughter, depredation, and spolzie of goods there by them committed, and that he was not aiding or counselling of them therein. Then, John Matheson, Chancellor of Caithness, and the said John Gray, gave their

great oath, *touching the relics of the most blessed Saint Gilbert*, to be faithful to the said Earl of Sutherland. And thereafter, Murquhard Murray in Pronsi, and Walter Murray in Auchflo, made oath—*tactis sacrosanctis beatissimi Gilberti reliquiis*—that, in riding with their complices in the month of October last, to the harbour of Unis, they nowise intended the hurt of an honourable man, Hugh Kennedy of Girvane Mains.—*Protocol Book of Mr. David Seaton, 1534-1577, among the Records of the City of Aberdeen.* For the events, see Sir R. Gordon's History, p. 111.

Sir Robert Gordon, far more accurate than the common herd of genealogical writers, refers to the WILL of Bishop Gilbert de Moravia as still extant in the Registers of the See of Caithness in his time, or about 1636. If that document chance to have escaped destruction, it would be of singular interest to the law antiquary.

the mouth of the Don, the situation indicated by Saint Columba, and finally settled there his Christian colony, and founded the church which, from its situation, was called the Church of Aberdon.¹ The life of the apostle of the Scots from which we derive this information, of much higher antiquity than any history of civil affairs in Scotland, does not fix the precise era of Saint Machar's foundation; but it may be conjectured to have been before the death of his master, which took place in the year 597. The venerable Breviary of Aberdeen gives, as the ancient tradition of the church, that the founder of the future cathedral was not interred there; but, having died in France on his return from a journey to Rome, he was buried in the church of Saint Martin of Tours.

Another adventurous band of missionaries of the same stock pushed still farther into the pagan fastnesses of the north, and established their little Christian family in the sequestered valley of the Fiddich, at Morthlach.² Their colony must have thriven in the benevolence of the people, since, in the beginning of the twelfth century, the "Monastery of Morthlach" was possessed of five churches with their territories.

It was the fate of the ancient Columbite foundations in Scotland to disappear under the reforming vehemence of David I., the most zealous of Romanists; who raised on the ruins of many a primeval monastery, his grand

¹ *Ubi flumen, præsulis instar baculi, intrat mare*; Colgan Trias Thau.—*Breviar. Aberdon.* 12 Nov. The lives of Saint Columba, written by his immediate followers and contemporaries, are, per-

haps, the most ancient genuine materials of Scotch history.—*Act. Sanct. Jun.* 9, p. 184.

² *Bull of Adrian IV.* confirming previous donations.—*Regist. Aberd.* p. 5.

establishments of Augustinian canons or Benedictines, or converted their convents into the chapters of his new episcopal dioceses. In this manner, the bishopric of Aberdeen was founded by David, and endowed with several of the old Columbite possessions, among others, with the "Monastery of Morthlach," and its five churches.

The most distinguished of the Bishops of Aberdeen was William Elphinstone, who was promoted to the see in 1483, and held it till his death in 1514. In an age of general immorality which peculiarly disgraced the church, himself the offspring of an illegal connexion of an ecclesiastic, his morals were a pattern and a reproach to his country and his order.

His life has been written by Boece, a contemporary,¹ whose manner it is to discard dates; and his character drawn without much rhetorical embellishment by Leslie and by Spottiswood. We know him in the history of the time as the zealous churchman, the learned lawyer, the wise statesman; one who never sacrificed his diocesan duties to mere secular cares, but knew how to make his political eminence serve the interests of his church; who, with manners and temperance in his own person, befitting the primitive ages of Christianity, threw around his cathedral and palace, the taste and splendour that may adorn religion; who found time amidst the cares of state, and the pressure of daily duties, to preserve the Christian antiquities of his diocese, and collect the memories of those old servants of the truth who had

¹ Vidimus hominem, quem vidisse, singularem ab praestantiam, et nobis gaudemus, et Deo optimo maximo non

vulgares habemus agimusque, et habebimus atque agemus dum vivemus, gratias.—*Boec. Episc. Aberd.*

run a course similar to his own ; to renovate his cathedral service, and to support and foster all good letters ; while his economy of a slender revenue rendered it sufficient for the erection and support of sumptuous buildings, and the endowment of a famous University.

The last of the ante-Reformation Bishops of Aberdeen, Bishop William Gordon, died on the 6th August 1577. Spottiswood's character of him is short and plain. " This man, brought up in letters at Aberdeen, followed his studies a long time in Paris, and returning thence, was first parson of Clat, and afterwards promoted to this See. Some hopes he gave at first of a virtuous man, but afterwards turned a very epicure, spending all his time in drinking and whoring ; he dilapidated the whole rents by feuing the lands, and converting the victual-duties in money, a great part whereof he wasted upon his base children, and the whores, their mothers ; a man not worthy to be placed in this catalogue."¹

" In his time," says Father Hay, " the glorious structure of the cathedral, which had been near nine score of years in building, was defaced by a crew of sacrilegious church robbers ; for in 1560 the barons of Mernes, accompanied with some of the townsmen of Aberdeen, having demolished the Monasteries of the Black and Gray Friars, fell to rob the Cathedral, which they spoiled of all its costly ornaments and jewels, and demolished the chan-

¹ It has not been thought necessary to notice a surmise of Father Hay and Bishop Russell, that there may have been two bishops in succession of the name of William Gordon. The change of conduct, even if that were proved, is

but a slender foundation to build upon. It is impossible that any appointment of a bishop should have taken place about 1567, the time fixed upon, without some record of it being preserved.

cell; they shipped the lead, bells, and other utensils, intending to expose them to sale in Holland; but all this ill-gotten wealth sunk by the just judgment of God, not far from the Girdleness. The body of the Cathedral was preserved from utter ruin by the Earl of Huntly, and, in 1607, repaired and covered with slate at the charge of the parish, and so continues yet in pretty good order."

The records of an ancient bishopric naturally arrange themselves in two classes, the first comprising charters, titles, rentals, and all documents touching property,—the other consisting of statutes of councils, church ordinances, and matters bearing on the discipline and government of the Church and diocese.

The first section is calculated to be oftenest referred to, and perhaps most practically useful. No one living within the bounds of the diocese can look into it without finding something to interest him—something throwing light on his family, his property, or his parish—showing the ancient state and occupation of his own residence, or of conterminous property. It may require somewhat more reflection to appreciate the body of Church muniments which form the materials of the second section. But, rightly considered, the interest of mere local history is secondary to that of the Christian antiquities of our country. If it be possible to trace the introduction of Christianity in its first simplicity, the weak beginning of the Church when struggling for existence, its progressive acquisition of security, wealth, and power, it cannot be unprofitable to examine dispassionately the causes of its

success, by what means it controlled the minds of men not easily led, and influenced their laws, banished all dissent even in thought, and brought it about that men gave to the Church in the full confidence that they were giving to God.

In that inquiry—in examining the foundations of that mighty power, wielded often for good, sometimes for evil—it may be allowed to lay aside for the time questions of doctrine. We may be permitted to view the ancient Church as an artist with a task proposed; to examine the materials in her power, and the skill with which she used them. We shall then find much to admire, something perhaps to imitate. We are astonished at her adaptation of herself to all circumstances, and patient bending of all things to her purpose. However politicians dispute, we cannot regard without sympathy her care of the poor, and the ceaseless charity which she inculcated for the benefit of the giver as well as of the receiver. Not less worthy of our attention is her avowed and consistent principle of inspiring piety by an appeal to the imagination and the heart. Subservient to that end was the munificence directed—*ad ampliandum cultum divinum—ad decorem domus Dei*—to make more glorious the service and the fabric of the Church, not as a mere place of popular instruction, or a convenient meeting-house for devotion, but regarded by the old Catholic, as by the Jews of old, as the temple and very shrine of a present Deity, where innumerable altars were offering up the ever renewed sacrifice of propitiation. The effect of such means for the object proposed

—to produce strong faith, unhesitating obedience ; the success of the great plan of the ancient Church, and its whole influence on society—are subjects of reflection not to be slighted by the most philosophical, nor rejected by those most opposed to the Roman Catholic doctrines, with the same ends in view. As some part of the materials for such an investigation, these collections of church usages, the relics of a once splendid hierarchy, may be held not unworthy of some study ; and it is not too much to say, that their study, if entered upon without prejudice, would fill an instructive chapter of Scotch history.

THE MONASTERY.

Next come the monasteries—not those old families of missionaries, the very beginning of Christianity among us—not Iona, nor Deir, nor Mortlich ; not Abernethy, nor *Old Melrose*, nor old pre-episcopal Brechin, nor the Culdees of St. Serf and Monymusk—none of those primeval monasteries, of whom all we know is, that they did their work in bringing the whole land from Paganism to Christianity. Of their manner of life and teaching, and the means of their support, we know little or nothing ; of their discipline and subordination, scarcely enough to found a useless controversy. It is with the monasteries of a later time that we have to do—those foundations of regular religious which mark the brilliant revival of devout feeling that accompanied or just preceded the singular social revolution which took place in Scotland