

A HISTORY
OF
THE BURGH SCHOOLS OF SCOTLAND.

PART I.

SCHOOLS BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

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§ 1. THE materials available for writing the early history of the Schools of Scotland are scanty, and great caution is necessary lest conclusions should be accepted which better information might modify, alter, or reverse. From several of the sources

of information which are open it has been possible to obtain a little help in this investigation ; but after all, there remains only a small harvest to reward the inquirer.

§ 2. Although we cannot say precisely when the history of education begins in Scotland, yet there is a historic period which, roughly speaking, may be taken as a commencement—the settlement of Columba in Iona. Iona may be regarded as the foundation on which the fabric of Scottish learning and education has been built. The celebration of the service of the church required a certain degree of education, which the neophytes could only acquire within the walls of the monastery. Each of the Northumbrian monasteries had, we know, a school attached to it for educating the clerics, who required to be instructed, to some extent at least, in Latin—the language used in the worship of the church. A special training would be necessary for copying the Scriptures and any other works which the little library contained ; and we may imagine that every effort would be made to increase the number of books.¹ From the necessity of the case we may therefore assume that in ancient times every monastic or religious house had in some shape or other a school attached to it.

§ 3. Accordingly our earliest records prove not only that schools existed, but that they were then invariably found in connection with the church, which was at once the great agent of progress and civilisation, and the repository of learning in the Middle Ages. Thus in a document dated about A.D. 1100, Edelrade, a man of venerable memory (son of Malcolm III.), Abbot of Dunkeld and Earl of Fife, grants to Almighty God, to St Serf, and to the Culdees of the island of Lochleven,² Admore with its

¹ For an account of the apocryphal library at Iona, see Jamieson's *History of the Culdees*, p. 302.

² The Culdees had a famous abbey on Lochleven, which kept alive for centuries religion and learning. Shortly after the period here referred to, they were expelled from the island of St Serf by one of the witnesses to their gift—David I., who planted in their place a new order of churchmen. Their library, when they were evicted from the abbey, consisted of the following books—four for the services of the church, the

freedom—'ejus libertate'—without exaction of any one in the world, bishop, king, or earl. The gift is confirmed by his two brothers, Alexander and David—afterwards Alexander I., and David I.—in the presence of many faithful men—'in presentia multorum fidedignorum'—amongst whom were Constance Earl of Fife, Ness and Cormac, sons of Macbeth, Malnethete son of Beollan, priests of Abernethy—'sacerdotes de Abernethyn'—Mollebride, another priest, Thuadhel, Augustine priest of the Culdees—'sacerdos keledeorum'—and Berbeadh, rector of the schools of Abernethy—'rector scholarum de Abyrnethyn.'¹ Abernethy was the see of a bishopric—a famous seat of learning in that age, and has still the ruins of an abbey.² This early reference to schools is valuable as tending to show that there were once schools—famous schools—in places whose history, and even whose names, we have almost forgotten.

The schools in connection with the church of St Andrews were of note so early as A.D. 1120, when their disciples or scolocs, as they were called, are mentioned as welcoming the friend and biographer of St Anselm to the chair of the bishop of the Scots—'post hæc ad ecclesiam Sancti Andreae venit, et occurrente ei regina, susceptus a scolasticis et plebe pontificis loco successit.'³ Other early illustrations of the existence of schools side by side with the church occur in a series of gifts originating with David I., to whom

Gospel after the text of St Prosper, the Acts of the Apostles, three books of Solomon, Commentaries on Genesis and on the Song of Solomon, the Works of Origen, the 'Sentences' of St Bernard, another collection of 'Sentences,' 'Interpretationes dictionum,' treatise of the Sacraments, 'pars bibliothecæ,' and treatise on Exceptions from Ecclesiastical Rules: Registrum Prioratus S. Andreae, preface xvi. 43.

¹ Registrum Prioratus S. Andreae, p. 116.

² E. W. Robertson's Scotland under her Early Kings, p. 233. This record of the Culdees is very interesting apart from its bearing on the present inquiry. The polity of Scotland remained as yet Celtic, though it very soon afterwards became feudal, and it will be observed that the witnesses' names are Celtic.

³ Statuta Ecclesiæ Scotticæ.

Scotland owes so much of her civilisation. After transferring the abbey founded by him at Selkirk to Kelso, the king grants to the abbot and convent all the churches and schools of Roxburgh, with all their pertinents.¹ About A.D. 1180, Bishop Joceline of Glasgow confirmed to the church of St Mary of Kelso this gift of the churches and schools of Roxburgh, in the burgh of the king, free and quit of all custom; and between A.D. 1195 and 1199, King William further confirmed the same gift of the churches and schools of the burgh of Roxburgh, free of all custom.² Still further, in A.D. 1232, Walter bishop of Glasgow ratified to Kelso the same churches and schools of Roxburgh, free and quit from all custom, synodal rent, aids, lodgings and conreds, 'according to the confirmation of Herbert and Joceline, of good memory, bishops of Glasgow.'³ Pope Innocent IV. subsequently confirmed to Kelso the churches and schools of Roxburgh, free from all synodal rent and conreds—'sinodi redditu et conrediis,' as Herbert late bishop of Glasgow granted and confirmed to the abbot and convent by his writings. In A.D. 1241, on the morrow of Matthew the apostle and evangelist, the abbot and convent of Kelso granted to William son of Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, the privilege of divine service in his chapel, within the court of Malkarneston, but without prejudice to the mother church. Among the witnesses of this grant is the name of Master Thomas, rector of the schools of Roxburgh.⁴

Similar to the foregoing entries relative to schools in connection with churches, are others referring to various other places. About A.D. 1160, Ernald bishop of St Andrews confirmed to the church of the Holy Trinity of Dunfermline, the churches of Perth and Stirling, with their schools and chapels, and all other things pertaining to them.⁵ Richard, the next bishop of St Andrews (A.D. 1163-1173),

¹ Liber S. Marie de Calchou, No. 2, p. 5.

² Liber S. Marie de Calchou, No. 460, p. 350.

³ Ibid., Nos. 279, 433, pp. 229, 332.

⁴ Ibid., No. 239, p. 194.

⁵ Registrum de Dunfermlyn, No. 93, p. 56.

confirmed to the abbey the same gift, with all the schools which belong to the churches of Perth and Stirling, freely and quietly, in perpetual alms, without any challenge or exaction.¹ William bishop of St Andrews in turn confirms to Dunfermline the church and school of Perth and the church and school of Stirling²—a confirmation ratified by the chapter of St Andrews.³

Pope Lucius confirms in A.D. 1183 to the abbot and canons of Dryburgh all their possessions, and forbids any one to interfere with the masters in their parish of Lanark in regulating the studies of the scholars provided they did not make unjust exactions—‘*nec magistris in parochia vestra de Lanark scolarum studia sine prava exactione regere volentibus temere quisquam audeat inhiere.*’⁴ Four years later, Pope Gregory VIII. granted to the prior of St Andrews, and to his brethren professing the life of the regular clergy, the church of Linlithgow, with its lands and houses within and without the burgh, with the chapels, tithes, and school of the same place—‘*scola ejusdem loci.*’⁵ This grant was confirmed by Clement III. in the same year;⁶ by Innocent III. in A.D. 1206;⁷ by Honorius III. in A.D. 1216;⁸ by Innocent IV. in A.D. 1246 and 1248.⁹ An ordinance of Richard bishop of Aberdeen, regarding the vicarage of Buthelny, dated A.D. 1262, is witnessed, among others, by Master Thomas of Bennam, rector of the schools of Aberdeen.¹⁰

§ 4. We have thus, over a series of years, references to the existence of schools in connection with churches; and the fact of schools being not uncommon in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as witnessed by those casual notices, receives additional confirmation from Reginald of Durham, who wrote in the twelfth century. He tells us that in a

¹ Registrum de Dunfermlyn, Nos. 94, 96, pp. 57, 58, 418.

² Ibid., No. 110, p. 66.

³ Ibid., No. 110, p. 66.

⁴ Liber de Dryburgh, No. 194, p. 249.

⁵ Registrum Prioratus S. Andree, p. 63.

⁶ Ibid., p. 68.

⁷ Ibid., p. 72.

⁸ Ibid., p. 77.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 92, 99.

¹⁰ Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc, No. 254, p. 193.

church on the Tweed founded in honour of St Cuthbert, in which a school was kept for the benefit of the neighbourhood, a lad called Haldane, aware that punishment awaited him for his idleness, threw the key of the church into a deep pool in the river called Paddwell, hoping by this means to escape punishment, and be no more distressed with the slavery of learning—'discendi servitute.' This incident happened previous to the time of Reginald, but what is important for our purpose is, that in speaking of the school kept in the church of Norham, he says it is a practice which now is common enough—'more nunc solito.'¹

It frequently happens that we learn for the first time of the existence of a school by accidentally lighting on its name in an old feudal writ; thus among the archives of the University of Glasgow there is an instrument of the infertment of the tenement called the 'auld petagoge,' made to the venerable man, the late Master Gilbert Rerik, formerly archdeacon of Glasgow, by the vicars of the choir, dated 8th February 1475.² So far back as 1481, there was a school in Dumfries, for we find Master John Turnbull, rector of the school of Drumfreis—probably the germ of the present Dumfries Academy, a witness to a seisin of Robert Lord Maxwell, in a tenement in the town.³ We know that there was a school in Brechin in 1485, as in that year, Alexander Hog, rector of the school of Brechin, is witness to an instrument of resignation by Robert Williamson.⁴

On the 17th of November 1498, the provost, bailies, and council of Edinburgh had ordained that all schools 'scail' and none be held, and that the children dwelling to landward remove to their friends at once, and remain there until God provide remedy.⁵ Perhaps but for the occurrence of the plague in this year, we should have been without the evidence

¹ Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus, c. 73, p. 149.

² Origines Parochiales Scotiæ, i., 7.

³ M'Dowall's History of Dumfries, p. 502 (2d ed.).

⁴ Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis, ii., 119.

⁵ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

which this entry seems to afford us, that (in addition to the grammar school and the Canongate school, both of which were under the direction of the abbey), there were in Edinburgh other schools, no doubt English or 'lecture' schools, and 'dame schools,' over which neither the church nor the burgh claimed any jurisdiction, or if they possessed it, did not care to put it in force.

§ 5. The officer of the school with whom we are best acquainted in Scotland is the Rector or Master, who is frequently mentioned in the chartularies of the religious houses. In the Register of the priory of St Andrews there is preserved a record of an important case bearing on the early history and different officers of the schools. This record is headed, 'Conventio inter nos et scolares de Sancto Andrea,'¹ and refers to a dispute which had arisen between A.D. 1211 and 1216, in which the parties were Simon prior of St Andrews, on the one part, and Master Patrick, master of the schools of the city of St Andrews, and the poor scholars of the same city, on the other part. The matter in dispute originated in connection with certain measures of barley claimed by Master Patrick and the poor scholars from the land of Neuechi, and with the 'cane' which was wont to be paid from the lands assigned to the prior and convent, in amicable settlement of the strife between them and Master Laurence, archdeacon of St Andrews. Pope Innocent III. appointed the bishop of Glasgow, the abbot of Melrose, and the archdeacon of Glasgow, to settle the controversy, which was eventually determined, with the assent and goodwill of Master Laurence, who was both archdeacon and ferleyn. The settlement arrived at was that certain lands should remain with the prior and convent freely and quietly for ever, according to the charter of Bishop Richard, of good memory; but that they and their successors should yearly, at the feast of St Martin, pay to Laurence the ferleyn, and his successors in the house of the ferleyn of the city of St Andrews, for the use of the poor scholars, the old cane of the lands which they hold in their hand, amounting

¹ Registrum Prioratus S. Andree, pp. 317, 318.

to forty stones of cheese, seventy measures of barley and a sheep, which shall be levied from the tenants by the servant of the prior, accompanied by one servant of the ferleyn—'uno serviente ferlani,' and be paid to the ferleyn in the manner prescribed. Thus was the agreement made between the parties, and by authority confirmed, so that neither archdeacon, ferleyn, master of the schools, nor poor scholars, should do anything hereafter against the tenor of this agreement. We have here the three grades of the ancient officers of the school, the scoloc, the master, and the ferleyn, 'exhibited together,' says the learned Joseph Robertson, 'in their proper order and relation.'¹

Mr Robertson has collected much learning explanatory of the ferleyn and of the scoloc as scholastic officers. What the chancellor was in the English and Scoto-English churches, the ferleyn, he thinks, was in the Irish and Scoto-Irish churches.² The scoloc he believes to have been the Scottish form of 'scholar,' a churchman of an inferior degree—an ecclesiastic 'clerk.' The first notice of the scolocs in Scottish record occurs in A.D. 1265, when Gameline, bishop of St Andrews, lets his lands of Ellon in Buchan, which the scolocs of Ellon hold—'quam scoloci de Elon tenent,' in lease to Alexander Cumyn, Earl of Buchan. At the end of the lease the earl undertakes to restore the land to the see by its right marches as the scolocs now hold it—'sicut scoloci eam nunc tenent.'³ The next case quoted supports Mr Robertson's theory that scoloc and scholar are, if not the same, in some degree related. At an inquest held in A.D. 1387 regarding the tenure of the church lands of Ellon, called the 'scoloc lands,' the jury reported that for these lands there should be found for the parish church of Ellon four clerks, with copes and surplices, able to read and sing sufficiently; that the quarter or fourth part of Easter Ellon should find a house for the scholars at Ellon; that the quarter or fourth part of Candellan should twice in the year supply twenty-four wax candles

¹ Miscellany of Spalding Club, v., 76.

² Ibid., 56, 57.

³ Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, 311, 312.

for the 'park' before the high altar; and that the quarter or fourth part of Ferley is bound to find a smithy—'fabrinam,' at Ellon.¹ This inquest is also recorded in the register of the Bishopric of Aberdeen, but here the church lands of Ellon called the 'scoloc lands,' are changed into church lands of Ellon called the 'scholar lands.'² Mr Robertson pushed the inquiry concerning the scoloc still further back, and found in the book of the Miracles of St Cuthbert, written in the twelfth century, 'clerici' described as 'scolofthes' in the Pictish language.³

§ 6. The Master or Rector was in ancient times an officer of high dignity: in the oldest record in regard to schools we have found him classed with some of the highest names in the land, including three sons of Malcolm Canmore, as well as dignified churchmen and great lords.⁴ The ancient records show that the Master was not only an officer held in honour, but was frequently employed in settling disputes and acting as judge in causes. For example, Pope Innocent III., in A.D. 1212, addressed a bull to his beloved the archdeacons of Dunkeld and Dunblane and to the master of the schools of Perth—'magistro scholarum de Pert,' appointing them judges for settling a dispute between William clerk of Sanquhar, and the monks of Paisley, as to which of them owned the church of Prestwick. These judges found that the monks of Paisley possessed the church of Prestwick as mother church for forty years and more, and so the three judges

¹ Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, 311, 312.

² *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, i., 177, 178. The inquest held at Ellon is also important as illustrating a process with which every student of church history is familiar. The scoloc lands of Ellon were in the hands of laymen, who became hereditary tenants, supplying substitutes to perform the office for which the lands were set apart. In this way endowments became secularised, so that the persons provided to perform the work were deprived of almost all the benefice.

³ The words are, 'clerici illi, qui in ecclesia illa commorantur, qui Pictorum lingua Scollofthes cognominantur.' *Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus*, c. 85, p. 179.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 3.

decern the right of the church of Prestwick to belong to Paisley, enjoining at the same time silence for the future on the clerk of Sanquhar.¹ In 1233 the abbot of Paisley obtained from the pope a commission to three persons to settle a dispute between his abbey and Dugald, rector of Kilpatrick, with regard to the lands of Monachkeneran on the Clyde, claimed by the monks of Paisley, but which were held by a contumacious layman, Gilbert son of Samuel of Renfrew. The judges chosen by the pope were the deans of Cuningham and Carric, and the master of the schools of Ayr—'magister scolarum de Are.' The deans and the master of the schools, as delegates of our lord the pope, certify to the bishop of Glasgow that they have carefully examined many witnesses, that the suit was rightly tried before them, and that they have adjudged the possession of the disputed lands to the abbot and convent of Paisley, who have proved their contention—'intentionem suam sufficienter probasse.'² In a dispute between the abbot and convent of Kelso and Walter vicar of the church of Robertoun, regarding the teind sheaves of Robertoun, the sub-prior of Coldingham and the rector of the schools of South Berwick—commissioners of the abbot of Dunfermline who had been delegated judge by the pope—find, after the examination of instruments produced by the pursuers, and on the confession of the defenders, that the teind sheaves of Robertoun belong to the abbot and convent of Kelso, as rectors of the church of Robertoun.³

Again, we find the rector of the schools taking an honourable part in the public history of the country. On 26th September 1357 each of the Three Estates of Parliament grants an obligation for the ransom of David II., a prisoner in England. The prelates undertake to pay 100,000 merks of sterlings to the King of England towards the ransom; the barons become liable for an equal sum; and the aldermen,

¹ Registrum Monasterii de Passelet, p. 229.

² Acts of Parliament of Scotland, i., p. 87.

³ Liber S. Marie de Calchou, p. 5.

burghesses, and merchants, in the name of all the burghesses and merchants of the whole kingdom, oblige themselves for payment of a like sum; among the representative burghesses are the names of Nicholas, rector of the school of Cupar,¹ who was probably a layman.

Frequently the Master of the schools performed the duties of an officer of the Crown. Thus on 27th March 1359, there is a notice of the account of Nicholas, master of the schools of Cupar in Fife, as one of the *customars*—‘*unus customariorum*’ of the burgh of Cupar, rendered at Dundee.² Between 18th May 1387 and 12th June 1388, the high chamberlain pays to William of Trauernent, rector of the schools of Haddington, clerk of the *coket* of Haddington and of North Berwick, one penny from every sack of wool weighed in the places foresaid, for himself and his substitute in the office of *coket*, amounting in all to 11s. 4d.³ Between 1392 and 1393, the sum of 26s. 10d. is paid by the chamberlain to Master William of Trauernent, who was wont while he lived to receive by the gift of the king one penny from every sack in augmentation of his fee, the gift now ceasing by his death.⁴ At a time when learning was confined to churchmen, and when even the barons were unable to sign their names, the services of the master of the schools must have been in demand in all matters of process requiring a memorial of the transaction.

The office of master of the grammar school continued long to be held in high repute. In a general assembly of the University of Glasgow held 1521, the master of the grammar school was chosen one of the deputies for electing the rector;⁵ among the *non-regentes* nominated to examine the graduates of that university, we find in 1523 and 1525, Mathew Reid, ‘*magister scolæ grammaticalis*’; in 1549 and 1551, Mr Alexander Crawford, ‘*magister scolæ grammaticalis*’; and in

¹ Acts of Parliament of Scotland, i., 515-518.

² Exchequer Rolls, No. 35.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 98.

⁴ Exchequer Rolls, No. 111.

⁵ *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, ii., 138, 139.

1555, Archibald Crawford, 'preceptor scholæ grammaticalis.'¹ The following extract from the works of the learned Ninian Winzet is worth giving as showing the esteem in which the Master of the school was regarded before the Reformation: 'I judgeit the teaching of the youthhood in virtue and science, next after the authority with the ministers of justice, under it and after the angelical office of godly pastors, to obtain the third principal place most commodious and necessar to the kirk of God. Yea, sa necessar thought I it, that the due charge and office of the prince and prelate without it, is to them, after my judgment, wondrous painful and almost insupportable, and yet little commodious to the commonwealth, to unfeignet obedience and true godlyness, when the people is rude and ignorant; and contrary, by help of it to the youthhood, the office of all potestates is light to them and pleasant to the subject.'²

§ 7. There is little doubt that in the period to which these early references to schools relate, the scholars were generally young ecclesiastics—those who were to become churchmen, but we have reason to believe that at a very early time laymen also were educated in the schools, under the superintendence of churchmen. The earliest case that would seem to give support to this view is recorded in the chartulary of Kelso. In A.D. 1260, an agreement was entered into with Matildis, lady of Molle, who in her widowhood granted to the abbot and convent of Kelso all that belonged to her as dowry

¹ M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, i., p. 456 (2d ed.).

² Ninian Winzet, born at Renfrew, in 1518, was appointed schoolmaster of Linlithgow about 1551, where he taught till the Reformation, 'children of that town to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants.' In 1561, the schoolmaster, like his other professional brethren, was cited to sign the Confession of Faith, but, 'continuing obstinate, he was shott out of his kindly town and from his tender friends,' and, in 1562, was obliged to 'take occasion of a ship that was bound for Flanders.' In 1576, the abbacy of the Scottish monastery of St James, at Ratisbon, having become vacant, the champion of the old faith, was appointed superior by the Pope; he died in 1592: *Certaine Tractatis*, pp. xi, xx. (Maitland Club).

from the land which they received in farm from her late husband Richard of Lincoln, on condition that they maintain her son William in victuals—‘*exhibuerint in victualibus,*’ with the better and worthier scholars—‘*majoribus et dignioribus scolaribus,*’ who stay in the poorer house.¹ In the Chamberlain Rolls there are other instances of scholars being boarded in the middle of the fourteenth century. The treasurer, between 1st March 1383 and 16th March 1384, accounts for £14, 10s., as having been disbursed by him by command of the king and chamberlain for divers small expenses incurred for James Stewart, son of Robert II., when he was with the bishop of St Andrews.² A subsequent entry in the Rolls throws light on this notice; between 16th March 1384 and 31st March 1385, the royal treasurer accounts for £4, 13s. 4d., as the expenses of James Stewart while studying—‘*stantis in studio,*’ at St Andrews, for the year of this account.³ Two other notices relating to boarding at this date are worthy of being quoted. In the first, the treasurer pays, by command of the king and chamberlain, 26s. to Gilbert de Haia, son of Thomas de Haia, while at the schools of St Andrews;⁴ and, secondly, 32s. for his clothing while in the schools of St Andrews, for the year of this account—16th March 1384 to 31st March 1385.⁵

§ 8. The disbursements from the royal exchequer on account of Thomas de Haia were probably not made from a charitable motive; Thomas, being of nearly the same age with the king’s son, and his near kinsman, was perhaps sent to St Andrews at the expense of the king as companion to the prince. Yet the scanty materials at our disposal for sketching the ancient history of our schools furnish us with data enough to show that in early times schools and poor scholars were favoured and cherished by our kings. In A.D. 1329, the year of good King Robert’s death, the treasurer, in accounting

¹ Liber S. Marie de Calchou, No. 173.

² Exchequer Rolls, No. 95.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 95.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 96.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 96.

for his disbursements, enters 20s. as having been paid to David of Monrose in aid towards the schools—'in auxilium ad scholas.'¹ It may be wished that there existed ground enough to feel certain that this small sum was a contribution by the great king in support of the schools of Montrose. Tradition says that the school of Montrose, once so famous, was endowed by Robert I., but the record does not justify that conclusion, however fondly we should like to cherish the idea. Again in 1329, £13, 6s. 8d. are accounted for by the treasurer as a gift from the king to Master Gilbert of Bermachtyn, for the sake of studying—'causa studendi.'² This royal gift was probably made to Master Gilbert for carrying on his studies abroad. A few years later, in A.D. 1364, the treasurer takes credit for £54 which had been paid by command of the king (as his letter shows) for food and clothing to a 'poor scholar kinsman of our lord the king.'³ On 22d March 1378, payment of £3, 15s. 2d. is made by the chamberlain to the master of the schools of Haddington by command of the king, the said master confessing on the account that he received the money.⁴ Between 5th March 1381 and 13th February 1382, the chamberlain pays, for the expenses of two scholars from Bute, to William of Prestwick, £5, 6s. 8d., as is clear by the letters of the said William shown on the account.⁵ Again, in the period from 1st March 1383 to 16th March 1384, the chamberlain accounts for £4, as having been paid by command of the king for the board—'pro mensa,' of a certain poor scholar—'cujusdum pauperis scholaris,' who is at the schools in the town of Haddington during the time of this account.⁶

§ 9. Scotland had not, so far as our inquiry into the history of education has proceeded, any great schools of her own. Her sons who sought a higher education than that supplied by the grammar school could only receive it abroad—at the great universities of England, or at Paris, Bordeaux, Geneva, Heidelberg, Saumur, Montauban, Louvain, Bologna, or Pisa; and as the subject is pertinent to the present inquiry, in

¹ Chamberlain Rolls, i., p. 95.

² Ibid., i., 96.

³ Ibid., ii., 413.

⁴ Exchequer Rolls, No. 85.

⁵ Ibid., No. 93.

⁶ Ibid., No. 95.

so far as those who were educated abroad were often appointed masters of the schools when they returned to their native land, a few gleanings may be quoted as bearing on the assistance given by our sovereigns to those who sought a higher education than was to be found at home. In the account from 12th June 1387 and 20th February 1388, the chamberlain paid, by command of the king, to Sir John de Cornetoun, chaplain, who is leaving for the purposes of study—‘eunti ad studium,’ the sum of £4, of which Sir John confesses the receipt.¹ Between 4th January 1392 and 26th March 1394, the king grants a letter under the privy seal, authorising payment of £8 from the custom of six sacks of wool, for the son of Sir Patrick Graham, towards his expenses while studying at Paris—‘studentis Parisiis;’² and to Master Robert de Cardny for the expenses of John Stewart, brother of the king, while studying at Paris, £10.³

§ 10. To prevent the inconvenience of sending abroad the Scottish youth who desired a liberal education, the University of St Andrews was founded by Henry Wardlaw bishop of St Andrews, with consent of Parliament, in 1411, the date of the battle of Harlaw. The joy of Scotland was so great on obtaining a university of her own, that when Henry Ogilvy, who was sent to Benedict to receive the bull ratifying the foundation, returned with it on 13th February 1413, the whole clergy (four hundred in number) and convent, in solemn procession, sang ‘Te Deum’ at the high altar, and the citizens gave themselves up to universal festivity and joy.⁴ This university continued long to be the most famous of our great schools, and with it were connected during the next two centuries, almost all the most eminent Scotsmen, either as teachers or pupils.⁵

It was in 1450 that Nicolas V. issued a papal bull es-

¹ Exchequer Rolls, No. 99.

² *Ibid.*, No. 112.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 112. For an interesting account of the Scottish student at Oxford and foreign universities, see ‘Fasti Aberdonenses,’ pp. xxix., xxx.

⁴ National MSS. of Scotland, part ii., p. xv.

⁵ M’Crie’s Life of Andrew Melville, ii., 336, 337

tablishing a 'studium generale' in the city of Glasgow, which, from the salubrity of the climate and the abundance of all the necessaries of life, is particularly adapted for such an institution. The edict bears that James II. applied to the Holy See for this grant, because, although he might erect the university in his dominions, he could not confer on the licentiates and doctors the privilege of acting as teachers and regents in all seats of the general study throughout the Catholic Church, without any examination or approbation, in addition to that which they received when they obtained their academical degrees; this privilege being bestowed by apostolic authority. The object of the institution is the extension of the Catholic faith, promotion of virtue, and cultivation of the understanding by the study of theology, canon and civil law, the liberal arts, and every other lawful faculty.¹

In 1494 our own accomplished prince James IV. and the admirable Bishop Elphinstone founded the University of Aberdeen. Pope Alexander VI., in the preamble to the bull authorising the erection of the university, gives as his reason for granting it that a petition was presented by his dearest son in Christ, James, the illustrious King of Scots, desiring that the condition of the people of his kingdom might be improved; and considering that in the northern or north-eastern parts of his kingdom, there are certain places separated from the rest of the kingdom by arms of the sea and very high mountains, in which dwell men rude and ignorant of letters, and almost barbarous — '*homines rudes et literarum ignari et fere indomiti*,' who on account of the too great distance from the places in which universities flourish, and the dangerous passage to such places, cannot have leisure for the study of letters—nay, are so ignorant of those letters that, not only for preaching the Word of God to the people of these parts, but also for administering the sacraments of the Church, proper men cannot be found; and considering that if, in the famous city of Old Aberdeen, which is near enough to the places foresaid, there should flourish a

¹ *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, i., p. 3.

university in all lawful faculties, very many men of the kingdom, and especially of those parts, as well ecclesiastics as laymen, would readily apply themselves to such study of letters, and acquire that most precious pearl of knowledge; the ignorant would be informed, and the rude become learned; and thus not only would provision be made to a great degree for the advantage of the common weal of the kingdom, but also for the salvation of souls, and the rude and ignorant people would be instructed in honest life and manners by others who would apply themselves to such study of letters.¹

This picture of the Highlands and Isles was not too highly coloured, there being even at this day some impediments to education in those parts of the country, but it would be a great mistake to suppose that Aberdeenshire and the eastern coasts and Lowlands of Scotland were so barbarous as this papal erection would lead us to suppose. John Barbour did not write 'The Brus' for a people altogether barbarous and ignorant of letters.²

Perhaps none of our national institutions has on the whole more fully realised the expectations of the founders than the University of Aberdeen. The civilising influence of this famous school of learning over the Highlands and Islands, as well as its solid contribution to the best part of the literature of Scotland, is a matter of history. It is also true that not a few of the best grammarians of Scotland have been masters of the grammar school of Aberdeen, including Vaus, Cargill, Reid, Wedderburn, Dun, Beattie, Melvin, and Geddes. It will be observed as a distinct feature in its history, that the university was not founded as a place for educating or recruiting churchmen alone. It was an institution for the people—for laymen as well as ecclesiastics; and perhaps in this document is found one of the earliest national provisions for the education of laymen, although as early as A.D. 1260 we have referred to a private endowment for the education of poor scholars, who,

¹ National MSS. of Scotland, part iii., No. 6.

² *Fasti Aberdonenses*, iv., v.

it may be thought, were not ecclesiastics.¹ In one great respect the result was disappointing to the Apostolic See. The Holy Fathers consented to the founding of general schools at St Andrews in 1413, at Glasgow in 1450, and at Aberdeen in 1494, that the Catholic faith, by an 'impregnable wall of doctors and masters, by whom she was surrounded, might be enabled to withstand heresies and errors, and grow strong.'² This result was not realised; for the universities, especially that of St Andrews, have done more than any other agency to bring about the Reformation: they

'Nursed the pinion which impelled the steel.'

Learning in Scotland may be said to date from the time when the church, after having founded schools all over the country, made the grand and successful effort to establish universities — 'studia generalia,' in which the rich and the poor received together a liberal education.

§ 11. The schools as yet remained dependent on and under the superintendence of the church, the chancellor directing schools established in connection with the cathedral. Among the statutes of the church of Aberdeen, enacted in 1256, the duties of the chancellor are said to consist in preparing the charters of the chapter, reading letters in the chapter, and, as we read, 'it belongs to the dignity of the chancellor's office that he should supply a fit master, who shall have the direction of the schools of Aberdeen, and know how to teach the boys in grammar as well as in logic.'³

Unlike our universities, the constitution of many of the cathedrals in Scotland was formed on an English model, and those constitutions are of interest so far as they bear on the subject of this work. In the register of the bishopric of Glasgow is found a letter from the chapter of Sarum addressed to the venerable and discreet the dean and chapter of Glasgow, in answer to their letter inquiring as to the constitution

¹ *Supra*, p. 12. ² National MSS. of Scotland, part ii., No. 63.

³ *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, ii., 45.

and customs of that church. The dean and chapter of Sarum inform their brethren that, according to the instruction of Osmund, of happy memory, founder of their church, there are four principal persons in that cathedral, namely, the dean, chanter, chancellor, treasurer, four archdeacons, besides a subdean and subchanter. The duties of the chancellor consist in ruling the schools—'in scolis regendis,' repairing and correcting books, hearing and determining lessons—'auscultare lecciones et terminare,' keeping the seal of the chapter, preparing charters, and reading letters that are to be read in the chapter.¹ In the same record there is a deed or instrument declaring that Master Martin, chancellor, and his predecessors, chancellors of Glasgow, are, and have been, according to the statutes of the church of Glasgow, and the privileges of the dean and chapter, confirmed by apostolic authority, undisturbedly and beyond the memory of men—'inconcusse et ultra memoriam hominum,' in peaceable possession of the right of instituting and deposing—'instituendi et destituendi,' the master of the grammar school of Glasgow, and of having the care and direction of the said school, and mastership of the same—'magisterium ejusdem,' so that without the licence of the chancellor no one can keep a grammar school, and instruct and teach the scholars in grammar or the youths in the rudiments—'in puerilibus,' in the city of Glasgow.²

Bricius bishop of Moray, who succeeded to that see in 1203, adopted the constitution of Lincoln for his cathedral, the nature of which was ascertained by a mission to England. The duties of the chancellor of Lincoln consisted in superintending the schools of theology—'scolas theologie regere,' and it pertained to his dignity that no one should teach—'nullus potest legere,' without his licence. He had the disposal of all the schools in the earldom of Lincoln, excepting those which are in the prebends. In 1489, among the statutes and acts of convocation of the chapter of Moray

¹ Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis, i., No. 211, p. 170.

² Ibid., ii., No. 470, p. 490.

is one headed, 'pro cancellario de scola generali.' The general school, it provides, must be built by those who ought to erect it at the town of Elgin in the place assigned for this purpose, and the chancellor is to see that a fit man be appointed for ruling and governing the school, teaching those who come to it, and instructing them in grammar.¹

The constitution of the chapter of Dunkeld was likewise modelled after Sarum—'ad instar Sarum.' The historian of the bishops of Dunkeld, writing in the beginning of the sixteenth century, relates that Master George Brown, chancellor of the cathedral, not unmindful of his office, had endowed, in honour of our Lady of Consolation, a scholastic chaplain—'scolasticum capellanum perpetuum,' who was to serve in the church of St George, and be master of the grammar school—'scolam grammaticalem rectorum.' The annalist tells us that the chancellor intended to make another foundation for promoting grammatical learning, from which the church may expect many good scholars learned in grammar if it be kept up—'si servetur ecclesie doctos grammaticam dabit.'²

In the register of the bishopric of Brechin there is recorded an obligation of the chapter, dated 20th October 1429, engaging to observe all things contained in the charter of the mighty and potent prince Walter, son of the king, regarding the perpetual foundation of two chaplains. One of these chaplains was ordained to have the charge and direction of the schools of grammar for the chancellor, with all and each the fees, customs, and profits pertaining to the school, in which the chaplain is to labour during the hours unoccupied with divine things—'horis vacantibus in diuinis.'³

Looking further north, we discover an arrangement of very considerable interest in the school history of the king-

¹ Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis, pp. 57, 270.

² Vitæ Dunkeldensis Ecclesie Episcoporum, p. 59.

³ Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis, ii., No. xvii., p. 26.

dom. Shortly after the Orkneys were granted in pledge to Scotland as part of the dowry of Queen Margaret of Norway, Kirkwall, on the 31st March 1486, was erected into a royal burgh, and the cathedral and bishopric were conveyed to the town, with a condition that the rents thereof should be used in supporting the church and school.¹ On 28th October 1544, the good Bishop Reid of Orkney founded and erected certain offices in the cathedral for the service of God; among these was a grammar school, of which the master, a chaplain—'sacellanus,' to whom was allotted the chaplaincy of St Peter, shall be, it is provided, a graduate of arts, and hold no other offices in the cathedral.²

In 1434 occurs the earliest authentic notice of the school of Dundee, in which, according to Blind Harry's ballad, our national hero, Sir William Wallace, was educated. On 22d August of that year, Sir Gilbert Kuycht, priest—'presbyter,' compeared before the bishop of Brechin, who acknowledged his shortcomings—'defectus,' and prayed the bishop to pardon him for disobeying his lawful commands, in appealing with regard to the government of the school to the abbot of Lundores, who collated him to the benefice thereof. Sir Gilbert withdraws the appeal wickedly made by him, and resigns all his right to the schools and to their government to the bishop, who accepts the resignation and collates to the same Master Lawrence Lownan.³

The convention general and provincial council of the church, which met at Edinburgh on 27th November 1549, ordains the archdeacon of St Andrews to provide a master of the grammar school in that city, who shall be versed in grammatical knowledge, imbued with good morals—'bonis moribus,' and competent to teach to the boys the rudiments of grammar—'puerilia grammaticæ.'⁴ The last clause of this statute, says Mr Joseph Robertson, preserves a trace of the ancient usage of St Andrews, where there then was no chan-

¹ Peterkin's Rentals of Orkney, App. 42. ² Ibid., 23.

³ Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis, i., No. 42, p. 62.

⁴ Statuta Ecclesiæ Scotticæ; ii., No. 201, 105.

cellor; and the archdeacon, in right of his office of ferleyn, a remnant of the old Celtic church, had charge of the schools.¹

The earliest record of an actual collation by the chancellor of a master to a grammar school is in the burgh records of Aberdeen, in which we find a deed dated 10th October 1418, headed, 'pro libertate et facultate presentandi magistrum scholarum.' In it Duncan chancellor of the church of Aberdeen sets forth that whereas to the dignity of the chancery the collation of the benefice of the master of the schools is known by clear right to belong; and the schools of the burgh being now vacant by the death of Andrew of Syves, late vicar of Bervy, last master, Master John Homyll, an honest, prudent, and discreet man, is presented to the same, and having been examined regarding his sufficiency, and being found of good life, laudable conversation, 'et honeste magne literature et sciencie propter quam scienciam non immerito in artibus graduatur'—the chancellor has given him corporal and real possession of the foresaid benefice, 'per donationem birreti mei.'²

Abbey schools were under the direction of the abbot as representing the bishop. In 1486 an arrangement was made for three years between the abbot and convent of Aberbrothoc, and a schoolmaster, a discreet clerk, Master Archibald Lame, for teaching the novices and young brethren.³ The grammar school of Edinburgh was under the superintendence of the Abbey of Holyrood, founded by David I. In his great charter he grants to the monks the churches of the Castle and of St Cuthbert, with all appendages and rights.⁴ In other instances we have seen that the conveyance of the church frequently included the schools; and it may be supposed that David's charter granted to Holyrood the school of the Canongate and the grammar school of Edinburgh, as

¹ Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, ii., No. 290.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ Registrum Nigrum de Aberbrothoc, No. 295, p. 245.

⁴ Nat. MSS. of Scotland, i., xvi.; Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis, p. 3.

well as the churches.¹ In support of this, it may be noted that James V. confirms a charter by George bishop of Dunkeld, abbot of the Holy Cross, appointing Master Henry Henryson one of the masters of the grammar school. The abbot's charter runs: 'As it is clearly known to us, that our lovite clerk and orator, Master David Vocat, principal master and teacher of our grammar school, has chosen his lovite friend and disciple, Master Hary Henryson, to be joint master with him in the said school, and to have half the profits thereof during the lifetime of Master David Vocat, and that after his decease Master Hary Henryson shall be his successor; and because we, the abbot and convent, understanding that Master Hary is an able and sufficiently qualified person for the office, he having made good and "perite" scholars when he was master of our school of the Canongate, ratify and approve the admission of Master Hary Henryson, to be co-master of the grammar school with Master David Vocat, and to be principal master after his decease. Master Hary Henryson is taken bound to be the good, true, and thankful servitor of the abbot and convent, and their successors, during his lifetime, and to attend high mass and evensong at the high, solem festival times, with his surplices on, to do them service, as effeirs.'²

Dunfermline had also its abbey school,³ which is believed to have been honoured towards the end of the fifteenth century with the schoolmaster, 'gud Maister Robert Henrisoun,'⁴ as he is described by Dunbar in his well-known poem, 'The Lament for the Death of the Makaris.'⁵ On 13th October 1573, a complaint came before the Lords of Privy Council, at

¹ Miscellany of the Spalding Club, v., p. 69.

² Registrum Magni Sigilli, xxiii., No. 157.

³ The school was probably as old as the abbey founded in A.D. 1124; the grammar school was destroyed with the great abbey in March, 1560.

⁴ Henryson was a notary public, as well as a schoolmaster; he is designated 'schoolmaster of Dunfermline' first on the title of his Fables in 1570 and 1571, and again on his Cresseid in 1593: Henryson's Poems, p. xv. (Laing's ed.).

⁵ Henryson's Poems and Fables, p. xxi. (Laing's ed.).

the instance of 'John Henrysoun of the Grammar School within the Abbey of Dunfermline,' stating that he and his predecessors had continued masters and teachers of the youth in letter and doctrine to their great commodity, within the said school, past memory of man, admitted thereto by the abbots of Dunfermline for the time,¹ to whom only he was amenable.

From a contract registered in the books of the town of Haddington, dated 15th November 1576, it appears that the abbot of Holyrood was also patron of the grammar school of that burgh. The school having in that year fallen into disorder and 'sklander,' the Town Council prevailed upon the teacher to renounce all right and claim which he had to the mastership thereof; and for better verification of his demission he 'delivered to the Council, for cancel, his presentation and admission to the office of schoolmaster, with the lords' letters thereupon, granted to him by Adam, commendator of the Abbey of Holyrood, and confirmed by the king.'²

In addition to the cathedral and abbey schools, there were also collegiate schools founded in connection with *preposituræ* or college churches, instituted for performing divine service and singing masses for the souls of the founders, patrons, and their friends. There were thirty-three collegiate churches in Scotland,³ and Principal Lee thinks that it was for maintaining schools that the rents of several of them were granted.⁴ The direction of these schools probably belonged to the provost. There are still preserved the writs describing the origin of the schools of the ancient burgh of Crail. An instrument dated 9th November 1525 bears that in presence of the baillies and others of the community of the burgh, patrons of the altar of the Holy Cross within the collegiate church of Crail, appeared Sir William Myrtoun founder thereof, and proponed it as his intention to found within the burgh a

¹ Registrum Secreti Sigilli.

² Burgh Records of Haddington.

³ Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, p. 284.

⁴ Lee's History of the Church of Scotland, i., 49.

school for teaching grammar.¹ Sir William Myrtoun's intention does not appear to have been carried into effect, the grammar school having been endowed by Sir David Bowman, prebendary of the altar of St James the Apostle in the college church of St Mary of Crail, who granted a charter on 5th October 1542, establishing the school and appointing his kinsman, Mr John Bowman, priest, preceptor thereof. The inductive cause of the grant is the offering of prayers for the prosperity and safety of James V., Mary his queen, David archbishop of St Andrews, his own soul, those of his father, Hugh, and mother, Elizabeth, and his brother, Sir John Bowman, deceased. The pious founder disposes as an endowment to the school, certain crofts, tenements, houses, biggings, lands, and gardens, and declares that the right of patronage of the school, and admission to the chaplaincy with which he endowed it, pertains to himself during his life, and after his death to the honourable and discreet men, bailies, and burgesses of the burgh, and their successors. Some of the provisions of the deed are curious : Master John the priest, and his successors, are forbidden to be gamblers—'aleatores,' card-players—'cartarii,' drunkards—'potatores'—night-watchmen—'nocturni vigiles,' or to have a housekeeper or public concubine—'focariam seu publicam concubinam.'² In 1545, the college of Biggar, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was founded by Malcolm Lord Fleming, great chamberlain, for a provost, eight prebendaries, four singing-boys, and six poor men; the founder appoints one of the prebendaries to be teacher of the grammar school.³

§ 12. Our burgh schools were not created by an Act of Parliament; they had their origin in connection with the church, or were called into existence by the people themselves; but in whatever way they were founded, undoubtedly towards the end of the fifteenth century schools were planted in every considerable town in Scotland; and the memorable Act of 1496, which has been so frequently quoted, assumes

¹ The Original in the charter chest of Crail.

² Ibid.

³ The Original in the Wigton charter chest.

the existence of schools enough for supplying the people with knowledge of art, 'jure,' and 'perfect Latin.' This Act was passed in the reign of James IV.—Ariosto's hero—the most accomplished of our Scottish kings. In it the king ordains, that all burgesses and freeholders of substance shall send their eldest sons and heirs to school, 'fra thai be auct or nyne zeires of age,' and to remain there 'quhill they be competentlie foundit and have perfite Latyne.' The statute further provides that the sons shall thereafter remain three years at the schools of art and 'jure.'¹ The object of this early example of 'compulsory education' is a high one, namely, that 'justice may reign universally throughout the realm, and that those who are sheriffs or judges may have knowledge to do justice, so that the poor people should have no need to see our sovereign lord's principal auditors for every little injury.' The penalty for neglect of this Act is twenty pounds, but unfortunately no record is preserved showing that it had ever been enforced.²

The Act has been censured for not going far enough by some who urge that it only provides for the education of *eldest* sons of barons and freeholders, but makes no provision for instructing the rest of the family, or the poorer people, or girls! In answer to such objections, we have the high authority of Lord Neaves, who, in his inaugural address as Rector of St Andrews University in 1872, deprecated the idea that the Act was passed for the rich as compared with the poor, or that the benefits sought to be derived from it were partial or one-sided, and not designed for the advantage of rich and poor, high and low. The Act, it may be said, was in its conception far in advance of its time, and although the higher class of the community only were to receive the training ordained by the Act, the poor are specially mentioned as those for whose benefit the provision was made. Our forefathers—who proved to be wise and good legislators

¹ Acts of Parliament of Scotland, 1496, c. 3, ii., 238.

² Mr Burton thinks that this, like many other Scottish Acts, was rather hortatory than legislative: History of Scotland, iv. 100 (1st ed.).

four hundred years ago—attempted to make education partially *compulsory*, and we must not reflect on them, if they did not carry out such a comprehensive measure as some would like to see in the nineteenth century. It is enough for our purpose to note that in no other country was such an Act passed at so early a period, and the Act shows that there were minds then at work with liberal forecast for the welfare of the country.¹

At a later period there are preserved many stringent ordinances of town councils commanding parents to send their children to the burgh or grammar school; but even before the Reformation there appears to have been such a thirst for letters that the authorities found it difficult to suppress private schools, which were springing up in the principal burghs, notwithstanding the strenuous endeavours made from time to time to extinguish them.² We cannot, it is true, produce figures or statistics showing the actual attendance, yet we sometimes meet with incidental notices of scholars, tending to prove that the schools were numerous attended. Thus at the grammar school of Perth, taught by Andrew Simpson, that distinguished teacher and grammarian³ sometimes had as many as three hundred scholars under his charge, including sons of the nobility, gentry, yeomen, and burgesses;⁴ and the following incident told of them, shows the party to which they were likely to ally themselves at the Reformation, which was close at hand. The boys had, it would seem, a copy of the most popular book in Scotland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries — Sir David Lyndsay's 'Satyre of the Three Estates,'⁵—and being struck with the resemblance of some of his descriptions with the manner of a friar who was preaching against heretics, expressed their

¹ Innes's Lectures on Scotch Legal Antiquities, p. 130. ² *Infra*, p. 32.

³ Author of the admirable 'Rudimenta Grammatices in gratiam juventutis Scotiæ conscripta,' first published in Edinburgh in 1587.

⁴ *Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. vii.

⁵ From 1558 to 1614, fourteen complete editions of Lyndsay's works were published: Lee's History of the Church of Scotland, ii., 361.

disapprobation of the preacher by hissing him so emphatically that he became alarmed, and ran out of the church.¹

Sir David Lyndsay, in his 'Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo,' written in 1530, is emphatic as to the duty of attending school :

'Gar lordis send thair sonniss, . . .
To seik science, and famous sculis frequent ;
Syne thame promove that wer moste sapient ;'

and when James V. was taken from school at the age of twelve and placed at the head of the government, our satirist in his 'Complaynt,' says :

'Imprudentialie, lyk wytyles fulis,
Thay tuke that young prince from the scullis,
Quhare he, under obedience,
Was lernand vertew and science.'

The poet warns his royal master of the deceitfulness of the representations made to him by his intriguing councillors :

'Schir, sum wald say your Majestie
Sall now go to your lybertie ;
Ye sall to no man be coactit,
Nor to the scule no more subjectit :
We thynk thame verray naturall fulis,
That lernis our mekle at the sculis !'

Parliament passed another great measure previous to the Reformation—a measure which not only accelerated that event, but powerfully contributed towards diffusing the blessings of education, especially a knowledge of the vernacular language among all classes. An Act passed in 1542, grants to the people the privilege of having the Scriptures, 'baith the New Testament and the Auld, in the vulgar tounge in Inglis or Scottis,' without incurring pains for having or reading the same, provided that no man dispute or hold opinions contrary to the Acts of Parliament. This privilege is granted because 'ther was na law schewin nor productit in the contrar,' but on the same day the archbishop of Glasgow, for himself and all the prelates of the realm, dissented until such

¹ Lee's History of the Church of Scotland, i., 262.

time as a provincial council of the clergy should decide 'gif the samin be necessar, and therupoun askit instrumentis.'¹ Sir David Lindsay, in his 'Exclamation touching the vulgar and maternal tongue,' written in 1552, says :²

' Bot let us haif the Bukis necessare
To common weill and our salvatioun.
Justlye translated in our toung vulgare.'

§ 13. Till the beginning of the sixteenth century, church schools and burgh schools appear to have been more or less under the superintendence of the church, and up to that period there is little evidence that the burghs exercised much control in the appointment of the masters, or the management of the schools. But from that time downwards the church was becoming less and less influential—at least in the principal burghs—in the management and superintendence of the schools, and the burghs were more and more taking the control of them into their own hands.

Though this seems to be the general conclusion, as gathered from records, it would not be safe to say that the practice was uniform. For example, from an entry in the records of the burgh of Peebles, we learn that so early as 1st October 1464, the bailies and the neighbours appointed Sir William Blaklok schoolmaster of the burgh, and ordained that he should

¹ Acts of Parliament of Scotland, 1542 c. 12, ii., 415. In the account of the High Treasurer of Scotland occurs this entry : ' 28 March 1543, gevin to Johne Rob, messinger passand to Dumfermling and Perth to proclame twa lettres tueching the having of the Scripture in Inglis, xxiiis.' John Knox states the effect of the Act : ' Then mycht have bene sein the Byble almaist upoun everie gentilmanis table. The New Testament was borne about in many menis handes : ' History of the Reformation, i. 100 (Laing's ed.). Two Acts passed in 1525 c. and 1535, stand in curious juxtaposition to 1542 c. 12 ; they are entitled, ' Acts anent the damnable opunyeouns of heresy,' and seek to guard against the heresy spread in diverse countries by the heretic Luther and his disciples, by preventing ' any strangers that happins to arrife with their schippis,' from importing any of his works, and from disputing or rehearsing any of their opinions, ' bot geif it be to the confusioun thereof, and that be clerks in the sculis alanerlie : ' 1525 c. 4, ii. 295 ; 1535 c. 2, ii. 341.

² Works of Lyndsay, i., 253 (Laing's Ed.).

have the profit of the school for the children that he teaches; in May 1468 Sir Lowrans Johnson was chosen schoolmaster of Peebles, the bailies coming under obligation that he shall be paid for the children he teaches 'lyk as wont and ws is'² —perhaps the first appearance in our records of the phrase so much used in our own day.

Those two schoolmasters were churchmen, as is evidenced by the title prefixed to the name, and by a very humble application, made seven years after his appointment, by the said Lowrans Johnson, who in 1475 meekly besought the bailies and neighbours that they would vouchsafe to grant him a service in Holy Church that falls in their gift.³ The patrons statute and ordain that the first service that falls vacant shall be given to the said Sir Lowrans, 'he beand beisse of techyn and kenynge upon the childer' in his school late and early when time is. But so far as the town records go, there is no indication that the ecclesiastical authorities had any voice in the election of the schoolmaster at Peebles. The school of Ayr was under the control of the town council before the Reformation. In 1550 the provost and bailies of the burgh passed an ordinance, suppressing rival schools in the burgh, and in the following year they chose a schoolmaster for one year; in 1551, George Cochrane, parish clerk of Ayr, offers to teach a sang school within the burgh.⁴

Although the salaries of the masters and the expense of maintaining the grammar school house fell on the burghs at an early period, it does not appear, notwithstanding the cases of Peebles and Ayr, that they had at first much voice in the choosing of the teacher, this right being claimed by the chancellor, abbot, and provost, as pertaining to their dignity. The burghs, however, began at last to assert their right in appointing masters of the grammar school. Thus we learn that on 28th June 1509, the provost, bailies, and community of Aberdeen presented Master John Merschell to the grammar

¹ Burgh Records of Peebles.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Ayr.

school of that burgh vacant by the decease of umquhile Master William Strathachin—who was collated by the chancellor, and admitted him to the schools by the gift of a pair of beads, bestowing on him the right to all commodities, freedoms and profits pertaining to the office.¹ This appointment was made without any reference to the chancellor, who had hitherto presented and collated the schoolmaster to his office; but it was evidently called in question, for on 13th January 1521 Master John Merschell was thus interrogated by the bailies and magistrates: ‘Who appointed him to his office?’ He answered that it was the ‘good town of Aberdeen,’ he undertaking to render to them and their bairns all his service and pleasure, and having ‘renouncit his compulsitor of the court of Rome in all poyntes.’² It would seem from this that he appealed to Rome, and got a decree in his favour.

Unfortunately we do not know the circumstances of this case, but there is little doubt the quarrel arose between the church and the burgh as to which of them possessed the patronage of the grammar school. On 27th November 1523, Master John Merschell, master of the grammar school, whose appointment is here recorded, admits that he has offended his masters, the good town, prays them to pardon him, and confesses that he held the school of them as his predecessors before him.³ It would thus appear that in the struggle between ‘town’ and ‘gown,’ the former was victorious; and accordingly we find that in 1538 the provost, bailies, and council elected Master Hew Munro to be master of the grammar school, and ordained him to go to the chancellor of Aberdeen for his admission conform to the king’s command.⁴ And on the same day, Master Laurence Chene, scribe of the consistory of Aberdeen, in name of the right worshipful clerk, Master John Reid, chancellor and commissary general of Aberdeen, showed to the provost and council how he had chosen an able, suitable, and discreet man to be master of their grammar school, named Master Robert Skene, and

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

begged them and the whole town to receive him thankfully, because the admission and presentation of the mastership pertained to him. If Master Robert Skene were not fit for the office, he promised to remove him, and appoint another person in his place.¹ The deliverance of the town council in answer to the claim put forward by the chancellor is not preserved; but subsequent events showed that in the competition between the church and the town council for the patronage of the schools, the town was successful; for on 14th July 1544, the whole council all in one voice assigned and granted to their servitor, Master Hew Munro, master of the grammar school, a yearly pension for his diligent labours for the instruction and learning of the bairns of the school.² On 14th April 1550, he resigns the office of master of the grammar school 'to be disposed by the town as it thinks fit;' and accordingly, four days later, the town elected Master James Chalmer, to be master of the grammar school, and presented him to the chancellor for admission by him as in times past.³

§ 14. The patrons of the schools, whether the church or town councils, or both, were always ready to support and further the interest of the schools under their charge according to their lights. The chief mode by which they sought to encourage their schools consisted in extinguishing all private schools, schools not sanctioned by them, the proper authorities. Of this there are many instances on record. Thus the chancellor of Glasgow prosecuted before his bishop Robert Blacader, Master David Dun, who had actually presumed to teach and instruct scholars in grammar, and youths in the rudiments, within the city and University of Glasgow, without his licence. The bishop decreed that Master David Dun should hold no grammar school, or teach and instruct the scholars in grammar, or the youth in the rudiments, without the special licence of the chancellor for the time, asked and obtained.⁴ In like manner, on the 11th April 1519, the provost, bailies, and council of Edinburgh ordain, for reason-

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis, ii., 490, 491.

able causes, that no indweller of the burgh send his bairns to any other school in the town than to the principal grammar school, under penalty of ten shillings from each person that does in the contrary.¹ On 13th January 1521, the master of the grammar school of Aberdeen claims that it shall be 'lesum to him to persew the techaris of grammar within the burgh.'² On 4th September 1524, the abbot and convent of Holyrood discharge all others in Edinburgh from teaching grammar schools within the burgh than the master of the principal grammar school, under the pains contained in the 'Papis bullis.'³

We gather from the burgh records of Ayr that not only was the keeping of private schools strictly prohibited within the burgh, but that the masters of such schools were compelled to repay to the master of the grammar school any fees collected by them. Thus on 28th February 1550, the judge ordains Thomas Falconer and Thomas Speir, scholars, to make payment to the schoolmaster of the burgh of the scholages uptaken by them from the children of the school of Ayr, at the term of Candlemas last; they and all other clerks are commanded to desist from holding any schools in all time coming within this burgh, the burgh schoolmaster alone having authority to keep a school; the magistrates command their officers to proclaim this ordinance at the market cross of the burgh, so that its terms be observed in all time coming.⁴

Those restrictions were accompanied by certain exceptions under which the higher education only was protected. It will be seen that in the cases quoted, reference is made to 'grammar schools,' while in several there are exceptions showing the extent to which the prohibition applied. Thus the ordinance dated 11th April 1519 in the burgh records of Edinburgh prohibits the bairns to be sent to any other

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ Registrum Magni Sigilli, xxiii., No. 157.

⁴ Burgh Records of Ayr.

school than the grammar school of the city for being taught in any science, 'but only grace buke, prymer, and plane donatt.'¹ And in the confirmation of the ordinance by the Abbey of Holyrood, the prohibition bears to be 'except the teching and hering of lectouris alanerly.'² The obvious intention of the prohibition seems to have been of a strictly protective character, but it is not difficult to find advantages springing from the restriction in the preservation of the status and dignity of the mastership, through which the services of men of culture and learning were secured. As regards the simpler rudiments of learning and the teaching of the vulgar tongue, the time had not yet come for such an arrangement.

§ 15. As to the endowment of schools for masters and scholars, there are few data before the Reformation to guide us. That schools and scholars were endowed, and received maintenance from endowments, from a very early time, is quite certain; and it is also equally certain that these endowments were in course of time diverted more or less from the purpose for which they were intended. We have already seen that there was an endowment at Ellon in A.D. 1387 for four scholars; but the scholar lands were not enjoyed by the scholars themselves, being held by tenants who had become hereditary, and possessed their lands on condition of supplying four scholars for the parish kirk of Ellon.³ In 1489, the chapter of Moray ordained that the rector of the church of Kincardine be cited to govern, rule, and teach the school, for which purpose he possesses and holds his rectory.⁴ Here we see that the endowments set apart for the maintenance of the school were enjoyed by a person who failed to perform the duty incumbent on him.

On 20th January 1460, Simon Dalgleish, precentor and 'officiar' of Glasgow, disposes a tenement 'lyand in the Meikle Wynd' of the burgh, to Master Alexander Galbraith,

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh. For a notice of the 'Donat' see p. 48, note 3, and p. 49, note 3.

² Registrum Magni Sigilli, xxiii., No. 157.

³ Supra, p. 8. ⁴ Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis, pp. 57, 270.

rector of the grammar school, and to his successors in office, on the condition that he and the scholars 'perform some popish rites;' the council of the burgh shall be patrons, governors, and defenders of the donation.¹ In 1494 William Stewart, canon of Glasgow, endows a chaplaincy in St Ninian's Chapel, and stipulates that the chaplain, master of the grammar school, shall, after the founder's death, commend him every night to all the scholars before they part, causing them to pray devoutly for his soul and the souls of all the faithful deceased.²

In 1542, a prebendary in the collegiate church of Crail endows the grammar school of Crail by disposing a croft of six and a half acres, with tenements and gardens lying as specified; another croft of arable land, called Lyne Croft, containing half an acre; also his tenement, with several houses, biggings, and yards, lying in the overgate or mercat gate; with a fold above the garden toward the north, extending up to the common loan between the land of the Holy Cross on the west, and the land belonging to the prebendary of the Blessed Virgin on the east.³ On the 10th June 1560, the master of the grammar school for the time set in feu-farm and heritage a tenement on the north side of the market gate, with 'ane larch buith on the east side of the foryett' of the said tenement, together with the whole lands, houses, yards, and biggings lying within the burgh roods, in a place called the East Green, having the east burn of the burgh at the west, and the common east loan at the east, for payment of a yearly feu fail of ten merks of money to the masters of the grammar school.⁴ The feu-duty continued to be paid to the masters of the grammar school, as appears from a decree of the burgh court of Crail in favour of the master of the grammar school in 1593. On 12th March of that year, the

¹ From the Inventory of the Burgh Records of Glasgow made at the end of the seventeenth century, by a person who evidently was not a friend of the Old Church.

² *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ii., No. 469, 490.

³ The Original in the charter chest of Crail.

⁴ Charter of the Kirklands in the General Register House at Edinburgh.

provost, bailies, and council of the burgh, undoubted patrons of the prebend of St Michael, with consent of the last prebendary, who demitted his right in their favour, understanding the earnest care and travail taken by the schoolmaster, the complainer, in reading at the kirk and teaching the grammar school unrecompensed, they, as patrons, grant and dispone to him the prebend of St Michael, for his stipend during the time that he shall continue reader at the kirk and teacher of the school.¹ Bishop Reid founded a grammar school in connection with his cathedral at Kirkwall in 1544, and endowed it with the altarage of St Peter, and the sang school with the altarage of St Augustine.²

The ancient endowments granted to schools have, as far as we could discover, been secularised and diverted from the purpose for which they were set apart, and all that the charter scholar can now discover is the fact of the mortification having been once made in support of the school, the records leaving no trace of how it passed out of the possession of the school.

§ 16. There is very little information available as to the salaries enjoyed by the masters of schools previous to the Reformation, but the following notices will be read with some interest. From the accounts of the burgh of Aberdeen, extending from 1433 to 1438, we learn that the magistrates paid to the master of the schools 40s.³ The next entry quoted is very vague, owing to no sum being stated. In the records of Peebles we read that on 19th January 1466, the head court of the burgh find that a Master John Doby should 'have all the school, and that those who pwt ony barnys tyll hym suld pay hym a yerris pament.'⁴ We learn from the Exchequer Rolls that in 1467-8, Alexander Lesly of Balcomy, chamberlain of the earldoms of Marr and Gariuach,

¹ Act Buik of the Commissariat of St Andrews. The lands, houses, and tenements given by the founder are not now in possession of the burgh, and the town treasurer has not been able to find any trace of the transaction in the town's books, showing how the endowment has passed out of the burgh's possession.

² Peterkin's Rentals of Orkney, App. 23.

³ Spalding Miscellany, v., 45.

⁴ Burgh Records of Peebles.

paid to Master Simon Doddis, tutor—'instructori'—of the Earl of Marr, by command of our lord the king, for the two terms of this account, £10.¹

On 7th June 1479, the alderman and the council of Aberdeen, at the instance of letters from our sovereign lord, my lord of Aberdeen, and Master Alexander Inglis, chancellor, granted to Master Thomas Strathachin, master of the grammar schools of Aberdeen, that he shall have yearly of the common good of the town £5 Scots, until he shall be promoted to a service within the kirk of St Nicholas of Aberdeen, he undertaking to make diligent and good service for the information and instruction of the bairns at his goodly power.² In 1486 the abbot and convent of Arbroath engaged Master Archibald Lame for three years for teaching, he receiving annually 10 merks Scots, besides his daily portions.³

The next entry will be read with especial interest, as indicating how the chief duty of our recently-created school boards—that of assessing the people, was performed three and a half centuries ago. On 7th May 1529, the whole town of Aberdeen convened in the tolbooth, 'by the hand bell passing through all the rows of the towns,' and consented to give Master John Bisset, master of the grammar school, yearly and termly, the sum of £10 Scots, to help to pay his board until he is provided with a benefice of 10 merks Scots, for ruling, guiding, and teaching the school, which is now deserted and destitute of bairns, and it will take a long time before it comes to such a perfection that the master will derive much profit from it.⁴ This gift, with the excellent reason for its bestowal, remained, however, but a short time in force. On the 10th day of January following, the whole town again assembled and consented to the selling of Master John Bisset's pension of 10 merks, given to him for the 'will' of their grammar school and bairns, as is contained in the bond made to him on the said pension,

¹ Exchequer Rolls, No. 259.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ Registrum Nigrum de Aberbrothoc, No. 295, p. 245.

⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

and ordains the keepers of their common seal to sell the bond with the town's common seal.¹ On 23d March 1536, as we learn from the records of Edinburgh, Master Adam Mure, master of the grammar school there, renounced bygone pensions and acts made in his favour, for which the bailies and magistrates gave him 20 merks yearly, until he be provided with a benefice worth £20 yearly, and £20 for the bygone pensions.² On 27th November 1542, the whole council of Aberdeen, all in one voice, passed an ordinance of which the following appears to be the meaning: the master of the grammar school shall have 4s. Scots, at the least, from the 'soberest' person that receives him on St Nicholas' day, for his wage, every other honest man giving him at his pleasure; and if any honest man of reputation, either craftsman or any other, denies him admission, he shall pay 4s. to the master, and 7s. to the bailies, unforgiven for unlaw, and the officers will distrain and poind his effects for the same. The reason given for this ordinance is, that the master 'has no other fee to live on, like his predecessors and other masters of other schools;'³ showing, we think, that while there was no education rate, there was a species of voluntary assessment in operation in Aberdeen, somewhat akin to that which, down to our own day, provided for the necessitous poor of Scotland. In July 1544, there is an order by the magistrates of Aberdeen that 10 merks be paid yearly to Master Hew Munro, master of the grammar school, until he be provided with some other living, for learning and instructing their bairns;⁴ again, on 25th March 1546, a year's pension is ordered to be paid to him, every freeman receiving him and the bishop at St Nicholas Mass, 'conform to the old and loveable use of the burgh, giving him his wages in the old manner, according to their estates.'⁵ In the council records of Edinburgh there is to be found a letter addressed by Queen Mary to the provost, bailies, and council of the burgh, commanding them to make

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

³ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

payment to the master of the grammar school of the sums due to him by the town, being 20 merks yearly of fee, and 20 merks yearly for the rent of a sufficient schoolhouse, which they and their predecessors, by their 'actis vse and consuetude are bound to furnish to him for instructing their bairns and upbringing them in virtue, as ane act of their bukis maid to him in the yeir of God 1546 proportis.'¹ In May 1551, a schoolmaster is chosen for Ayr, he having 'feall and casualty as Master Nele had before.'² On 9th December 1551, John Forrest obliged himself to pay to the master of the 'schule' of Haddington 30s. within eight days.³ In 1552, Alexander Park, treasurer of Edinburgh, pays to the master of the grammar school, for his fee, £13, 6s. 8d.⁴

In 1555, the Peebles records furnish another vague entry, yet valuable in what it does give. Here, as in the other entry already quoted,⁵ there is no sum stated, but the bailies are ordered to cause the schoolmaster to be paid in time coming, half quarterly.⁶ The bailies are also to provide him with a chamber where it may be got most conveniently, and also with the use of the tolbooth to teach his bairns reading and writing English. This entry occurs in May, and in November a further entry occurs, in which the bailies and whole community agree to pay to Master William Newdry, 'three pounds of money for the terms bygone at Martinmas next to come, and half quarterly in time coming.'⁷ This entry, however, sheds little light on the rate of payment given to the schoolmaster, as no period is given for which the payment of £3 is made. We are more fortunate in several succeeding entries, from the records of Peebles. In 1556, Sir William Tunno is appointed schoolmaster, for which the town becomes bound that they shall cause their treasurer to pay to the said Sir William, termly at Candlemas, Beltane, Lammas, and All-Hallows, 50s., and shall find him an honest

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

² Burgh Records of Ayr.

³ Burgh Records of Haddington.

⁴ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 35.

⁶ Burgh Records of Peebles.

⁷ *Ibid.*

chamber at their expense, with chimney, closet, and necessaries, excepting furnishing.¹ This arrangement does not seem to have lasted; and in January following, the bailies are ordained to give Master John Lowys, 20 merks of fee for teaching the grammar school, and to provide his chamber himself.² By March 1558, still another change appears to have been made in this school, as on that date William Haldane is appointed to teach the grammar school till Lammas, entering at Pasche, and to have for his pains 40s., 'and his adventures till the said term.'³ That this was only a temporary and tentative measure, is seen in the provision that if any qualified man can be got, the said Walter shall be removed, or otherwise agree to be 'doctor' and teach under him. Although not strictly concerned with the point now under discussion, we are tempted to quote an entry only four months later, when the burgh, apparently still in an unsettled state as regards the schoolmaster, ordains (28th July 1558) the young man who desires to teach the school to come up to Peebles and 'convene with the bailies and council on the subject.'⁴

The case of Master Robert Dormont, schoolmaster of Haddington, affords an early instance of the distinct assignment of a salary to the office of master, and a rate per head from the number of scholars. In 1559 the town council of Haddington, on 12th October, engaged him to be schoolmaster of the burgh for 24 merks in the year, to be paid from the common good of the burgh, besides 12d. termly of 'schoolhouse fee for each town bairn; and the doctor shall be paid 4d. termly for each bairn by the parents or friends of the bairn.' The arrangement was apparently an established one, as the agreement concludes with the words, 'as use and wont was before.' The council further undertook to find for Master Dormont 'ane chalmer and skoillhouse maill fre.'⁵

On 6th May 1560, the provost, bailies, and council of Edinburgh ordained their treasurer to pay to Master William

¹ Burgh Records of Peebles.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Burgh Records of Haddington.

Robertoun, master of the grammar school, the sum of 10 merks for his fee at Martinmas term last bypast.¹ On 21st March of the same year, the bailies and council of Aberdeen augmented the pension of Master John Henderson, master of the grammar school, with the sum of 20 merks, making in all 50 merks, and they oblige themselves to cause payment to be made to him of the annual rents and duty of his chaplaincy of St Michael, for all terms resting bygone.² In October 1559, we read in the burgh records of Peebles, that if the master teach the children more diligently, whereby they conceive more wisdom, the town shall have consideration thereof³—an early example of ‘payment by results!’ A still further instance of a like disposition, is seen in an ordinance of October 1562, where the schoolmaster receives 40s. with the addition that as he makes ‘cause’ in teaching the children, and they increase in science and knowledge, the said 40s. shall be freely given to him; but failing thereof, the same shall be allowed in his fee, he thereafter providing for himself.⁴

§ 17. Generally before the Reformation the masters of the grammar and sang schools received their appointment during lifetime. The earliest example found on this point occurs in 1418, when the chancellor of Aberdeen gave symbolical delivery of the office of master ‘pro toto tempore vite sue remansuro’ to Master John Homyll ‘per donationem birreti.’⁵ On 28th June 1509, the provost, bailies, and community of Aberdeen presented Master John Merschell to the grammar schools ‘for all the dais of his live;’ he was admitted by the gift of a pair of beads.⁶ In 1524, the abbot of Holyrood nominates Master Hary Henryson to be principal master of the grammar school of Edinburgh, ‘and nane otheris alanerly for all the dayis of his lyftime;’ and the abbot will warrant, acquit, and defend that donation ‘during all the dayis of his

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ Burgh Records of Peebles.

⁵ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁴ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

lyfe,' against all deadly, without fraud or guile.¹ The office is confirmed to him, by a precept under the Privy Seal, dated 21st March 1529, 'durante vita sua.'² Mr William Robertson was appointed master of the High School of Edinburgh before 1546, 'for all the dayis of his lyfe.'³ The whole council of Aberdeen, in one voice, assigned to the master of their grammar school a yearly pension of 10 merks Scots 'during all the days of his lyf.'⁴ Party feeling appears to have run high at this time in the good town, and the master was obliged to resign his office in consequence of some troubles into which he got, and so losing the support of his patrons. He tendered his resignation on 14th April 1550, and received £40 in full payment.⁵ His successor in office is to receive his salary 'induring the townis vill.'⁶

The oldest entry touching schools in the records of the burgh of Haddington, is dated 21st February 1536; on which day, Thom Burrell was ordained to enter his son with Henry Aytoun for teaching until Candlemas, when he shall be examined, 'gyf he be sufficient eftir thir condicions, and thairefter to fulfill thir condicions at the will of the bailzies.'⁷ In the burgh of Ayr, the master of the grammar school appears to have been appointed for one year only. On 5th May 1551, Master William Nechay is chosen schoolmaster for a year.⁸ Here is an entry showing how the *culpa* became, as it were, self-acting. On 2d November 1555, Master William Newdry, schoolmaster of Peebles, is laid under this obligation, that if it be found that he pass from teaching the children in the school for four days without licence of the bailies and council, he shall lose his balance of fees due, and be discharged of his service incontinently thereafter; and with consent of both parties, the ordinance is to be sufficient warning in time

¹ Registrum Magni Sigilli, xxiii., No. 157.

² Registrum Secreti Sigilli, viii., 170.

³ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Burgh Records of Haddington.

Burgh Records of Ayr.

coming.¹ Another entry from the records of Peebles sheds some light on the question of tenure, or rather on the kind of fault that should determine a tenure of office. On 9th March 1563, the council of Peebles ordains the schoolmaster to wait on the bairns and not to go to hunting or other pleasures in time coming, without licence of the aldermen; if he fail, he shall be dispossessed of his office.²

§ 18. With reference to the qualification required in the master of the grammar school, it is evident that at this period he was generally a churchman. Master John Homyll, who was master of the grammar schools of Aberdeen in 1418, succeeded Andrew of Syves, late vicar of Bervy.³ In 1489, the rector of Kincardine, whose duty it was to teach the general school at Elgin, was ordered to be cited for that purpose.⁴ Master Hary Henryson, master of the grammar school of Edinburgh, was taken bound by his bishop in the deed of nomination, 'to be at hie solempne festivale tymes at hie mess and evin sang with his surples upon him,' to do the abbot and convent of Holyrood service, 'the time that we shall doe devyne service within our said abbay as efferis.'⁵ In the grammar school of Crail, founded in 1542, the master and his successors, preceptors of the school, are required to be priests—'sacerdotes,' men of proved learning and ability, and of blameless life.⁶ The master of the grammar school at Kirkwall in 1544 was also the chaplain of the cathedral—'sacellanus,' who had to be present on solemn days and festivals within the choir with his surplice 'ad duas saltem ad unam horam majorem.'⁷ His office was declared to be incompatible with the holding of any other office in the cathedral.⁸ Master James Chalmer is discharged on 5th November 1557, from his stall and place in the choir of the parish church of

¹ Burgh Records of Peebles.

² *Ibid.*

³ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁴ *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis*, pp. 57, 270.

⁵ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, xxiii., No. 157.

⁶ *Lee's History of the Church of Scotland*, i., 334.

⁷ *Peterkin's Rentals of Orkney*, App. 23. ⁸ *Ibid.*

Aberdeen, because that having been presented to the place for teaching the bairns of the grammar school as master, and having left that cure and passed into the service of the New College of Aberdeen as regent, he has forfeited his place in the choir, and should therefore have no room, place, or profit thereof in time coming.¹ Thus, as master of the grammar school, he was bound to be an ecclesiastic; but on taking the higher office, he forfeited the special place in the cathedral, with which, as master of the grammar school, he was endowed.

§ 19. We have some information with regard to the subjects taught in the schools. Of old the great and perhaps the only subject was grammar—'ars grammatica,' which comprehended the whole of classical literature. It would be very important for our subject if we could ascertain the books on which our teachers prelected in the schools before the Reformation; but, unfortunately, there is not, with one or two exceptions, a catalogue preserved of the little libraries possessed by the cathedrals, monasteries, and schools. The catalogue of the priory of Lochleven in A.D. 1150, consisted of sixteen books, among which there was not a complete copy of the Bible, and the rest were books required for the services of the church, or theological books.² The next largest catalogue of books is that preserved in the chartulary of the bishopric of Glasgow, taken on 24th March 1432 by four canons of the cathedral of Glasgow, to which it belonged.³ The catalogue was taken three hundred years later than that of Lochleven, and as it belonged to one of the richest churches in Scotland, we may conclude that it was considered a large one for the time. There are 165 volumes mentioned in the catalogue, and when we consider the labour required for transcribing so many books, and the expense of the vellum on which they were written, it will appear that it was a great library. The library has been classified with the view

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² *Archæologia Scotica*, ii., 343, et supra, p. 3.

³ *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ii., 337.

of showing what studies most commonly occupied the learned masters and scholars: books necessary for the service of the church, including missals, breviaries, psalters, gradalia, etc.: Bibles: legends of saints, including those of St Kentigern and St Serf: books of the civil and canon law: theological books, including several works of St Augustine, St Jerome, Bede, etc.: philosophical books, treating of morals, metaphysics, or natural philosophy: the classical books are few, and these not the most eminent; there is, however, a *Catholicon*, or great dictionary of the Latin tongue, described as 'valde preciosum et solenne co-opertum coreo albo catenatum juxta magnum altare.'¹ The library does not contain a single book in the Greek language. A more interesting collection of books, if less ample and expensive than the great cathedral library of Glasgow, is that on which Ferrerius pre-lected in the abbey of Kinloss. His list of authors is valuable, as showing the course of study pursued in the monasteries and schools in the fifteenth century, and of the literary tastes of that period.²

The Statutes of the Church at Aberdeen provide that the master of the schools shall teach the boys in grammar as well as logic.³ In a general convention and provincial council

¹ Archæologia Scotica, ii., 346, 347.

² The books comprised: 'Secundum librum de copia Erasmi. Item, Orationem Ciceronis pro Q. Ligario. Item, primum librum Officiorum Ciceronis. Item, Dialecticam Trapasontii. Item, libros decem Ethicorum Aristotelis. Item, Topica Ciceronis. Item, Rhetoricam minorem Melancthonis, cum Schematibus. Item, Rhetoricam Melancthonis majorem. Item, Sphaeram a Sacrobosco. Item, Bucolica Virgilii. Item, Georgica. Item, librum primum de copia Erasmi. Item, Arithmeticam nostram. Item, Dialogum primum Physicorum Fabri. Item, Universam logicam Aristotelis, cum prædicabilibus Porphyrii. Item, libros quinque Physicorum Aristotelis. Item, libros duo Politicorum Aristotelis. Item, primi libri Sententiarum decem distinctiones. Item, Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos. Item, quinque primos libros Augustini de Civitate Dei.' Records of the Monastery of Kinloss, p. 60. Ferrerius also enumerates the list of books in the library at Kinloss, including several theological, classical, and philosophical works, pp. 53-56.

³ Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, ii., 45.

held at Edinburgh on 27th November 1549, various statutes were enacted for teaching grammar, divinity, and canon law, in cathedrals and abbeys. Provision was made for teaching churchmen and poor scholars *gratis*, that they may be able to pass to the study of the Holy Scriptures.¹ In 1531, in presence of Master Adam Otterburn, provost of Edinburgh, Master Adam Mure, master of the high school, bound himself to make the bairns 'perfect grammarians' in three years;² the record unfortunately does not mention how this most desirable result was to be accomplished. When the influence of the church was declining, and the management of the grammar schools was passing gradually into the hands of town councils, the course of study, as was befitting, was made more comprehensive and adapted to the new requirements; accordingly we learn that the master appointed to the grammar school of Aberdeen in 1544, was to instruct the bairns in science, manners, writings, and such other virtues.³ From the statutes of the grammar school of Aberdeen, dated 1553, we learn that the boys had to acquire a moderate knowledge of arithmetic—'numerandi artem modice prælibent,'⁴ and that the master prelected on Terence, Virgil, or Cicero, to those who ought to attend;⁵ and what will startle those who in a spirit of self-satisfaction and complacency regard the times with which we are dealing as barbarous and destitute of letters, is, that the boys were strictly forbidden to speak in the vulgar tongue, but only in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, and Gaelic.⁶ This school regulation implies a course of liberal studies, to which we may now be said to be strangers. These languages, dead and living, must have been taught in the school, and though the study of some of them has been said to have been only recently introduced into Scotland, we are almost warranted, from the terms of this directory, in concluding that

¹ Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, ii., No. 189, 201.

² Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

³ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁴ Miscellany of the Spalding Club, v., 400. ⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Ibid.

Greek and Hebrew were introduced into Scotland at an earlier period than is generally believed. When Greek was being spoken among the scholars of the grammar school of Aberdeen in 1553, it may be assumed that that language was taught in the universities at a considerably earlier period; the teachers themselves having to be taught before they could instruct their pupils in the language. M'Crie, in his history of John Knox,¹ does not think that the study of that language was introduced into Scotland before 1534, when John Erskine of Dun brought a master from France, who taught it first in Montrose, where George Wishart the martyr acquired a knowledge of the language, and was master of the school. But there is a confirmation of the proficiency in the study of Greek of the students in Aberdeen, at an earlier date than that of the directory of 1553. John Leslie, bishop of Ross, in his book 'de rebus gestis Scotorum,' states that James V. in 1540 was treated to orations at Aberdeen by the scholars—'scholasticis'—in the Latin and Greek tongue²—'orationes in Græca Latinaque lingua, summo artificio instructæ.' Here is the account in the vernacular given by the bishop of the progress to the north of the king and his queen: 'They were received with diverse triumphs and plays made by the town, university, and schools, where there were exercise and disputations in all kind of sciences, with diverse orations made in Greek, Latin, and other languages, quhilk was mickell commendit be the king and quene and all thair company.'³ Knox affirms that in a debate in Parliament in 1543, the lay members of Parliament showed better acquaintance with Greek than the clergy,⁴ a statement which goes far to prove that Greek was introduced into Scotland previous to 1534. Andrew Melville, who was taught Greek ('a rare thing in the countrey') in Montrose before the Reformation by the learned Frenchman Pierre de Marsiliers—'honestlie conducit to the sam be that

¹ M'Crie's Life of Knox, i., p. 343.

² Lib. ix., p. 430.

³ Historie of Scotland, p. 159; Fasti Aberdonenses, xxiv.

⁴ History of the Reformation, 34.

notable instrument of the kirk, Jhone Erskine of Done,' was so proficient in the language that when he became a student of St Andrews, he could read the logics of Aristotle in Greek, a proficiency 'quhilk was a wounder to the regents of the college that he was sa fyne a schollar.'¹ The famous Mr John Row, author of the 'History of the Kirk,' taught Greek and Hebrew in the grammar school at Perth shortly before the Reformation.² It may be mentioned that Perth claims the honour of not only having been the first place in Scotland where Hebrew was taught, but also Greek; and there is some evidence that Hebrew was taught in other schools than that of Perth considerably before the Reformation.

We are not altogether without some knowledge as to the class books which were most popular in the schools previous to the Reformation. Our old chronicler, Andrew of Wyntown, to whom we are so much indebted for describing events which he himself witnessed, incidentally tells us—and he was a contemporary of Chaucer—the grammar taught in the schools during his own time:

' Donate ³ than wes in his state,
And in that tyme hys libell wrate,
That now barnys oysys to lere
At thaire begynnynng of gramere;
And Saynct Jerome in thai zheris
The best wes callyd of his scoleris.'⁴

Different editions of Donat's grammar continued for a long time to be taught in our schools. It is pleasing to know that the printing of the 'Donat' was among the first attempts of the typographical art in Scotland. On 15th September 1507,

¹ Melville's Diary, pp. 24, 31. In 1574, Mr James Melville tells us that he was taught only the A B C, and the simple declensions of Greek, in the University of St Andrews, and that the regent 'went no farder' (ib., 24).

² M'Crie's Life of Knox, i., 294.

³ 'Donate' was so called from a celebrated grammarian, Ælius Donatus, who lived at Rome about the middle of the fourth century.

⁴ Cronykil, b. v., c. x., 704.

James IV.—the beneficent king who enacted that all barons and freeholders send their eldest sons and heirs to school—grants the sole licence of printing to Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, the first Scotch printers;¹ and so great appears to have been the demand for books at the beginning of the sixteenth century, that on 14th January 1509 the interference of the courts of law was found necessary to preserve the rights of the king's printers by preventing other persons from importing and selling 'within this realme in time to come mess bukes, manuallis, portuiss, matin, Donatis and Ulric in personas, and divers uther bukis printed by the said Walter Chepman, under penalty of escheating of the same.'² From the records of Edinburgh, we learn that it was used in the grammar school of that burgh in the beginning of the sixteenth century; on 10th January 1519, the provost, bailies, and council of Edinburgh, for reasonable causes, enact that children attend no other school than the principal grammar school, 'to be teichit in ony science bot allanerlie grace buke, prymar, and plane donat.'³ Robert Legprevick was exclusively empowered by writ of Privy Seal on 14th January 1567, to print Donat's grammar.⁴ Another famous grammar used in our schools before the Reformation was that of Despauter,⁵ which long continued to be a standard school book with us. 'Meditationes in grammaticam Despauterianam' was one of the school books of which the monopoly of printing was granted in 1559 to Master William Nudrye.⁶

¹ Registrum Secreti Sigilli, iii., 129.

² Acta Dominorum Concilii, vol. xxi., fol. 70; the Knightly Tales of Gola-grus and Gawane, p. 24. For the different editions of the 'Donat,' printed before the Reformation, the reader may consult Repertorium Bibliographicum, p. 273; and Ebert's Bibliographical Dictionary, voce 'Donatus.'

³ Burgh Records of Edinburgh. The 'grace buke and prymar' were books in use for the religious education of the scholars who did not understand the Latin and Greek tongues: Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, iii., 388, 389.

⁴ Registrum Secreti Sigilli.

⁵ John Despauterius was a distinguished Flemish grammarian who lived from 1460 to 1520.

⁶ Registrum Secreti Sigilli, xxx., 5a.

These grammars, however, so extensively used in all schools before the Reformation, were, as we have seen, written by two famous foreign grammarians, but there is happily preserved the first grammar written by a Scotsman; and being a book of rare occurrence, and exceedingly instructive to the grammarian, as showing the method of teaching grammar in our schools at the beginning of the sixteenth century, we do not think an apology necessary for giving, in a form slightly abridged, the part in the Scots tongue. The extract is from the first edition, printed at Paris in 1522, entitled 'Rudimenta puerorum in artem grammaticam per Joannem Vaus Scotum.'¹ This grammarian, 'who,' says Chalmers, 'as he published the first grammatical treatise,

¹ The second and third editions are of still greater rarity: the second edition was published in 1531, with this title-page: 'Rvdimenta pverorvm in artem grammaticam per Joannem Vaus Scotum: ex variis collecta: in quibus tres præcipui sunt libelli. Primus, de octo partibus orationis fere ex Donato. Secundus, de earundem partium interpretatione lingua vernacula. Tertius, de vulgari Scotiæ eruditione, continens in se quinque capita: Primum, de Declinationibus nominum, præmissa Latinarum literarum diuisione pro sequentibus necessaria; Secundum, de Formatione temporum omnium modorum; Tertium, de Concordantiis grammaticalibus; Quartum, de Resolutione grammaticali, breuissima de constructione oratoria, adiecta appendice; Quintum, de Regimine omnium partium orationis in generali. Quartus Itidem lingua Scotica seorsum additur libellus, continens Interrogatiunculas de exactione nominum et verborum regimine, vna cum regulis, quæ a pueris ob facilitatem aurea vocantur; præmissis etiam ad rem ipsam attinentibus nominum et verborum diuisionibus.'

The third edition was published in 1553, the chapter 'de constructione oratoria' ending thus: 'Bot yit of ane thing vill ye be advertit, that rewlis of oratrie ar changeable eftyr the iugment of weill imbutit eiris, for nay thing is mair delectable in eloquens than variete, and craiftius spekyne without greit apperans of the samyn, for les offend is the eir (at the leist in our quotidiane spekyne), facile fluand congruite than thrawine effekkit eloquens apperand ouyr crafty:' Fasti Aberdonenses, pref. xxi., xxii. This edition, the work of Theophilus Stuart, has the title, 'Rudimenta artis grammaticæ per Jo. Vaus Scotum selecta et in duo diuisa. Prima pars dat literarum, syllabarum et dictionem prima libamina partim Latine partim vulgi lingua tradita. Secunda docet usum dictionum ad orationes congruas statuendas secundum sep-

may be regarded as the Whittington of Scotland,¹ was master of the grammar school of Aberdeen in 1520, and the first humanist in its university,² whose first principal, the famous Hector Boece, commemorates him thus: 'in hoc genere disciplinæ admodum eruditus, sermone elegans, sententiis venustus, labore invictus.'

The following extracts may serve to show the method pursued by the first Scottish grammarian in introducing our forefathers to the mysteries of conjugations, declensions, and pronouns. . . . Preterito perfecto et plusque perfecto, tyme perfitely and mare than perfitely bygane. Vtinam amauissem, wald god i haue lwfit or had lwfit, et pluraliter, etc: futuro, tyme to come, vtinam amem wald god i sall lwf. Coniunctiuo modo, coniunand mode, it spekis of dowt: tempore presenti, tyme present, cum amem, qwhen i lwf: preterito imperfecto, tyme imperfectly bygane, cum amarem, qwhen i lwfit: preterito perfecto, tyme perfitely bygane, cum amauerim, qwhen i haue lwfit: preterito plusque perfecto, cum amauissem, qwhen i had lwfit: futuro, cum amauero, qwhen i sal lwf. Infinitiuo modo, on endit or determyt mode to

tedecim congruitatis formulas; unde omnis grammaticæ artis oratio dependet. Parisiis ex officina Roberti Masselin 1553.' The extensive learning of Mr Stuart has been highly extolled: 'sed quis astrologorum motus, arithmetorum numeros, geometrarum dimensiones, grammaticorum regulas, rhetorum elegantias, philosophorum subtilitates, medicorum thesauros, uberius unquam possedit quam in vicinia nostra Theophilus Stuartus:' Collections of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff (Spalding Club), 66. Ferrerius, at the end of the third edition, addresses to the editor the following lines:

'Sint procul ambages manibusque teratur ubique
Iste liber format qui bene Grammaticum
Theophilus noster præclari muneris author
Ista suis pueris scripsit Aberdoniæ,
Vausius hæc primum dederat, vestigia pone
Theiophilus sequitur, doctus uterque. Vale.'

—Miscellany of the Spalding Club, v., 44.

¹ Life of Ruddiman, p. 7.

² Fasti Aberdonenses, p. lxxxiii. Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, 66.

nowmyr or persone: amare, to lwf; amauisse, to haue lwfit or had lwfit; amatum ire vel amaturum esse, for to lwf. Gerundia vel participalia verba sunt hec amandi amando amandum, hec thyr, sunt ar, participalia verba verbis lyke participulis, amandi, of lwfing, amando, in lwfing, amandum, for to lwf. Supina, amatum, to lwf, amatu, to be lwfit. Duo participia, twa participulis, trahuntur ar drawyn, ab hoc verbo actiuo, fra this verbe actiue, presentis et preteriti imperfecti temporis et futuri, ane of the present and preterit imperfect-tyme, ane wthyr of the futert: presentis et preteriti imperfecti ut amans, he yat lwfis or lwfit: futuri vt amaturus, he that is for to lwf.

Et aduerte omne participium in ens vel in ans est presentis et preteriti imperfecti temporis licet breuitatis causa dicatur presentis temporis in sequentibus.

Amor, amaris, amatus sum vel fui, amari, amandi, amando, amandum, amatum, amatu, amatus, amandus.

Indicatio modo, schawand mode: amor, i am lwfit, amaris vel amare, thow art lwfit, amatur, he is lwfit; amabar, i was lwfit, amabaris vel amabare, thow was lwfit; amatus sum vel fui, i haue bene lwfit; amatus es vel fuisti, thow hes bene lwfit; amatus eram vel fueram, i had bene lwfit; amabor, i sal be lwfit, amaberis vel amabere, thow sal be lwfit.

Imperatio modo, byddand or exhortand mode: amare, be thow lwfit, ametur, be he lwfit, amemur, be we lwfit, amimini, be ze lwfit, amentur, be tha lwfit, amator tu vel ille, be thou lwfit or he, amemur, be we lwfit, amaminor, be ze lwfit; amantor, be tha lwfit.

Optatio modo, yarnand mode: utinam amarer, wald god [I be luffit, or war luffit ¹]; utinam amatus essem vel fuisset, wald god I haue bene lwfit or had bene lwfit, amatus esses vel fuisses, thow hes bene lwfit or had been lwfit; . . . utinam amer, wald god i sal be lwfit, ameris vel amere, thow sal be lwfit.

Coniunctio modo, coniunand mode: cum amer, quhen i am

¹ The words in square brackets are not in the original; they are inserted in a space left blank, in a handwriting of the sixteenth century.

lwfit, cum amarer, qwhen I was lwfit; cum amatus sim vel fuerim, qwhen i haue bene lwfit; cum amatus essem vel fuisssem, qwhen i had bene lwfit; cum amatus ero vel fuero, qwhen i sal be lwfit.

Infinitiuo modo: amari, to be lwfit; amatum esse vel fuisse, to haue bene lwfit or had bene lwfit, amatum iri, for to be lwfit. Supina, amatum, amatu. Duo participia, tway participilis, trahuntur ar drawyn ab hoc verbo passiuo, fra this verbe passie; preteriti perfecti et plusque perfecti temporis et futuri, ane of the preterit perfect tyme, and preterit plusque perfect tyme, ane wthyr of ye future tyme preterit, etc.; vt amatus, he that is lwfit, futuri, vt amandus, for to be lwfit.

. . . Datiue cais, to or till before ane casuale worde is the takyne of the datiuue cais, as do tibi, i gif to the. The accusatiue cais, it is gouernit eftir my verbe and resauis the deid of the verbe, as amo ioannem. The vocatiue cais, ony thing that i call on is vocatiue cais, as o petre fac ignem. The ablatiuue cais, in with by throuch tyme tide or houre is takyne of the ablatiuue cais, as sum in schola, percussi eum pugno, veni hora sexta. How mony declinationes of nownes is thare? fue, quhilk fue? the first, the secund, the thrid, the ferd, the fift. Quhair by knaw ye the first declinatione of ane nowne? that is of the quhilk the genitiue cais singulare endis in e, and datiuue cais siklike, as nominatiuo, hec musa, genitivo, huius muse, datiuo, huic muse. Quhare by knaw ye the secund declinatione of nowne? that is of the quhilk the genitiue cais singulare endis in i, and datiuue cais in o, as hoc scamnum, huius scamni, huic scamno. Quhare by knaw ye the thrid declinacione of nowne? that is of the quhilk the genitiue cais singulare endis in is, and the datiuue cais in i, as hic et hec sacerdos, huius sacerdotis, huic sacerdoti. Quhare by knaw ye the ferd declinatione of nowne? that is of the quhilk genitiue cais singulare endis in us, and datiuue cais in ui, as hec manus, huius manus, huic manui. Quhareby knaw ye the fift declinatione of nowne? that is of the quhilk the genitiue cais singulare endis in ei be diuidit syllabis, and the datiuue cas sik like, as hec species, huius speciei, huic speciei.

DE PRONOMINE.—Quhat is ane pronowne? Ane part of orisonone quhilk is put for ane nowne and may almaist als mekil as ane nowne, and sumtyme resauis certane persone. How many thingis fallis to ane pronowne? aucht, quhilk aucht? qualite, gener, nouwmyr, figure, kynde, persone, cais, and declinatione. Quhare in is the qualite of ane pronowne partit? In twa. Quhilk twa? In pronownes of finite qualite, or infinite qualite. Quhilk pronownes ar of finite qualite? thay that resauis certane persone, as ego, tu, ille. Quhilk pronownes ar of infinite qualite? thay that resauis na certane persone, as quis, que, quod. How many generes is thare in ane pronowne? almaist als mony as in ane nowne, quhy say ye almaist als mony as in ane nowne? for the epicceyn gener and the dubie gener ar in ane nowne, and noucht in ane pronowne. The masculine gener, as iste, the femynine gener, as ista. The neutre gener, as istud. The comone of twa, as hic et hec nostras, hic et hec vestras. Quhilk twa wer umquhile of al gener vndir twa terminationes, as hic et hec nostras et hoc nostrate, hic et hec vestras et hoc vestrates. The comone of all, as ego, tu, sui, bot thow sal vndirstand that all pronownes of thare nature ar adiectiues and tharfore tha ar all gener vndir ane terminatione twa terminationes or thre terminationes bot ane pronowne is callit masculine gener because it is put for ane nowne of the masculine gener or ioynit with it and for sic like resone callit femynine gener and neutre gener. How many nowmeris is thare in ane pronowne? Twa. Quhilk twa? ane singulare and ane plurale. Quhare by knaw ye the singulare nowmyr? it spekis of ane thing singulary, as hic this man. The plurale nowmyr spekis of ma things pluraly, as hi thir men. How many figures is thare in ane pronowne? thre, quhilk thre? ane sympil and ane componit, and ane decomponit. The sympil, as is, the componit as idem; the decomponit, as identidem. How many kynde of pronownes is thare? twa, quhilk twa? ane pronowne primitiue, and ane pronowne deriuative. Quhat is ane pronowne primitiue? It that is first in the self and nocht dryuin fra ane othir, as ego. Quhat is ane pronowne deriuative?

tive? it that is dryuin fra ane pronowne primitiue, as meus. How mony pronownes are primitiue, and how mony deriuatiuis? aucht ar primitiuis, and seuin ar deriuatiuis. Quhilk ar the aucht primitiuis? ego, tu, sui, ille, ipse, iste, hic, and is. Quhilk seuin ar deriuatiuis? meus, tuus, suus, noster, vester, nostras and vestras. Quhare fra ar the seuin deriuatiuis dryuin? fra the first thre pronownes primitiuis, ego, tu, sui. How mony fra ego? How mony fra tu? How mony fra sui? thre fra ego, thre fra tu, and ane fra sui. Quhilk thre fra ego? meus, noster, and nostras. Quhilk thre fra tu? tuus, vester and vestras. Quhilk ane fra sui? suus alanerly. How is meus, noster, and nostras formit fra ego? of this mener: persone prime generis omnis, ego mei change the i in u and put till it ane s and than it is meus. Et pluraliter nos nostrum vel nostri, change the strum in ster and than it is noster, and change the ster in stras and than it is nostras. How is tuus, vester, and vestras formit fra tu? of this manere: persone secunde generis omnis tu tui, change the i in u, and put till it ane s and than it is tuus. Et pluraliter vos vestrum vel vestri, change the strum in ster and than it is vester, and change the ster in stras and thane it is vestras. How is suus formit fra sui? of this maner: persone tertie generis omnis sui, change the i in u and put till it ane s and than it is suus. How mony pronownes is thare? Fiftene indoutabile. Quhilk fiftene? Ego, tu, sui, ille, ipse, iste, hic, and is, primitiuis. Meus, tuus, suus, noster, vester, nostras, and vestras, deriuatiuis. How mony of thir ar relatiuis and how mony ar demonstratiuis, and how mony ar baith relatiuis and demonstratiuis? seuin ar relatiuis, is, suus, ipse, sui, iste, hic, and illic, and qui, que, quod, qualis, quantus, cuius, a, um, cuias, quotus, and quot: quhilk mony callis nowmnes relatiuis. How mony ar demonstratiuis? Thretene. Quhilk thretene? ego, tu, ille, ipse, iste, hic, is, meus, tuus, noster, vester, nostras, and vestras. How mony ar baith relatiuis and demonstratiuis? all the relatiuis bot qui, sui, and suus. Nevir the les hic and iste ar seildin tane relatiuis and is

seilden demonstratiue. How many of thir deriuatiuis ar callit possessiuis? fue. Quhilk fue? Meus, tuus, suus, noster, and vester, for nostras and vestras ar callit gentilis, and thare interrogatiue is cuias. How many persones is thare in ane pronowne? Thre, quhilk thre? the first, as ego, the secunde, as tu, the thrid, as ille. Qwhy is ego first persone, and tu secunde persone? for al nowne al pronowne al participil, ar thrid persone, except ego, first persone singular, nos, first persone plurale, tu, secunde persone singulare, vos, secunde persone plurale, and al vocatiue cais quhilk ar secund persone. How many pronownes hes the vocatiue cais? foure, quhilk foure? tu, meus, noster and nostras? thir four hes the vocatiue cais, and al the laif wantis it be this reule. Tu, meus, et noster, nostras, hec sola vocantur. Quhy is ane pronowne first persone? for it signifys the thing that spekis of itself.¹ . . .

In 1559, a monopoly of printing certain schoolbooks was granted, as already indicated, to Master William Nudrye, by the king. The list of books is valuable, as being no doubt the most popular elementary books in our schools just before the Reformation. The deed runs thus: 'Quhairas Master William Nudrye hes set furth for the better instructioun of zoung chylderin in the art of grammar to be taucht in scolis diuers volumes following—that is to say, Ane Schort Introduction; Elementar degestit into sevin breve taiblis for the commodius expeditioun of thame that ar desirous to reid and write the Scottis toung; Orthoepia trilinguis; Compendiariæ Latinæ linguæ notæ; Calographiæ index; Tables manuell breuelie introducing the unioun of the partis of Orisoun in Greik and Latene speichis with thair accidentis; Meditationes in grammaticam Despauterianam; Meditationes in publium memographum et sapientum dicta; Trilinguis literaturæ syntaxis; Trilinguis grammaticæ questiones; Ane instructioun for bairnis to be lernit in Scottis and Latin; Ane regement

¹ We are indebted to Mr David Laing for the use of this invaluable schoolbook—the edition of 1522. Several leaves are wanting, but Mr Laing is not aware of any perfect copy existing.

for educatioun of zoung gentillmen in literature and virtuous exercitioun; Ane A B C for Scottismen to rede the Frenche toung, with ane exhortatioun to the nobles of Scotland to favour thair ald freindis; The geneologie of Inglishe Britonis; Quotidiani sermonis formulæ; E. Pub. Terentii Aphri comediis decerptæ. Master William Nudrye is to have the sole printing of these books or of any other volumes of which he may be the author or setter forth during ten years; and all our sovereign lord and lady's subjects, printers, and booksellers are commanded not to print or sell, within this realm, any of the said volumes, but only Master Nudrye, his factors and assignees; nor to buy any other impressions of these books, but only those that will be printed by Master William Nudrye, under all pain.¹ In this list it will be observed that the English, or rather the Scots, language is fairly represented, leaving little doubt that our own tongue—our own literature we can hardly call it—formed one of the subjects of study in our schools at a very early date.

An interesting account of the character of the accomplished Alexander Stewart, natural son of James IV.,² written by the famous Erasmus, the restorer of learning in the Middle Ages, is worth quoting, as illustrating the subjects of instruction and the method of educating our higher classes of scholars towards the end of the fifteenth century. Erasmus is very eloquent in praise of his admirable pupil, who was provided to the archbishopric of St Andrews in 1509, and who fell with his gallant father at Flodden in 1513, when he was only eighteen years of age; but we shall only quote that part of the character which bears more immediately on our subject.

¹ Registrum Secreti Sigilli, xxx., fol. 5a.

² His mother was Margaret daughter of Archibald Boyd of Bonshaw, and his tutor, the learned Dr Patrick Panter. The young Archbishop, after having gone through a course of grammar at home, made the tour of France, went to Italy, and settled at Padua, where he pursued his studies under Erasmus Reterodamus, who, with many others, deeply lamented the premature death of a pupil of so great promise: Keith's Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, p. 33. (Russell's ed.)

'I once lived with him,' says Erasmus, 'and taught him rhetoric and Greek literature. Immortal God! how many things he could at once embrace! At the same time that he was studying law—no very pleasant subject, from the uncouthness with which it is written, and the hateful verbosity of its expositors—he received instruction in elocution, and declaimed on set subjects, thus exercising at once his pen and his tongue; and learned things in Greek, and daily repeated at a stated time what had been given him. In the afternoon, he studied instrumental music on the 'Mons chord,' the flute, and the harp—'monocho-chordiis, tibiis testudini,'—and sometimes also practised singing. Nor even was meal time allowed to be completely free from intellectual occupation. A priest always read some useful book, as, for example, the papal decrees, or St Jerome, or St Ambrose, and the reader was never interrupted unless either of his teachers, between whom he sat at dinner, called his attention to anything, or he himself, not quite understanding what was read, put some question. Again, after repast there were fables, but short ones, and in writing. In fact, no part of his life was free from study except what was given to religion and sleep; for even if there were any leisure (which, in the midst of such a variety of studies, was scarcely ever the case), it was employed in reading history, for he was especially fond of this branch of knowledge. And thus, while still a lad, hardly out of his eighteenth year, he had acquired an amount of learning in every department that would have been remarkable in any one. In short, no one could be worthier of his royal descent, and of descent from such a king.'¹ We learn from Sir David Lyndsay's 'Complaynt' that the young archbishop's brother, James V., was taken from the schools when he was only twelve years of age, 'learning virtue and science.'

The learned schoolmaster of Linlithgow, Ninian Winzet, tells, in his third 'Tractate,' that there was 'sometimes submitted to his tachment (albeit his erudition was small) humane

¹ Gavin Douglas's *Æneid* (Bishop Sage's ed.), p. 3. •

childer of happy ingynis, mair able to leir than he was to teche; to whom he proponed almost daily some theme, argument, or sentence, of which he caused them to make orison or epistle, in Latin tongue.¹

James Melville, the nephew of Andrew Melville, has left a record of the course of instruction pursued at the schools of Logie and Montrose, when he had attended them shortly after the Reformation. About the fifth year of his age—he was born in 1556—he tells that the ‘grace buik’ was put into his hands at home; but having learned little of it at the age of seven, he was sent to a school at Logie-Montrose, where he was taught the Catechism, prayers, Scriptures, rudiments of the Latin grammar, with the vocables in Latin and French, diverse speeches in French, with the proper pronunciation. He next proceeded to the etymology and syntax of Lillius, to the syntax of Linacer, to Hunter’s *Nomenclatura*, the *Minora Colloquia* of Erasmus, *Eclogues* of Virgil, *Epistles* of Horace, and the *Epistles* of Cicero ad Terentiam. The good teacher, Mr William Gray, minister at Logie-Montrose, ‘who for thankfulness he names,’ was very successful in resolving his authors, whom he taught grammatically, both according to etymology and syntax.² Having attended this school for five years, he was next sent to a school at Montrose, where, during the first year of his attendance, he passed through the rudiments again, next through the first part of Sebastian’s grammar, with which he heard the *Phormio* of Terence, and was exercised in composition; after that he commenced the second part of the grammar, the *Georgics* of Virgil, and ‘diverse other things.’³

§ 20. With regard to the conduct of business within the school we have a valuable directory—the only one extant before the Reformation, containing minute rules and regulations to be observed in the grammar school of Aberdeen. This directory is printed at the end of Mr John Vaus’s ‘*Rudiments*

¹ *Certaine Tractatis* (Maitland Club, p. 27).

² Melville’s *Diary*, pp. 13, 14. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

of the Art of Grammar, printed at Paris, in 1553;¹ but there is a strong presumption that it was in use long before that time. The following are the provisions of the statutes and laws of the grammar school of Aberdeen—'ludi literarii grammaticorum:'

At first, the boy on entering the schools shall prostrate himself on the ground, with bended knees salute Christ, the best, the greatest, author of the human race, and the Virgin, the equal of God, with a short prayer in this manner: I thank Thee, heavenly Father, that Thou hast willed that the past night hath been prosperous for me; and I pray that Thou wilt also be favourable to me this day, for Thy glory, and the health of my soul; and Thou who art the true light, knowing no setting, sun eternal, enlivening, supporting, gladdening all things, deign to enlighten my mind, that I may never fall into any sin, but by Thy guiding arrive at life eternal. Amen. Jesus, be Thou Jesus to me; and by Thy chief spirit strengthen me—'et spiritu principali confirma me.'

At the seventh hour in the morning, a part shall be commenced, and when it is finished, the preceptor will enter, chastise either by word or strokes the deficient; when the punishment is done, let there be a public prelection of all the lessons, by the preceptor himself, at the eighth hour in the morning. When the prelection is ended, the boys will make haste to breakfast. There will be a private prelection by the assistant masters at the tenth hour in the morning; and at eleven or half-past eleven, licence shall be granted to the poor scholars of going to town, and a little afterwards to the town boys if there be any. There will be a second prelection by the head-master, on Terence, Virgil, or Cicero, at half-past eleven, to those who should attend—'qui adesse debent.' Lastly, when the hour of mid-day strikes, power will be given to the boys to go to dinner.

Afternoon Statutes: Before two o'clock in the afternoon

¹ The directory is followed by a letter from Alexander Skeyne, addressed 'juventuti Aberdonensi grammatices studiosæ,' from Paris, 15 Kal. Julii 1553: Miscellany of Spalding Club, v. 44 (pref.).

let each scholar be in the school for hearing the class prelections. One of the assistant masters will always in his turn be present in the school, and will take notes of errors, mistakes—'ineptias'—made in the Latin language, and of those who are less inclined to studies. They will also see lest that thing which they from their office ought to reprehend others for doing, they do not themselves. And at the fourth hour in the afternoon, the boys, after the ringing of the bell, will rehearse to their tutors—'recenseant suis instructoribus'—the work of that day. They will go out in pairs at the necessity of nature, with a mark or a baton; it will not be lawful for any one to go out unless compelled before the return of those to whom leave of going out was granted. The head-master himself shall hear one or other class besides the highest, when it will be agreeable to his mind. There will be evening disputations from the fifth to the sixth hour of night; and when that is finished, they will hasten to sing prayers to God, the best, the greatest. A Pythagorean silence of one year shall be enjoined on scholars in the rudiments, and on neophytes. They will learn by heart the table of confession. They will learn fairly the art of counting. All will speak in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Irish—'Hybernice,' never in the vernacular tongue, with the exception of those who know Latin. Every scholar will carry his own rod. The family—'familia,' will not deal with strangers—'extraneis,' nor any of the class of grammarians with a dialectician.

Laws: It will not be allowed to barter, nor to buy a thing from another, nor to sell what is one's own without consulting the head-master or his assistant. No one will play by staking a book, or money, or clothes, or dinner; but for a stake such as leather pins or thongs, the more advanced may contend. Playing of dice is forbidden; the poor will rejoice in the gain of dice. It will not be lawful to play out of the presence of the assistant masters.

Laws of Conduct—Animadversionis: No one shall do injury to another by word or deed; and if he who is hurt shall bear it quietly, the offender will be punished by his

complaining. But if by fighting they raise strife and altercation on both sides, each will suffer punishment; if instead of words any gives blows, he alone who inflicts the blows shall suffer punishment—‘at qui pro verbis dat verbera, solus verberator det pœnas.’ If they who are more advanced in years, by sinning in the premises will give an occasion of transgressing to the younger scholars, they will be mulcted with a double punishment, because they transgressed and gave an occasion of transgressing to scholars, who otherwise had not the mind for transgressing.¹

§ 21. In the directory of the grammar school of Aberdeen there is a catalogue of the most common offences or misdemeanours which subjected the poor scholar to discipline, and the following shall be punished: Those not listening to what is said; those coming late in the morning to school; those who do not know to say their part, with the text of the lesson; those removing unnecessarily from place to place; those running here and there; those talking in the time of prelections; those returning late from breakfast and dinner; those dragging out the time in the work of nature—‘moram trahentes in naturæ officio;’ those talking in the vernacular tongue; those long absent ‘ab auditorio;’ the authors of mischief.²

It appears from the records of Peebles that personal chastisement in the shape of confinement, if not of stripes, was exercised by the schoolmaster. An entry, dated 1555, takes the shape of a complaint—which is continued to the next court, and the history of the affair is thus lost sight of, that Master William Newdry, schoolmaster, ‘confessit that he band Thome Alexander handis in way of correction.’³ The council seems to have accepted the defence as valid, but the next time they appoint a schoolmaster, 10th June 1556, ‘to teach their bairns after his knowledge,’ they do so for a limited time, cautiously adding, however, ‘and farther, if he and the bairns can agree, and if they agree not, he shall

¹ Miscellany of the Spalding Club, v., 399.

² Ibid.

³ Burgh Records of Peebles.

make lawful naming to the bailies, council, and community, that they may provide another master before the term.¹

§ 22. The following extract from the burgh records of Dundee is the only scrap found with regard to the duties of masters on Sundays before the Reformation. We learn from this solitary entry that the masters were required to attend to the behaviour of the scholars on Sundays as well as on week days: in 1558, masters and doctors of schools attending are ordained to see that neither scholars nor servants play, cry, or dispute during the preaching, under pain of being punished with all rigour; if bairns break any 'glasen windows,' their parents shall be obliged to repair them at their own expense.²

§ 23. Our knowledge of the English school is very scanty before the Reformation. In the burgh records of Edinburgh, 8th June 1499, the town council forbid the holding of schools by any manner of person, men or women, in consequence of the plague, under pain of being banished from the town;³ but this interference was, it will be observed, dictated solely by considerations of danger to the health of the scholars and of the community. This is probably the oldest notice to be found of dame-schools, although doubtless the instruction of the young of the common people was then even more than now in the hands of women. The entry in the burgh records of Edinburgh, dated 10th January 1519, forbidding parents to send their children to any other than the high school, unless to learn elementary knowledge—'grace buik, prymar, and plane donatt,'⁴ seems to bear the inference that the municipality took no heed or oversight of the schools in which the less important branches of education were taught, and it would seem that the Church had not either exercised the same strict control over them that it did over the grammar school. In the charter by James V. sanctioning the appointment in 1524, by the abbot of Holyrood, of Master Harry Henryson as master of the grammar school

¹ Burgh Records of Peebles.

² Burgh Records of Dundee.

³ Burgh Records of Edinburgh. ⁴ *Ibid.*

of Edinburgh, the 'teching and hering of lectouris' is expressly excepted from the prohibition against the teaching of grammar in Edinburgh by any other teacher than the master of the high school.¹ No doubt in 1494 the chancellor of the Cathedral of Glasgow maintained and obtained a decret in his favour by the bishop, that without his licence no one could teach or instruct 'juvenes in puerilibus per se clam aut palam intra predictam civitatem ;'² but perhaps 'in puerilibus' may only mean the mere rudiments of grammar, and not the subjects taught in an English or 'lecture' school—reading, writing, and arithmetic. The master of the grammar school of Aberdeen claimed on 13th January 1521, it would seem, authority to prosecute all who taught grammar within the burgh, 'afor thair iugis ordinar, in sa far as he mycht of law,' but not the right of suppressing schools in which English is taught.³ An inquest, dated 11th October 1559, admits the schoolmaster of Peebles to teach the bairns of the burgh 'as afore.' He is ordained separate the English readers, to the tolbooth from the Latinists, and to make daily residence with the children.⁴

§ 24. Besides the grammar school and lecture or English school, there was another class of schools before the Reformation—namely, the *Sang School*, which was not called into existence by a statutory enactment. At first, perhaps, it existed only in cathedrals and cathedral towns, for the education of boys intended for the choir; but long before the Reformation we meet with it not only in the seats of great abbeys, as Jedburgh and Dunfermline, but in almost all the leading burghs of Scotland. There is no evidence that before the Reformation any other subject was taught in those schools than music, 'meaners, and vertew.' Shortly after the Reformation, however, we shall find that English was taught in several of them, in addition to music, though

¹ Registrum Magni Sigilli, xxiii., No. 157.

² Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis, ii., 490.

³ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁴ Burgh Records of Peebles.

in many instances the burgh or English school and the sang school remained distinct down to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The existence of such a school, with a regularly appointed master, is evidenced in the statutes of the church of Aberdeen as early as the middle of the thirteenth century. Those statutes provide that on all the greater feasts and other days there shall attend four singing boys—'qui bene sciunt cantare'—two for carrying the tapers, and two the incense—'duo ceterferarii et alii duo thuribularii,' who will be present at matins and great mass. The songsters, it is further instituted, shall receive their wages 'de communia,' and the master of the schools is enjoined to see to their regular attendance.¹ In 1429 the chapter of Brechin bound and obliged themselves to observe the foundation granted to their cathedral by the Earl of Athole and Caithness, endowing the sang school, which was to be taught by a chaplain, and superintended by the precentor.² In 1525 the vicar of Lathrisk proposes to the community of Crail to endow a music school within that burgh, of which Sir James Bowman shall be preceptor; and we are told that the bailies and community approved of his intention, which, however, does not appear to have been executed.³ In 1544, Bishop Reid founded and endowed in the cathedral church of Orkney a sang school, the master of which was to be chaplain of St Augustine, and must be learned in both singing—'utroque cantu per omnes numeros.' The precentor, it is provided, shall be examined, and shall be the master of the sang school. It is declared to be incompetent for him to hold any other benefice, altarage, or service in the cathedral, and it is required of him to teach *gratis* the boys of the choir, and the poorer who wish to attend.⁴ It is worthy of observation from this, that though the sang school was primarily founded for the service of God in the church,

¹ Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, ii., 49.

² Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis, ii., xvii., p. 26.

³ The Original in the charter chest of Crail.

⁴ Peterkin's Rentals of Orkney, App. 22.

provision was made for instructing the lay people in music who were willing to avail themselves of it. We have very little further information regarding the sang school before the Reformation, but it would seem that to the sang school of the cathedral the precentor or cantor held the same relation as the chancellor did to the grammar school. But whether the patronage of the sang school belonged to the bishop and precentor or to the town council, there is little doubt that from early times the salary of the master and the expenses connected with the school were paid by the magistrates.

The duties of the master of the sang school are fully set forth in a contract dated 7th October 1496 between the town of Aberdeen—in which there was for a long time a famous school of music,¹ and Robert Huchosone, songster, who obliges himself by the faith of his body, all the days of his life, to remain with the community of the burgh, singing, keeping, and upholding mass, matins, evensongs, completories, psalms, responses, antiphonies, and hymns in the parish kirk on festival and feral days, for a salary of 24 merks Scots annually. The town council further appoints him master of their sang school to instruct burgesses' sons in singing and playing on the organs, for the upholding of God's service in the choir, they paying him his scholage and dues.² If he fails in observing any of the points stipulated, the magistrates may dispoine his fee to any others they may think suitable, without impediment or exception—age and infirmity only excepted.³ In the same records, on 15th September 1503, there is reported a case of some interest, as showing that the grammar school was recruited from the sang school. Jok of Mar, one of the clerks of Aberdeen, shows to the council, that having been licensed to pass to the schools for his instruction, he had with their consent appointed the child Cristy Narne to be his substitute as one of the clerks in the choir; the substitute, however, has passed from the sang school to the

¹ Book of Bon-Accord, p. 124.

² Miscellany of the Spalding Club, v., 32, 33.

³ Ibid.

grammar school, and having made no service in the choir, he prays therefore the town council to admit Thomas Chalmer to the clerkship; the magistrates grant the prayer of the petitioner.¹ In May 1541, an interesting case appears on the records, in which the council assigns to Robe Portair and Robe Nicolson, 40s. each yearly, to buy clothes as long as they continue in the sang schools, and serve in the choir.² Three years later (18th September 1544), the whole council engage Sir John Fethy to be one of the prebendaries of the choir, and to have the organs and sang school for instruction of the men of God's bairns, he keeping them in good order, and making continual residence in the choir.³

Two years later a dispute arises as to the management of the sang school of Aberdeen, but unfortunately little or no information is to be gathered from it as to the constitution of the school. In this dispute, which occurs between Sir John Fethy, master of the school, and his assistant, John Black, singer, the master agrees that the latter may teach singing to all the bairns of the school and uplift the whole profit as long as he makes good service. The remaining provision is a curious one, touching the exercise of discipline in the school; it is arranged that the depute shall have power to punish and correct his own two brothers, Alexander Gray's two sons, one Skeyne,⁴ and one Lumnesdan, bairns of the

¹ Miscellany of the Spalding Club, 34.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ Ibid. Mr Joseph Robertson gives the name of this teacher of music as John Lesly, and supposes that he was afterwards the Bishop of Ross who distinguished himself as the champion of Queen Mary: Book of Bon-Accord, 124.

⁴ This was probably the 'Skeyne' mentioned in the same records, on 24th January 1549, as having 'disciplined' an assailant of the master of the school. On that day, Gilbert Kintore was convicted by a sworn assize of invading Daue Anderson, doctor, in the grammar school in St Nicholas Kirk; on the other hand, Daue Anderson was convicted of 'fetching out the bairns of the grammar school and attacking Gilbert Kintore, whereby he was strikin and strublit by a scholar called Skeyne, with ane tre:' Burgh Records of Aberdeen. Tradition says that the

school, while Sir John Fethy, as superior, shall have the right of punishing the remaining bairns.¹

As regards the salary enjoyed by the teacher of music of this time, we find that the treasurer of Edinburgh, pays in 1552 to the master of the sang school for his fee, £10;² and by a precept of the town council, dated 15th December 1553, the treasurer pays to Sir Edward Henrison, master of the sang school, £4.³ In December 1551, George Cochrane, parish clerk of Ayr, offers to teach a sang school within the burgh, instructing 'neighbours' bairns, or others whomsoever, for payment.'⁴ A fuller account is preserved in the records of Aberdeen, of a contract between the town council and the master of the sang school, by which they grant him yearly a pension of 22 merks. The tenor of the letter of gift is as follows: 'We, the provost, bailies, and community of the burgh of Aberdeen, understanding the good and continual service done to us by our lovite servitor, Sir John Black, chorister in the choir of the parish kirk of Aberdeen, master of the mid lettron thereof, and of the sang school, in maintaining and upholding God's service in the kirk, in the diligent care and labours taken by him in the instruction and learning of the bairns of the sang school—his labours by their fruits being notovrlie known to us—have given, granted, and disponed to him 22 merks Scots, to be paid to him from the common good at Whitsunday and Martinmas, by equal portions, during the days and terms of his lifetime, providing always that he will remain in the service of the choir and school, and continue to give the same attention to the service as he does at present—saving the impediment of infirmity and inability of person, all the days of his life.'⁵

scholar called Skeyne' was the famous Sir John Skene, Clerk of Register, so well known to the student of Scots law and history.

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Burgh Records of Edinburgh. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁵ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

§ 25. Not less interesting than the questions of salary to the masters and others already treated, is that of the expense of building and keeping in repairs the sang school and grammar school houses. These seem to have fallen entirely on the town councils as far back as any notices of them have been traced. From a certain period, such notices are of frequent occurrence, and a few of them may be quoted by way of illustration. On 13th October 1527, the master of the grammar school having stated to the council of Aberdeen that the grammar school is decayed and liable to fall, the provost, bailies, and community charge the master of the kirkwork to build it at the town's expenses.¹ In 1552, the treasurer of Edinburgh pays to Sir John Bauld 40s., the rent of the grammar school due by the town.² In the same year there is an item of 30d. in the discharge of the town's treasurer for 'bussumis' to two schools.³ In this year also we have recorded what is probably the first of those educational benefactions which have made Edinburgh a name in the history of education. On 7th October 1552, James Henderson, a public-spirited burgher of Edinburgh, proposed to the town council that for certain privileges mentioned he would build for the town 'ane fair scule to mak pepill cum to the toun.'⁴ In 1553 the treasurer of Edinburgh pays to Agnes Kincaid for the maill of the grammar school, £8;⁵ and in the following year, 40s. to Sir Bartill Bauld, prebendary of the Kirk of Field, for the 'annual' of the grammar school owing to him.⁶ In 1554 the town council ordain their treasurer to cause the grammar school lying on the east side of the Kirk of Field Wynd to be built as soon as possible;⁷ on 13th June 1555, the council engage from John Betoun of Capeldra, the whole lodging lying at the foot of the Black Friar Wynd for a grammar school, until Whitsunday next, at £16 of maill, the magistrates undertaking to keep the house water-tight, and mend the windows broken by the bairns.⁸ In pursuance of this agreement, it is seen that on 27th November 1556, the treasurer of the town was requested

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid. ⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Ibid., 292. ⁷ Ibid., 210. ⁸ Ibid.

or authorised to pay to John Betoun £8, for the Whitsunday term rent of the grammar school, and £8 for the last Martinmas rent.¹ These extracts from the burgh registers of Edinburgh are not without interest as showing that at a time when the patronage of the grammar school belonged to and was exercised by the church, the expense fell on the town, which, unlike Aberdeen, does not seem to have had any voice in presenting the master of the grammar school before the Reformation.

In the same way, the expenses connected with the sang school were paid by the town councils. Thus, on 27th April 1554, the council of Edinburgh, sitting in judgment, ordain the dean of Guild to repair and 'upbig' the sang school in the kirkyard, so as to make it habitable for the bairns;² and on 18th August following, the treasurer is required to furnish six joists and two dozen deals for building the sang school;³ the price of the joists being 12s. each, and of the two dozen deals £3, 12s.—in all £7, 4s.⁴ In the same year the treasurer pays to Mungo Hunter for a lock and pair of bands, and the mending of another lock, with a new key to the sang school door, 11s. 6d.⁵

§ 26. With church schools and burgh schools in all parts of the country, we may be sure that they did something to 'teach the poor for God's sake, and the rich for reason, and nothing to pay except they be profitted.' Apart, however, from the fact of schools being spread all over the country long before the Reformation, the character of our literature—many works of history and imagination written in the native tongue—shows that there was a large body of the people who read and appreciated it. The chief difficulty to the diffusion of education arose, no doubt, from absence or scarcity of books more than from want of schools or teachers. Scottish authors met with great difficulties in publishing their little works long after the grand discovery of printing, and even for some years subsequent to the introduction of the art into Scotland.

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

² Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

The same king who enacted that barons' sons be sent to school, granted to Chepman and Myllar, on 23 September 1507, the privilege of setting up a press, with the sole licence of printing. The works of that press are still the envy of printers; and it is worth remarking that the very first volume of Scottish printing, of which there is a copy in the Advocates' Library, printed about 1508, consists of works of Dunbar and Chaucer, of tales of chivalry and romance, of poems of the broadest and most homely humour, joined to moral poems and old ballads.¹ The Breviary of Aberdeen issued from the same press about 1510, and for the next twenty years it does not appear that any book was printed in Scotland. The poor Scottish author during these long twenty years, who was ambitious to write, was obliged to go abroad and get it printed.² The venerable grammarian, John Vaus, has put on record the dangers which he had to encounter in getting his 'Rudimenta' published—'per maxima terrarum et marium discrimina, piratarumque qui injustissimi

¹ Ledger of Halyburton, 1492-1503, p. lxiv.

² Some of the books printed abroad between the date of the last work issued from the press of Chepman and Myllar and the re-establishment of printing in Scotland: Dav. Cranstoun de Fortitudine, Par. 1511: Quæstiones Physicales. Geo. Lokert Scoti Ayrensis Scriptum de Materia Notitiarum, Par., 1518; Geo. Lokert, S. T. P. Syllogismi, Par., 1522. Ejusdem Tractatus Proportionum. Ejusdem Quæstiones et Decisiones Physicales, Par., 1518. Ejusdem Tractatus Exponibilium, Par., 1522. Ejusdem de Oppositionibus, Par., 1523. Gul. Manderston Tripartitum Epitome in dialecticæ Artis principia, Par., 1514. Gul. Manderston Bipartitum in Morali Philosophia Opusculum, Par. 1518 (second ed., 1524). Jo. Majoris, Scoti Haddingtonani, Introductorium in Aristotelicam Dialecticem, Lugd. 1514. Ejusdem in Quartum (librum) Sententiarum Commentarius, Par. 1516. Quæstiones in Tertium Senten., Par. 1517. Ejusdem Literalis in Matthæum Expositio, etc., Par. 1518. Ejusdem Quæstiones in Quartum Senten., Par. 1519. Ejusdem Historia Majoris Britan., Par. 1521. Luculentæ in Quatuor Evengelia Expositiones, Par. 1529, etc. Jo. Vaus, Grammatica, Par. 1522. Hect. Boetii Episcoporum Murthlaccensium et Aberdonensium Vitæ, Par. 1522. Ejusdem Scotorum Historiæ, Par., 1526. See Lee's History of the Church of Scotland, i., 34, 35.

sunt latrocinia.¹ Hector Boece, principal of the University of Aberdeen, thus apologises for the errors in his history, which was published by Ascenius—'horum similia si offendes, lector, clementer ignosces: difficile enim erat in re ignota et litera peregrina, ab archetypo aberasse nihil.'²

§ 27. The scattered jottings collected in this chapter show our obligation to the ancient Church for having so diligently promoted our national education—an education placed within the reach of *all* classes. A great impetus, no doubt, was given to the cause of education by the Reformers; but who taught the Reformers? asks Principal Lee. The schools in which were educated Buchanan and Knox, Fergusson and Row, Wynram, Willock, Andrew Melville, Alexander Arbuthnot, John Douglas, and the first John Spotswood, owed their origin and principal support to the Roman Catholic clergy.³

§ 28. The foregoing notices of grammar schools show that at a very early period the existence of schools was not uncommon in Scotland. Traces of them are found in connection with most of the cathedrals, abbeys, and collegiate churches, principal burghs, and even in towns which have since sunk into obscurity; the Act of 1496 assumes that there were schools enough in Scotland to teach 'perfect' Latin, arts and law. The early schools were under the direction of the church, the chancellor superintending the cathedral schools, the abbot directing schools belonging to the monasteries, and the provost of colleges probably controlling schools founded in connection with collegiate churches. We have also seen the high social position enjoyed by the master—that he was frequently selected as judge and arbiter in important causes, recognised as a public man in public affairs, and occasionally employed as an officer of the Crown. The master was, in the earliest times of which we treat, a churchman; but long before the Reformation learning ceased to be the exclusive property of ecclesiastics, and laymen are found engaged as teachers. It is important to remember that some

¹ *Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. xxi.

² *Ibid.*

³ Lee's *History of the Church of Scotland*, i., 49, 50.

of our extracts from record, scanty though they may be, tend to show that at a very early time the scholars were sometimes laymen—not educated with the view of becoming churchmen, and that at the end of the fifteenth century sons of barons and burgesses doubtless took advantage of grammar schools. We have also found that all classes co-operated in promoting the education of youth: our native kings, from the good King Robert downwards, patronised education; the church, after having founded schools in the most important towns, set herself to erecting those universities which in Scotland have always continued so national in their character, affording a liberal education from the highest to the lowest of the people;¹ and to the first act of education passed by our legislature, there is not, as far as we have been able to learn, any parallel in the statute books of any other country. We have also seen that though the management of the schools originally belonged to the church, yet the burghs, so early as the fifteenth century, claimed a voice in appointing the school-master. In Peebles, the burgh school appears to have been under the exclusive control of the town council; while in Aberdeen there was a keen contest between the chancellor of the cathedral and the town council, as to which of them had the right of appointing the master of the grammar school of the burgh. The warm interest taken in the welfare of the grammar school by the patrons, whether ecclesiastical or municipal, is shown by the jealousy with which they opposed any rival or adventure school. Such schools were summarily suppressed by the town council or by the church, not that they were enemies to the spread of knowledge, but because private schools interfered with burgh schools, and the competition was calculated to destroy the usefulness of the latter. If we have scanty information about the endowments of schools for masters and scholars, there is

¹ In the admirable Report of the Commissioners appointed in 1867 to inquire into the Burgh Schools in Scotland, it is related that the son of a Dumfries beggar attended the late Professor Pillans's class, and was a diligent student.

little doubt that originally they enjoyed a fair share of the patrimony of the church ; while our records afford ample evidence that as the ecclesiastical benefices continued to be secularised and appropriated by laymen, the Reformation left the schools almost entirely unprovided with endowment, the church having succeeded in retaining *some* of its property, but the schools being less fortunate.

It is difficult to make any comparison between the salaries of schoolmasters before the Reformation and those of the teachers of our own time. Yet it would appear that the scale of payment—no doubt varying with the wealth and importance of the burgh, was not unworthy of the high office of the master. Although the church claimed to **have** the management of the schools, **the burghs** contributed most **towards** their maintenance. The master of the schools was in some instances endowed from church lands, but in the great majority of cases he was paid from the common good of the burgh, or by voluntary assessments imposed by the burgesses for his behoof, and by the fees and other perquisites payable by scholars. And in all the notices touching school buildings, we have found that they were erected and repaired at the expense of the burghs. On the interesting subject of tenure, we have seen that perhaps in the majority of cases the master was appointed 'ad vitam aut culpam ;' but the practice was far from uniform, as agreements were sometimes entered into, appointing the master to the office 'induring the townis will.' The subjects taught in the schools were various. Latin, so necessary to the churchman, was of course the principal subject taught in the grammar school, while Greek was also taught. In the valuable directory of the grammar school of Aberdeen, the scholars were to learn by heart the table of confession, to learn fairly the art of counting, and all were forbidden to speak except in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, or Irish. The vernacular tongue did not, it is true, occupy an important place in the branches of education, but it was not altogether neglected, for among the books of which a monopoly of printing was granted in 1559 to Master William

Nudrye, the Scots language—the language in which Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas, Knox, and Burns spoke to their countrymen—has a place. In the principal grammar schools, however, the common tongue does not seem to have been taught as a subject of instruction; it was generally taught in private or adventure schools, which were not so rigorously interdicted by the authorities, so long as they were content to limit their teaching to reading. In course of time music became a subsidiary branch of education in the sang school, which at last taught chiefly English, arithmetic, and writing, although still called the sang school. It is worthy of observation that in the sang school, which was primarily intended for the service of God in the church, provision was made for instructing laymen in music. Whether the patronage of the sang school lay with the church or with the town council, the salary of the master of the sang, and the outlay necessary for the fabric of the sang schools were, it would appear, paid by the burgh.