HISTORY

OF

EARLY SCOTTISH EDUCATION

BY

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PREFACE.

THIS volume is the first part of an attempt to trace the History of Scottish Education from the introduction of Christianity to the present time. It brings the story down to the close of the Reformation period, and touches upon the various influences—social, ecclesiastical, literary, and philosophical—which have affected its development, and helped to mould the Scottish character and to give a national tone to education.

The time is ripe for such a History. Hardly any subject has, in recent years, occupied more of the public attention than the organisation of elementary, secondary, and technical schools, and the adaptation of the universities to modern requirements. The State has now fully admitted its own responsibilities, and is wisely anxious to stimulate and encourage local support and management under its own supervision. Teachers, School Boards, County Committees, and Members of Parliament are all interested in new schemes for the improvement, extension, and endowment of Secondary and Technical Education.

Yet there is a wide-spread ignorance of the past history of education in the country. Too little is known of the origin and growth of schools, and of the process by which the national system has developed. Reforms should proceed along the national lines; and a knowledge of what has been is undoubtedly a help towards the realisation of what should be.

Early education is so intimately connected with the Church on the one hand, and literature on the other, as well as with the movements that have affected both, that its history should be interesting, not only to the teacher, but to all who find any pleasure in knowing how the Scottish character and the Scottish nation have become what they are.

The second part now in preparation will bring the story down to the present time.

AUTHORITIES.

I DESIRE to express my thanks to Professor Mackinnon of Edinburgh University for several valuable hints regarding education in Celtic times; and to the Rev. O. Hunter Blair of Fort Augustus, for references to early schools. Among the numerous books which have been consulted in writing this History, and to which I have pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness, it is necessary to give special prominence to James Grant's "History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland." The book is a store-house of interesting facts, and has supplied me with many important references. In my quotations from Luther (ch. xiv.) I have generally availed myself of the translation given in Barnard's "German Schools and Schoolmasters."

Celtic Period.—Skene's "Celtic Scotland;" Adamnan's "Life of S. Columba;" "The Dean of Lismore's Book—Specimens of Ancient Gaelic Poetry," edited by Dr

MacLauchlan; "The Book of Deer," edited by Dr Stuart; Hennessy's "Chronicum Scotorum;" Dr Anderson's "Scotland in Pagan Times," "Scotland in Early Christian Times," and recent Rhind Lectures; Bede's History; Prof. Blackie's "Language and Literature of the Scottish Highlands;" Dr MacLauchlan's "Celtic Gleanings;" Mackinnon's "Culture in Early Scotland," &c.

Books on Educational History. — Raumer's "Geschichte der Pädagogik;" Schmidt's "Geschichte der Pädagogik;" Barnard's "English Pedagogy," "National Education in Europe," "German Schools and Schoolmasters;" Compayré's "History of Pedagogy;" Painter's "History of Education;" A. Fouillée, "L'Enseignement au Point de Vue National;" Payne's "Contributions to the Science of Education;" Laurie's "Rise and Early Constitution of Universities, &c.;" Drane's "Christian Schools and Scholars;" Bass-Mullinger's "University of Cambridge;" Maxwell Lyte's "History of the University of Oxford;" West's "Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools;" Hughes' "Loyola and the Educational System of the Jesuits;" Grasby's "Teaching on Three Continents;" Sir A. Grant's "The Story of the University of Edinburgh;" Steven's "History of the High School of Edinburgh;" Quick's "Educational Reformers;" Mrs Field's "The Child and his Book;" Report of "The State of Education in the Burgh and Middle Class Schools in Scotland, 1868," and other Blue-books, &c.

Mediæval Education in Scotland.—The Episcopal and Monastic Registers, Cartularies, &c., published by the Maitland, Spalding, and Bannatyne Clubs, with the valuable introductions by their respective editors; other Books and Miscellanies of these Clubs; Fordun's "Scotichronicon;" Fosbrooke's "British Monachism;" Morton's "Monastic Annals of Teviotdale;" "Origines Parochiales;" "Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanae;" "Archaeologica Scotica;" Dr Bellesheim's "History of the Catholic Church of Scotland;" Gasquet's "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries;" Dr Cameron Lees' "History of Paisley Abbey;" "Records of the Abbey of Kinloss," edited by Dr Stuart; Cosmo Innes' "Lectures on Scotch Legal Antiquities," "Sketches of Early Scotch History;" M'Crie's "Life of John Knox;" Maurice's "Mediæval Philosophy."

The Burghs and their Schools.—In addition to some of the above, "Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland;" The Burgh Records of Aberdeen, Peebles, Edinburgh, Canongate, &c.; Maxwell's "History of Old Dundee," and other local Histories; Report of Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in Scotland; Chalmers' "Caledonia;" Gross's "The Gild Merchant;" Palgrave's "Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth;" Acts of Parliament; Dr C. Rogers' "Scotland—Social and Domestic;" Robertson's "Scotland under her Early Kings;" Abdy's "Lectures on Feudalism."

Literature, the Reformation, &c.—The works of the early Scottish poets as published by the Spalding and other Clubs, and by the Scottish Text Society; "The Complaynt of Scotland;" "Ninian Winzet—Certain Tractates," edited by Hewison; Laing's "Ancient Popular and Romance Poetry of Scotland;" Spottiswood's "History of Church of Scotland;" Knox's Works, edited by Dr Laing; "Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation," edited by Dr Cranstoun; Macpherson's edition of Wyntoun's "Cronykil;" Dr Ross's "History of Scottish Literature;" Dr Irving's "History of Scottish Poetry;" "Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism," the editions of Prof. Mitchell and Mr Law; "Diary of Mr James Melville;" Dr Cunningham's "Church History of Scotland;" M'Crie's "Life of Andrew Melville;" Dibdin's "Typographical Antiquities;" Roget's "Histoire de Genéve;" Beckett's "The English Reformation;" Hume Brown's "George Buchanan" and "Early Travellers in Scotland;" Hill Burton's "The Scot Abroad;" Skelton's "Maitland of Lethington;" George Buchanan's "History of Scotland;" Leslie's History; Dr Beard's "Luther and his Times;" A Paper, by Mr Auldjo Jamieson, in Report of Church Congress, 1874; Morley's "History of English Literature;" Articles on *Romance*, *Renaissance*, &c., in "Encyclopaedia Britannica;" Cochran Patrick's "Mediæval Scotland;" Francisque-Michel's "The Scottish Language as Illustrating Civilisation in Scotland;" the standard Histories of Scotland, &c.

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A HISTORY OF EARLY SCOTTISH EDUCATION.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE record of the growth of National Education is just the history of each country seen from a particular point of view.

It does not concern itself with kings and dynasties, with the noise of war and the clamour of party strife, but treats of the slow but sure progress from barbarism to civilisation, of the silent forces which have welded separate and hostile tribes into one people, of ideas and movements—native and foreign—which have assisted in promoting a national unity and developing a national character.

Every nation is an organic whole—with its own ideals, its own traditions, its own genius. These are the outcome and result, partly of physical, partly of spiritual, conditions and influences.

The climate, nature, and position of each country, the difficulties which its people from age to age have to encounter in the struggle for existence and freedom, the religious, literary, and political influences brought to bear upon them — all combine gradually to produce a more or less distinct type which comes to be recognised as the National Character.

National Education varies with the genius, the aims, the character of every people. It has to do not only with individual minds, but with individual minds as related to the common type.

It is the method by which each people rears up for itself successors who, inheriting the tendencies, and in some degree the characteristics, of their fathers, and living in the same local and climatic environment, shall carry forward the torch of the National Spirit. To this end it makes each generation heirs of the memories and traditions of the past, and inspires them with the hopes and aspirations which spring out of the history and character of each new age.

It is at once a reflex of the social and intellectual condition of the country, and a potent agent in elevating the national type, as well as in promoting national unity and national prosperity.

A History of Scottish Education in this wide sense would cover all the influences which in each age have been brought to bear upon the young, to fit them for life, and shape them in the national mould. Our special purpose, however, is to give an account of the rise and growth of Scottish Schools, of their aims and teachers, their subjects and methods, their organisation and management. For, though schools do not include all the manifold agencies which help to make men, they are at least the recognised and formal training places. Moreover, they not only show the tendency of each age, but concentrate in themselves, their work and their development, most of the influences which have shaped the national character. To give an adequate account, therefore, of early education, we shall have to touch upon many other interesting subjects. Where schools did not educate all classes, we shall have to show how the minstrel and the poet performed the teacher's function for the common people, how the baronial hall was the training place for the knight.

We shall have to estimate the effect of Scholasticism, of the Renaissance, and of the Reformation; examine the work of the Church in its Abbeys and Cathedrals; and watch the rise of the parochial system and the growth of the Burghs.

In following the progress of Scottish Education, we shall learn that the Christian Church was the first great founder, teacher, and administrator of Schools, that it gradually succeeded in awakening in the community and the State a sense of their importance and necessity, and finally handed over to them the management and control. From being a function of the Church, education is now becoming recognised as a function of the State.

We shall find that education was first tribal, then catholic, and finally, from the Reformation, has tended to become more distinctly national in every sense; also, that the schools, from being largely confined to one class, viz., the clergy, have gradually extended their benefits to the whole community, and are always adapting their subjects and courses to the various natures of their pupils, and the needs of Society.

Pre-Christian Education.

Education of some sort there must always have been. The rearing and fitting of children for life—the fitting of them well for the special life which their times and circumstances made possible for them—that must, even in a barbarous and untutored age, have been a necessity. Even before the conquering Roman gave our savage forefathers a glimpse of a higher civilisation, and Christianity found its first settlement in their midst, the struggle for existence, and the need of self-preservation against the attacks of tribal enemies and beasts of the forest, stimulated them to make themselves and their children as strong and warlike as possible, swift of foot, sure of aim, keen of sight, hardy to bear cold and heat and hunger. Such an education does not imply any school but that of nature, any teacher but the parent, the tribe, and the hardships of life. Like other barbarous peoples, our forefathers had to learn to make weapons and use them, to snare or track the deer and the wild boar, to make rough clothes and houses, to obey their parents or chiefs, to be faithful to their tribe, and to face death with courage. But such an education implies little progress, for true progress demands not only the struggle for existence, but fresh ideas and moral stimulus. For primitive peoples the raising of an ideal, the holding out of a higher life, to be realised by special training and effort, is usually the work of religion. It was not the native superstition, but the loftier religion of another people, which lifted Scotland from barbarism to civilisation.

The dawn of our National History is so wrapped in the mist of antiquity that it would be useless here to spend time in treating of the condition of Scotland before the Introduction of Christianity. Rome had sent her legions, and built over the Southern part of the country fortresses and walls, maintaining in them her armed garrisons for nearly three hundred years. Some acquaintance with a higher civilisation must have thus been given to the people of Scotland, and it is probable, that among the Roman soldiers there were some who had embraced Christianity. But the native religion or religions held their ground, and the Romans in time withdrew (410), without having succeeded in assimilating the people of this Northern land, leaving their great wall as the chief record of their occupation. They were looked upon as aliens, and the native tribes were always disputing their possession, even of the limited territory which they had subdued and colonised.

The population at that time was scattered and small; forest overran the middle of the country; and the wild boar and the wolf roamed far and wide. Save where the Romans had taught the inhabitants how to build, simple wattled huts formed the dwellings of the people; their garments were the skins of beasts; they hunted, fed their flocks, and fought their savage battles; and the only literary influence they knew was the song of their bard at the close of the day, as he chanted the story of their sires, or the brave deeds of those who had fallen in battle.

CHAPTER II.

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

EDUCATION, as implying moral and literary influences, may be said to begin with the rooting of a Christian Church in the island. The form of Christianity which first took firm hold of Scotland was copied from the pattern of the Eastern, rather than the Western Church. Asceticism, pious devotion to labour and teaching, and an enthusiastic mission zeal overthrew native Paganism, and gradually Christianised the whole of Scotland. Rome's conquest of the country to its ecclesiastical rule is later, and may be said to have been completed in the twelfth century.

The names of three pioneers of the Christian Church may be mentioned. *St Ninian*—"a holy man of the British Nation, who had been regularly instructed at Rome in the faith"—at the beginning of the fifth century built his famous Church at Whithorn. There he laboured to establish religion among the natives of Galloway, and by his mission tours among the Picts further North, won many to the faith. His monastery at Whithorn became a training school for Christian teachers, and after his death, in 432, churches called by his name sprang up in various quarters.

Palladius in the far North, and *Kentigern* in the South-West, are also said to have assisted in the early spread of Christianity; and the latter, under the title of St Mungo, gave his name to many churches, notably to the Church in Glasgow, which afterwards became the Cathedral.

The great Apostle of Scotland, however, was *St Columba*. He is the representative of Irish Christianity and Culture, and of the Christian Celtic element in our civilisation. Learning, as well as religion, had struck its roots deep in Ireland at an early period, and blossomed in that Western Isle when the rest of Europe was barren. In its monasteries the light of classic culture burned, after it had gone out in other lands, and its bardic literature testified to the freshness and productive vigour of the native intellect.

The monastic Church of Ireland was the source of Scotland's earliest educative influences, and the means of its complete conversion to Christianity. Before the eleventh century, the country now called Scotland was called Alba by Celtic, and Caledonia by Roman writers. The name Scotia properly applied only to Ireland, but as the Western parts of our island had been colonised by Irish settlers, we may consider that district as part of ancient Celtic Scotia. At any rate, we must bear in mind that common social, tribal, and religious influences were affecting both Ireland and Western Scotland, and that they were practically one country.

The system of monachism, which was destined to complete the work begun by Ninian, Palladius, and Kentigern, and to establish in Scotland its first system of schools, took firm hold of the Celtic nature. Society was constituted upon a tribal basis, and the monastic system was made to fit in with the social organisation. Every monastery was a literary and religious centre, round which the families of the tribe grouped together. They were schools, colleges, asylums, as well as churches, for all connected with their founders by ties of blood.

This system, under which Columba was brought up, and which, more than any other, he developed, planted in each district Christian colonies, and attracted to them by various allurements the people of the tribe. They offered security for life and property at a time when internecine wars brought men often face to face with death, and made possessions difficult to keep; they claimed the privilege of sanctuary; and their organisation kept in touch with tribal sympathies and customs. The whole Church was divided into groups of monasteries, each of which recognised, as its head, the monastery ruled over by the founder, or possessing his relics. The law of ecclesiastical succession had its basis in the rights of the tribe. The Abbots succeeded by inheritance just like the chiefs, and they were in each case chosen from the tribe with which the founder was connected. The Church was, in fact, the religious reflection of the prevailing social order.

In this way Ireland and Celtic Scotland were "leavened with Christianity to an extent which no other form of the Church could have effected." The leaven worked through the family and the tribe.

The earlier missionaries had laboured zealously, and had made converts and founded churches, but they did not succeed in completely triumphing over the paganism of the country. The fixity of tribal law and custom was too strong for a faith which, by preaching, attacked their superstitious idolatry, cruelty, and immorality, but whose ministers had not yet learned to use the very social system as a channel for conveying to the people the truth they had to teach.

But the Church of ancient Scotia not only offered privileges but made demands of the tribe. It insisted that "the right of the Church is to firstlings and first fruits," and claimed a son from each family for her service. "The son who is selected becomes as the firstling to the Church. He shall render the service of a free monk, and the Church shall teach him learning." From the Chronicles of the Picts and Scots we find that the aged priest Beanus, the uncle of St Caddröe (born about 975), wished the boy to be put to school. As education seems to have meant consecration to the Church, Caddröe's father objected until a second son was born to him, and then he handed over the elder to be taught as the priest desired.

The monasteries thus extended their influence by gaining possession of the rising generation. They were at once churches and schools, and it was through teaching, rather than preaching, that Christian ideas made full conquest of the land. As educational institutions they not only trained the young of the various tribes to the monastic life, but sometimes, doubtless, included in their secular instruction others who were to remain in a secular sphere. "Purity benefits the Church in receiving every son for instruction." From fifty to three thousand scholars were thus taught in the Irish monasteries, and the subjects of study, as we shall see in the chapter devoted to them, included the Classic authors as well as the Sacred writings. Their fame spread far and wide, and attracted students both from England and the Continent. We hear of fifty Roman monks coming to Scotia to improve themselves in the study of the Scriptures, and becoming pupils of the fathers who were most distinguished for piety and knowledge. It is related by Bede, that the English students who frequented Scotia in the seventh century were supplied with books for reading by the native monks, and that they received both their food and their education free of charge. Some of them gave themselves up to the monastic discipline, but others simply pursued a life of study, going from one master's cell to another, and gathering from each the knowledge which he had to impart.

There was a strange vitality and reproductive power in these Scotic monasteries. From them went forth bands of earnest missionaries, even as far as Central Europe. And Scotland has reason to bear in reverent remembrance the name of St Columba, who, fired with the mission spirit, brought this old monastic system to our own shores.

This famous Christian teacher was born in Donegal, in the year 521. From his boyhood he showed a great devotion to study, and his education was entrusted to good hands in the monasteries of Moville and Clonard. But he had also the advantage of some bardic training, and drank at the fountain of native literature. He was himself a bard as well as a monk.

> "Thrice fifty noble lays the Apostle made,
> Some in Latin, which were beguiling;
> Some in Gaelic, fair the tale."

Study and writing did not absorb all his energies, for he also turned his hand to practical work. The old Irish life informs us that it was his custom to make crosses and cases, and book-satchels and other ecclesiastical implements. Among the wonders related by his biographer, we read of the miraculous preservation of books which had been written by Columba's sacred fingers. "He never," says Adamnan, "could spend even one hour without study, or prayer, or writing, or some other holy occupation."

It was in 563 that Columba left Ireland and settled in the island of Iona, bringing with him the traditions of the system in which he had been reared. Already he had founded the monastery of Durrow, and that institution, along with Iona, is regarded by Bede as the nucleus of all the later foundations. Twelve of his countrymen accompanied the apostle on his mission, and their number was soon largely increased by additions from the surrounding districts, and from Ireland.

By the rule of Columba there were three labours in the day—prayers, work, and reading—and it was one of the chief duties of the monks in his monasteries to help the neighbours by instruction, or writing, or in any other labour. The family at Iona included the Seniores, tried and devoted brethren; the Operarii Fratres, who attended to practical duties; and the Alumni, who were under instruction.

St Columba is called "monasteriorum pater et fundator." The number of monastic churches, which, it must be remembered, were also schools, founded either by himself or by his successors and disciples, both in Ireland and Scotland, is very great. The two most famous in Ireland were Durrow and Kells. In Trinity College, Dublin, are preserved the ancient manuscript Book of Durrow, which is said to date back almost to its founder's time, and the Book of Kells, which is one of the most perfect specimens of the artistic skill and patience of the early Celtic scribes. The traditional name of the latter is the Book of Columcille, and some authorities believe that it was written in Iona.

From Iona band after band of mission-teachers went forth to the surrounding islands and the mainland of Scotland to win the people from barbarism. Their earnest devotion and piety secured them first a site for their monasteries, and in time a considerable influence in the district which they colonised. Just as the proprietor of Iona made Columba a present of his island home, so the chiefs of many other districts showed a kindly generosity to the teachers who settled in their midst. In their rude buildings these good monks laboured unselfishly, and lived out their simple lives of pious usefulness. They lovingly transcribed the Scriptures, and taught them to the youths who gathered as scholars round their feet.

Far and wide over Scotland the influence that emanated from Iona spread. There were Columban monasteries in Tiree, Skye, Benbecula, Bute, Kilmalcolm, Largs, Wigton, and other places in the West. But it was not only in the Western parts of the country, which had been colonised from Ireland, that the Columban system of education spread. The monks found a settlement also among the Northern Picts, and reached as far as Hoy and Burness in Orkney. The Counties of Caithness, Sutherland, Inverness, Nairn, and Aberdeen, as well as others further South, all provided sites for their monasteries, and benefited by their example and instruction. Thus the Northern Picts also owed to the Columban Church all they knew of letters. Their children were for centuries instructed by her monks, and a written language was introduced among them, which, through the influence of the monasteries, must have largely helped to unite the various spoken dialects into one, and so bring the tribes into closer communion with each other, and prepare the way for the growth of the feeling of Nationality.

By the time the Southern and Northern Picts were Christianised, "they had become closely assimilated in language and customs to the Celts of Irish origin" (Skene). Their amalgamation took place under Kenneth MacAlpine, in the middle of the ninth century.

Just about the time when the Columban system, having served its generation, was to make way for another, we find in the Book of the Northern monastery of Deer a specimen of its written language.

The appearance of the sea-rovers among the Western Isles in 794, and their subsequent spoliation of the monasteries, made it necessary (814) to remove the chief seat of the Celtic Church for a time to Kells in Ireland. When, under Kenneth MacAlpine, the Picts and the Scots were united in one kingdom, a Columban monastery was founded at Dunkeld, the seat of government. As the continued dangers to which Iona was exposed weakened its influence, Dunkeld came to be recognised as the central and representative Columban institution in Scotland.

Three causes seem to have by this time begun to work, which tended to reduce the number, and lessen the efficiency of these early schools. The unsettlement caused by the invasions of the Norsemen affected seriously the monasteries on the islands and near the sea-coast. There grew up in some places an extreme ascetic spirit, which disposed men to adopt an anchorite life of retirement, rather than to carry out the practical duties of the Columban rule. And lastly, owing to the tribal law of ecclesiastical succession, the property of the early monasteries gradually became secularised, and the institutions which had leavened Scotland with the knowledge of Christian truth were allowed, in many cases, to fall into decay. Probably on this account St Caddröe was sent from Scotland to the famous Schools of Armagh about the end of the tenth century. On his return, he is said to have tried to restore something of the old spirit, and to have set himself to instruct his countrymen "in disciplinis artium."

Those of the early schools which still lasted were taken over by the Roman Church, when, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, under Royal patronage and sanction, it began to build its great organisation upon the remains of the primitive native system. When the Bishopric of Aberdeen was founded in the twelfth century, it was partly endowed by the monastery of Cloveth and the monastery of Murthillach. The monasteries of Columban origin, which David I. found existing at the time of his reforms, were either utilised as they stood by the Roman Church, or gave place to more stately piles, which lasted till the Reformation. Among these, the most notable were Abernethy, Dunblane, Dunkeld, Brechin, Culross, Dunfermline, Scone, St Serfs, and St Andrews.

Northumbria and its Schools.

From Iona there was another great centre of educational influence established on the other side of the country. When Oswald secured the throne of Northumbria (635), he is said to have sent to Iona for some of the Columban monks to assist him in establishing Christianity in his Eastern kingdom. Under his protection, St Aidan raised a monastery similar to that of Iona on the island of Lindisfarne. There he trained earnest and devoted teachers, who went forth from their island school and founded Christian churches of the monastic type all over the wide kingdom of Northumbria, which extended as far up as the Forth. In this way the early monasteries of Melrose and Coldingham were founded, and many other centres of religious life and culture were scattered in the Lothians and among the hills and dales of Southern Scotland. In connection with every one of these churches in Northumbria there would be a school established. At Melrose was educated St Cuthbert, who afterwards became prior of the monastery, and, as teacher and preacher, greatly advanced the influence of Christianity in the borders. South of the Tweed, great monasteries like Wearmouth and Jarrow sprang up, which educated hundreds of boys, and produced such a flower of learning and culture as the Venerable Bede—the greatest of early schoolmasters.

By the close of the ninth century, Columba and his successors and disciples had covered a large part of Scotland and the North-Eastern part of England with a net-work of monasteries, which were educational centres as well as churches. Bede gives us an account of the growth and work of these early monasteries which may be taken as reliable. "Churches were erected all over the country. Possessions and territories were bestowed by the grants of kings for founding monasteries. The children of the English were instructed, along with their elders, by Scottish teachers, in the study and practice of the monastic life." The education was native, and founded on a tribal basis. Contact with Rome was, after a period of darkness, to extend it and bring it into touch with a wider culture.

In the ninth century the native Church, which had extended its arms and influence even to Northumbria, came into contact and collision with the Roman Church, which Augustine had introduced into England. On such questions as the form of the tonsure and the celebration of Easter hot strife arose. For a long time the national Church stoutly held out against the pressure and the arguments brought to bear upon them. But in 716 the monks of Iona conformed to the Roman customs, and the King of the Picts banished from his realm all who refused to yield. Thus foreign influence began to affect native development. Scotland was brought into touch with the Church which was now beginning its great work of laying throughout Europe the basis of a common civilisation, and the educational reforms of Theodore and Hadrian must have had a stimulating effect all over Northumbria.

The old system was still too strong and vigorous in its independent life to coalesce with the new, or allow itself to be absorbed by it. It was not till the Columban Church had fallen into decay, and the gradual secularisation of its properties had sapped its strength, that the work it had begun was taken from its hands, and the religious and educational work of the country was entrusted to a new order of monks and to secular clergy in close communion with the great Roman Church.

Under the name of Culdees—whatever be its exact signification—the representatives or successors of the Columban or Northumbrian Church are found still keeping alive some of the old interest in learning and education. And great abbeys, like Kelso, Dunfermline, and Holyrood, were enriched with some of the churches and schools which, doubtless, owed their origin to the energy and zeal of Northumbrian missionaries—the spiritual offspring of the famous Apostle and Teacher of Iona.

Traces of the Celtic system in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Traces of the developed educational system of the Celtic Church are found in ancient records, even after the introduction of the new orders of clergy and the establishment of the Roman Church in Scotland. Dr Joseph Robertson, in an interesting monograph on the names of old scholastic officials, gives the full results of his careful inquiry; Cosmo Innes and Dr Skene have also thrown some light on the subject.

From them we learn that there are authentic references in the twelfth century and later to three classes of officials connected with the machinery of our early national education. These are:—

1st. The Scoloc.
2nd. The Rector of the Schools.
3rd. The Ferleighinn or Lecturer.

Of these the Scoloc was the lowest in rank. This office was apparently filled by young ecclesiastics who, while they were being initiated into the performance of some of the subordinate duties of the Church, were receiving a course of instruction, first from the Master of the Schools, and afterwards from the Lecturer. In the book of the Miracles of St Cuthbert, "clerici" are described as "scolofthes" in the Pictish tongue. "Clerici illi, qui in ecclesiâ illâ commorantur, qui Pictorum linguâ Scollofthes cognominantur." Reginald of Durham mentions them in connection with the Church of Kirkcudbright, and their names are associated with the churches of Ellon, Arbuthnot, and Fetteresso, which belonged to St Andrews.

The next official is naturally the "Master of the Schools," whose name appears in some early documents as Rector, a title which is still commonly applied to the headmaster of burgh and grammar schools. References to the "Masters" or "Rectors" of the schools are found in connection with Abernethy, the ancient capital of the Picts, and with St Andrews, Perth, Stirling, and other places where schools of early foundation were transferred by Charter or Bull to one or other of the later monasteries.

The highest position in the educational system was that of the Ferleighinn. He seems to have united in himself the duties of superintendence and supervision, afterwards performed by the Chancellor of an Episcopal Diocese in England and Scotland, and of lecturing on philosophy, theology, and the higher branches of learning like the Professor of a University.

As early as the close of the seventh century the Scribe in the monasteries of Ireland and Scotland was not only the writer of books, but also chief teacher and lecturer to the students. In the ninth century a process of division of educational labour seems to have been carried out. The responsibility of teaching and lecturing on higher subjects seems to have been transferred from the Scribe to the Ferleighinn or Lector. This title is first found in the Irish monastery of Clonmacnois. Alcuin, the great teacher of York, wrote a letter to one Colcu, "Lector in Scotiâ." This seems to be the Ferleighinn of Clonmacnois whose death is recorded in 794, and who had won such fame for piety and learning that, besides being Principal and Lecturer in his own monastery, he was called Chief Scribe and Master of the Scots in Ireland.

Between the tenth and twelfth centuries these officials are mentioned also in connection with institutions of Columban foundation in various parts of ancient Scotia, on both sides of the Channel, as, for example, Kells, Iona, and Turriff. In the early part of the thirteenth century the name lingers on in St Andrews. There, in connection with a dispute between the prior of St Andrews and the Master of the Schools regarding lands belonging to the Scolocs, a settlement was come to, with the consent of the Archdeacon, whereby a fixed payment was to be made to the Ferleighinn and his successors for the use and benefit of the Scolocs.

(*For Subjects of Instruction, see* Ch. xviii.)

CHAPTER III.

BARDIC INFLUENCES AND SCHOOLS.

THE Literature of a people begins with poetry. The bard or minstrel shares with the priest the honour of being the first teacher of a nation. The priest is the moral educator, the minstrel the teacher of history, and the recorder of brave deeds and human loves. The influence of both is present through the whole history of Scottish Education. Sometimes the priestly influence threatened to absorb the bardic, but human nature was too strong for ascetic bonds. The minstrel was the forerunner of the literary class, who, in conjunction with the Church, shape the thoughts and lives of the people.

In the dawn of our civilisation there were, of course, no books, nor other written records either of the thoughts or deeds of men. But all men could not be performing great deeds, though all could sympathise with them. The joy of the people at victory, their pleasure in the chase, and their interest in the fair and strong demanded expression, and the enthusiam of the many found a mouthpiece in the bard.

The Druid priest of the early Celt is said to have given utterance in simple verse to the laws and religious ideas by which he influenced the people of his tribe. And every chief had his bard: every tribe its minstrels. In the old days of Greece, the minstrel's Epic lay enlivened the feast when the warriors were gathered together in the hall. They kept alive the memory of heroic deeds, and stirred men's hearts to emulate them. So in times when hunting and fighting were the chief occupations of men, the Celtic Bard sang of the virtues and achievements of the brave who had fallen on the field, and quickened the warrior's heart to zeal for his tribe, and love for his chief.

"Of the times gone by let the minstrel sing,
Let the night be spent in soothing song,
That joy from sorrow may sweetly spring."

"The gods give not all good gifts to all men," and even in barbarous times, when the hand is ever on the sword, there are gentler natures born not to do the great deeds but to sing of them. The reflective side of man is present in germ, even in times of action, and in men of action. Thus, though doubtless, as Professor Blackie says, "the profession of the bard was the refuge of the lad whose taste for continual fighting was less keen than that of his brothers, the gentler child who, under other circumstances, would have developed into the literary man," it was not entirely confined to such natures.

The ideal of the Celtic Chief, as painted in early poems, not only includes strength, courage, and manly beauty, but some degree of musical and literary culture. One poem, in which Ossian is supposed to be celebrating his father, pictures the hero thus:—

"Ne'er did I see
A braver man,

Both poet and Chief,
Generous, just, despised a lie.
Of vigorous deeds, first in song,
A righteous judge, firm his rule."

Fergus the Bard, Ossian's brother, sings of Gaul the Chief as

"A hero brave,
King, soldierly, free,
His heart so pure.
He trains the young,
Skilful and just,
He rules his men.
First in the Schools,
In History learn'd,
Warrior bold."

This chief seems not only to have had the heroic virtues of his time, but to have added to them the culture and duties of a teacher. History, doubtless, meant the knowledge of the pedigrees and traditions of his race. The bard was not only a minstrel and a poet, but out of the traditions and legends of his tribe he constructed a kind of Epic History in which the memory of the bravest men, and the great achievements of his people were preserved, and gave by his poems a permanency to passing events. Then legendary poems, histories, and pedigrees were handed down from age to age until the monks, who were able to write, took them up, and constructed on their foundation, histories and chronicles after the models of classical antiquity. These histories were composites of fact and fable, in which the bardic traditions passing through the sieve of the monastic mind, took a more prosaic, if equally unreliable, form. But, like the poems of Homer and other early Epics and Sagas, the compositions of the bards, if not exact records of fact, had a historical value when criticism was able to appreciate it. It is from stray fragments of their poetry, handed down by tradition, and written after their own time, that much of the inner history of Celtic Scotland has been constructed. In due time, however, the influence of monastic teaching extended a knowledge of writing to the bards also. In the Dean of Lismore's collection there is one poem of the fourteenth or fifteenth century which proves that from an early period the bards wrote their own poetry. It is a satire on lazy bards and is called "The Sluggard's Book of Poems."

> "Write thou in the Book of Poems,
> Write knowingly, intelligently,
> Write their history and their life;
> Let there be nothing in this poem
> Of priests or of tenantry."

There were probably many books of poems written after the monasteries had made writing possible, but these, as Skene says, "seem to have perished, with few exceptions."

The lay spirit represented by the bards at times revolted against the growth of the clerical influence. The old heroic ideal of bravery, strength, and beauty, touched with the influence of poetry and music, was disappearing under the ascetic teaching of the Church, and the bards who found their inspiration in that ideal and saw in it the glory of the nation, were indignant.

Education was becoming too much a thing of books and of churches: to be trained in warlike exercises, in hunting, and in song was ceasing to be the aim of national education.

The note of protest is very decided in an early poem given in the Dean of Lismore's book—

"'Tis said that the hill of the Feine
Should now by the clerics be held,
And that the songs of men of books
Should fill the halls of the Clan.

"Were the sons of Morn alive,
The priestly order soon must quit,
You would find yourselves cut up,
Ye men of the spotted crooks.
Neither your bells nor crooks
Would in place of their banners be found.

"Were red-haired Ryno alive,
Thy books would not be so whole,
O man! who readest the Bible,
Were the blue-eyed hero alive,
Bold Conn, the son of the Feine,
Cleric! though thy office be sacred,
With his fist he'd strike thee down.

"No wonder that I should be sad
As I sit on this mound, Patrick,
I see not warlike exercises,
I see not the noble hounds,
I see not Daire of the songs
Whose music we always enjoyed,
I and the mass-book clerics,
Are two that can never agree."

We can quite understand that to many a bard the ascetic tendency of the Church's influence would be very repugnant. The priest not only diverted from the minstrel some of the generosity with which the chief and the tribe had been wont to reward his lays, but set up a new ideal utterly at variance with the traditional ideal of the heroic life. Thus the sound of bell and chanted psalm would be harsh music in the ears of the bard compared with the battle shout and

"The clang of gaming,
The sweetest music I ever heard."

During the centuries in which the Lords of the Isles held sway in the West of Scotland, that is practically from the time of David I. till the close of the reign of James V., the relations between Western Scotland and Ireland remained so intimate that in sympathy they were almost one country. Columba had joined them in spiritual wedlock, and the divorce was only effected shortly before the Reformation.

The bards of Celtic Scotland were hereditary. Father handed on to son, uncle to nephew, the traditions of the clan and tribe of which he was the repository; and each bard must have instructed his successor in the simple laws of music and rhythm. But the literary influence of the Irish Bardic schools extended over the Western Highlands. Many of the Scottish Bards seem to have studied and graduated under the famous Sennachies of the sister country. In the Annals of the Four Masters, this supremacy of the Irish schools is recognised. In 1185, died Maclosa O'Daly, Chief Sage or Bard of *Erin* and *Alban* (*i.e.*, Scotland), and others bare the same title. In 1448 is recorded the death of Tadg og, chief preceptor of the poets of both countries.

So also in a Gaelic poem we hear of "MacGregor the Brave, Head of all the Schools."

These Schools of the Bards, to which reference is so often made in ancient Gaelic poetry, may almost be considered as National Universities for the promotion of Literature and History, securing a regular succession of trained poets who had received some measure of general culture. Whether these schools had a local habitation, or were merely the collective body of the skilled and experienced bards of each generation, they share with the monasteries the honour of training the teachers of Scotland. These schools, from the earliest times, had developed a system of Bardic graduation. Beginning with the Driseg, who could recite only twenty tales, the degrees rose by many stages to that of the Ollamh, who could recite at great assemblies seven fifties of historic tales. Of these, five sets must be prime stories worthy to rank as Literature.

Thus, before any other modern people had begun to use their native language as an instrument of popular education, the Gaelic bards of Ireland and Scotland were instructing their tribesmen through the medium of their own tongue. The aim of their teaching was different from that of the Churchman. Both were necessary for the development of a Nationality; the former fostered what was best of native growth, the latter introduced a gentler, spiritual element, which made it possible for clan to unite with clan, and linked Scotland by a common bond to Christendom. The bards represented a natural or humanistic influence, which was never entirely absorbed by the Church, but kept up a healthy dualism, and prevented monastic asceticism from checking national progress.

Some of the poets seem, however, to have been monks. Columba himself sang "thrice fifty lays;" and at a later time, Finlay M'Nab and Murdoch of Scotland, some of whose poems are given in the Dean of Lismore's Collection, are said to have been

Churchmen as well as bards. The praise, which other poems give to chiefs who have shown liberality to the Church, suggests the likelihood that their authors were themselves ecclesiastics.

That the bards were looked upon as a learned class, as well as the monks, is proved by expressions in extant poems. For example, a bard of the Clan Dougall, in a lament for the "great chief of Conn," sings of—

"The musicians of Dougall's race,
The learned men, and leading bards."

The bardic poetry which has been collected contains frequent reference to Greece, and to some of the heroes of Greek History. Some of the poets, indeed, in tracing in their usual manner the pedigree of their tribe back to a remote and mythical past, assign the origin of their race to Hellas. Some knowledge of Greek history may have found its way into the popular mind through the early Irish monastery, but evidently the influence of the Romance poets, and the Latin translations of Greek Epics, was chiefly responsible for the frequent allusions to "Greece the fair."

It is a little surprising to one who reads over the translated poems of the Dean of Lismore's collection, to come upon these references to Greece and its heroes. To hear an ancient Gaelic poet sing of "Ten hundred ships from Greece of the Gael" or of four men meeting "at the grave,

The grave of Alexander the Great,
They spake the words of truth
Over the hero of Greece the Fair,"

is rather a shock to the ordinary mind, which is not apt to associate Gaelic poetry with ideas of European culture.

The connection between the bard and learning is also brought out in some poems of an aphoristic nature, specimens of which, belonging to the two centuries before the Reformation, are still extant.

> "Not good to write without learning,
> Not good is a reader without understanding,
> Not good is learning without courtesy,
> Not good is religion without knowledge."

And in one poem, at least, we have a recognition of the fact that there is no "Royal road to learning," and that Experience charges a high fee for its lessons in the School of Life.

> "First of all with the Clan Donald,
> There is knowledge which they learn;
> 'Tis in sorrow and in grief
> Understanding and learning are got
> By him who them would have."

It is interesting to note that the bards have often in their poems kindly reference to their schools, as if the same love for their classmates and their place of training existed among them, as one has now for his Alma Mater.

> "Little thought the school
> That such would be my fate,"

sings one who had been too free with the tooth of satire for success.

> "I am a stranger long to success,
> 'Tis time now to desist
> From Satire justly due."

Another poem suggests the critical spirit in which the prolix productions of some of the bards were naturally sometimes received—

"The schools would weary with our tale,
Numbering the kings from whom thou art sprung."

PART II.

MEDIÆVAL EDUCATION.

CHIVALRY AND ROMANCE.
SCHOLASTICISM AND ITS INFLUENCE.
THE MONASTIC SYSTEM.
THE PAROCHIAL AND DIOCESAN SYSTEM.
THE RISE OF THE BURGHS, AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH SCHOOLS.
THE TEACHER—HIS POSITION AND STATUS.
THE HIGHER EDUCATION AND FOREIGN SCHOOLS.

CHAPTER IV.

EDUCATION AND THE INFLUENCES BEARING UPON IT FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE hundred years, which include the last half of the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century, were fraught with many influences that bore directly upon the History of Scottish Education. On the one hand, the ethnic or tribal unit began to show signs of being absorbed in the wider unit of the Nation. It needed the furnace of a stern struggle with England perfectly to fuse together the tribal and later feudal sympathies into the strong sense of Nationality which afterwards characterised the people. But the Columban Church and its offshoots had laid a basis of common Christian ideas, and in various other ways drawn the people towards a dim realisation of unity. David I. was the first to introduce a national currency, and give the people a common medium of commerce, and standard of value. His silver penny was the visible sign that Scotland was now one nation.

On the other hand, Scotland became more fully affiliated to the spiritual empire of Christendom, whose head was the Bishop of Rome. The stream of her native culture was merged in the broader stream of Christian education which the Roman Church had been gradually developing. At an earlier period this process of assimilation had begun.

The monks of Iona had conformed in 716, and the King of the Picts had banished from his realm all who refused to accept the Roman custom on certain subjects. Thus the way had been prepared for that complete union with the central Church which brought the country into full touch with the best European culture, and laid deep the foundation of those broad moral and religious beliefs and social customs which knit together the nations of Europe. Scotland lost her spiritual individuality in the universal Church of Western Christendom, to find it once more at the Reformation. During that time her loss was great gain in many respects.

In 1069 Malcolm Canmore married the Saxon princess Margaret, and this union opened a new era in Scottish history and education. Queen Margaret brought to her Northern home a pious zeal for the promotion of that form of religion in which she had been nurtured. Her policy was the complete assimilation of the forms of the native Church to the rites and observances of the Church of Rome. The Norman Conquest had been completed just three years before her marriage, and feudal influences assisted her in carrying out her plans. A new people, whose religious sympathies and interests were on the side of her policy, began to pour steadily into the country. They were, as a rule, of the better classes of Anglian families, who had been driven from their old Northumbrian homes by the changes introduced after the Conquest. Evicted from their former settlements, they were glad to find a welcome in the Northern kingdom, and in a very short time they had gained possession of the fattest lands between the borders and John

O'Groats. With the beginning of David's reign in 1124, the Norman influences were extended by a further influx from across the Tweed of English Barons. In the train of these strangers came a crowd of vassals and henchmen, who, doubtless, were able to teach the ruder natives of the country many of the arts and amenities of life.

Both on the language and general culture of the country these immigrants naturally exercised considerable influence, and the best civilisation of Europe through them and the Church began in some degree to permeate the land. "When the light of record first breaks upon the district of Teviotdale," says Mr Cosmo Innes, "we can discern dimly, but with sufficient certainty, the native race sinking into dependency before the influx of these strangers. The new settlers figure for some centuries as the feudal lords of the soil, rivalling the most munificent sovereigns in their benefactions to the Church."

But it was not merely in the way of advancing or marking the growth of national unity, and raising the general standard of civilisation throughout the country, that the period of Margaret and her sons is worthy of special note in the History of Scottish Education.

There are five distinct lines of influence, bearing directly or indirectly upon our subject, which it will be necessary for us to follow, and which may all be said to begin during the century now under our consideration.

These are:—

(1) The Establishment of the Feudal System and with it the rise of Chivalry and Romance.

(2) The spread of Scholasticism.
(3) The introduction of foreign orders of Regular Clergy, which led to the revival of some old monasteries and the foundation of many new ones, to be centres of spiritual and educational influence.
(4) The beginning of the Parochial System, by which the Church was placed on a territorial instead of the old tribal basis.
(5) The rise of the Burghs.

By conducting our inquiry along these five lines, we shall be able to arrive at a fairly accurate idea of the development, nature, and extent of Scottish Education from the twelfth till the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER V.

CHIVALRY AND ROMANCE.

WITH the introduction of a new order of monks into Scotland, and the full recognition of Roman supremacy, a fresh starting-point was reached in the History of Scottish Education. Contemporaneous with it is the beginning of the Feudal System, and the Order of Chivalry, to which it gave rise. Chivalry and Romance seem naturally to go together, and they represent an ideal and an influence separate and distinct from the Church, which was the great fountain of formal and systematic instruction in the Middle Ages. Chivalry is the spirit and social code of the great feudal institution, and Romance is its expression and embodiment in literature. The ideal which the age of Chivalry set before itself was not the ascetic devotion of the monk, which turned its eyes from the vanities of this world, and mortified the flesh to develop the life of the spirit, but physical strength, grace, and beauty, loyalty to all that was fair and true, reverence for woman, and defence of the weak. In the eyes of the Church the individual was as nothing; in the eyes of Chivalry the individual was glorified in so far as he embodied in himself strength, truth, and honour. The knight looked with contempt on books and learning, but he valued everything that made the body strong, graceful, and hardy. He encouraged the minstrel's song, and loved the tales that enshrined the memory of brave men and fair women. The training of knighthood necessarily made the castles of the feudal lords schools of chivalry. There alone could the arts and accomplishments which graced the knight be acquired. Perhaps in Scotland the type was somewhat ruder and less polished than in France or England, but though circumstances made the Scottish noble's education less complete, the ideal, and the means adopted to realise it, were the same in all feudal countries. Nurtured as a page in his tender years in a baronial mansion, he learned courtesy and manners from the lady whom he attended; and, as he grew up, he gradually was initiated into all the manly arts—carving at table, managing hounds and horses, handling the weapons of war. As squire to his lord, he had opportunities of seeing service in the field, and putting into practice the lessons he had received from some veteran in the courtyard. The minstrel at the hall fire, when the day was over, had given him some knowledge of music and song, and the chaplain had taught him reverence for the Unseen. Such an education fitted him for his work and position in life, and made him a hardy and chivalrous gentleman.

Here, then, was a healthy and vigorous life, with a high ideal set before it, separate from, and at times antagonistic to, the Church. The Church, indeed, gave its blessing to the knight when he received his spurs, but his training and education were largely independent of its influence.

The Church educated its clerics one way: chivalry its knights and squires in another. The bulk of the people was outside both; but through the popular ballad and romance literature on the one hand, and the stately Church services on the other, they were brought into touch with the twofold influence.

A healthy dualism was maintained, and all human and natural aims and ideals were not swallowed up in those of the Church. The craving for unity and uniformity, which was at once a valuable and a dangerous characteristic of the Church of the Middle Ages, was checked before it had gone too far. A natural and uncramped life was still stirring in the hearts of men, and was fed and cherished by the romantic literature and the native minstrelsy, which were fostered by chivalry.

The life thus nurtured gathered strength by giving expression to its thoughts and feelings in ballad, song, and story. These spoke from the hearts of men to the hearts of men in language which all could understand, and thus served largely to supplement and extend the very narrow literary education which the early Church could give to the poor, or to the mass of the people outside its own order.

The Church could not find room for all the aspirations of heart and aims and activities of life implied in the variety of men's natures and temperaments. These asserted themselves in the native literature, which was kindled at the fire of Romance, and which was destined, in the course of time, to aid in bursting the ecclesiastical bonds, when, after giving common shape to the social and intellectual life of the country, they threatened to crush out real life by preventing its free play and development. Here and there—even at an early period of native literature, both Gaelic and Scottish, we find a distinct note of opposition to the Church; and this note grew stronger, until—in the satirists of the period immediately before the Reformation—it shook the old system to its foundation.

Human nature is stronger than any system, social or ecclesiastical. It will not be permanently cribbed, cabined, and confined within artificial limits. It is with the sturdy independence of Chivalry in retaining its own ideal of life, and its own method of training its aspirants, that the educational reaction in favour of individual variety and natural development sets in. That the individual must be respected is now an educational aphorism. Recognition must be given by the wise teacher to the variety of men's natures, faculties, aims, and possibilities. One course of study or training will not suit the capacities and wants of all. Society is a complex machine, and different natures are meant to perform different functions. The treatment must, to a certain extent, vary with the case. What will bring out the best in one man, will crush the vigour and quench the aspiration of another. The educator, like the physician, must adapt his treatment to the nature, capacity, and ambition of each individual. The truth of this is more and more being recognised in the arrangements of modern schools of the best type. It was with the age and the training of knighthood that this necessity first began to be recognised: it was at the Reformation that it received definite assertion. Whenever the individual began to be in danger of being absorbed in an over-mastering system, differentiation in educational aim and method began.

Yet, just as the physician knows that in spite of all the variety there is a common resemblance in the physical constitution of man, so there is a common basis of spiritual humanity in all men. This the early Church was wise enough to recognise: and this it strove to foster and educate. The aim of what is called a classical education, which is the child of the Renaissance, has always been towards the same great end—the cultivation of the highest and most characteristic faculties of men. But at the present time there is a tendency to fix the attention too much on the variety of temperaments and aims, and lose sight of the common humanity. There is a danger of specialising too early: of making men's differences the basis of their education, instead of their common physical and intellectual nature. There are some who would leave the common humanity to look after itself, if only the special or professional is advanced sufficiently early and sufficiently far. Those are wise words, quoted by the author of "Teaching in Three Continents," from an experienced Principal: "I am becoming more and more convinced that each subject should be taught by special teachers with special fitness and training; but the special training must first of all be based upon general training." The Mediæval Church and the Renaissance Scholars both alike, though in different ways, recognised that there is something in man higher than the trade or profession which he may follow. It was this highest and most characteristic thing in man which they desired to develop by education. If their success was marred in the one case by the narrowness of their views of life, and in the other by their too exclusive use of weapons from the armoury of Greece and Rome, yet their aim was a true education: the youth of the world was not handed over to Mammon.

Scotland owes a greater debt to Romance influences than to the Renaissance. The poetry that welled up from the heart of chivalry and flooded Europe, quickened and fertilised the native genius of this country. It gave birth to Scottish Literature, and form to the Scottish tongue. It is when men speak or sing their thoughts in the language which noble and simple alike can understand, that their ideas lay hold of the popular mind, and become an essential factor in national education. It has been said, with some measure of truth, that national character is largely moulded by the stories, songs, and legends recited round the firesides of the people. Both in Celtic and Scoto-English we find a native literature of Ballad and Romance, dating back long before any Renaissance movement had begun to affect Europe. Side by side with the educative influence of the Church, was working as powerfully and surely the literary influence of the poets and minstrels. Their ballads and tales on the wings of song found their way into the hearts of the people, embalming there the memory of brave deeds, and of the sweet and sad stories which weld the nation together by a bond of common sympathies and traditions. And romance gave that ideal touch to this literature, which lifted the people out of a narrow and provincial range into some sympathy with what was best not only in chivalry, but in classic story. For the Romances which kept alive in Europe through the Middle Ages some knowledge of the great men of Greece and Rome, and found other heroes at the courts of Charlemagne and Arthur, made their way through Latin and French into both Gaelic and Scottish Literature. Some of the glory of old-world achievement and myth was assimilated by our national minstrels, and through them became the mental food of the people. The poets and minstrels, who either translated into the vernacular these romantic or epic lays, or composed original poems suggested by them, were true educators. They not only supplemented the work of the Church and the baronial hall as civilising agents, but were in a considerable degree the teachers for common men and simple women of all the literature and history they knew. As the rhapsodist was one of the great educators of Greece, so was the minstrel in Scotland. It is suggested by Dr Irving that the Sir Tristrem of Thomas the Rhymer was but one of a lost cycle of epic or romantic lays, like the Homeric Hymns of Greece, dealing with the deeds and glories of the old heroes who preceded our Wallace and Bruce. But we do not need to argue from a mere supposition, for there are plentiful references in Barbour, Wyntoun, Dunbar, Lyndsay, and elsewhere, to many romantic poems known to these writers. And, though time has spared nothing but the name of some, there are still left specimens which prove how valuable an instrument of national education these poems must have been. To the bulk of the people of Scotland, the poems contained in David Laing's "Select Remains" were of greater educational importance than all the wisdom of Aristotle or the commentaries of the schoolmen.

Several of the old Scotch poems collected and edited by Laing have introductions or exordia, by which the minstrel, like the Greek rhapsodist, opened the way for his tale. Like their predecessors in Hellas, our bards sang their lays in lordly court and hall, or to assemblies of the common people. Thomas of Ersyldoune is the earliest of these minstrels of whose compositions we have any specimen left. By his time, apparently, the harp was no longer being used to furnish a musical accompaniment.

> "Harpyng kepe I none;
> Ffor tonge es chefe of mynstrelsy."

In the exordium to a very old and interesting poem called "The Tale of Colkelbie Sow" we read that, when princes, knights, and squires meet, their talk "in table honourable,"

> "Is oft singing and sawis of solace
> Quhair melody is the mirthfull maistrace,
> Ermy deidis in auld days done afoir,
> Chroniculis, gestis, storeis and mich moir."

Barbour, in his "Bruce," which was written towards the close of the fourteenth century, makes frequent reference to romance tales, and to classic and other stories which he probably only knew through their romantic form. For example, in Bk. II. 572, he makes a chief say—

> "In all my tyme
> Ik hard nevir, in sang na rhyme,
> Tell off a man that swa smertly
> Eschewyt swa gret chewalry."

And elsewhere, when Bruce's men are wearied and disheartened—

> "The king, the quhilis, meryly
> Red to them, that war him by,
> Romanys off worthi Ferambrace."

The reference is doubtless to some old Romance translated from the French. The very opening lines of "The Bruce" suggest to us that Barbour was aware of earlier poems and narratives which we know nothing of. If fables, he says, are pleasant in the telling, then should "soothfast stories, if well told," give double pleasure. It is an interesting fact that he passes over the details of a certain battle, because they were well known from the songs which were being sung by the young women. Wyntoun, the Prior of St Serf's, in Loch Leven, whose Original Chronicle dates from 1420, also refers to early "gestis" and romances and popular poetry—

"For Romans to rede is delytable
Suppose that thai be quhyle bot fabyle."

He is very modest about his own powers and intentions. "Rude is my wyte," and simple, "to put all in wryte" in "oure language, Tyl ilke mannys understandyng."

He speaks of some

"That set hale thare delyte
Gest or story for to wryte,
Outher in metyre, or in prose."

Among the authorities for his Chronicle, he mentions, "Inglis and Scottis storys fyne"; and when speaking of Wallace, the national hero, he lets us understand that already he was the subject of popular minstrelsy—

"Of his gud Dedis and Manhad
Gret Gestis, I hard say, are made."

These Romance tales, and the early native poems which sprang up side by side with them, were a distinct and strong educative influence till the very eve of the Reformation. The "Complaint of Scotland" (1549), valuable in itself as one of the earliest specimens of Scottish prose, and as illustrating the great erudition which was possible even at that early date, is also valuable on account of the light it sheds on early Scottish music and literature. The author gives a long list of "taylis, fabillis, and plesand stories," recited by the shepherds, "whereof sum was in prose, and sum in verse, sum vas stories, and sum vas flet taylis." Among those founded on classical story are Perseus and Andromeda, Hercules and the Serpent, Acteon, Pyramus and Thisbe, Hero and Leander, Jupiter and Io, The Golden Apples, and Daedalus. Connected with the Arthurian cycle are Sir Evan, Arthur's knight, Gawain and Gologras, Lancelot du Lac, Sir Egeir and Sir Grynne, The Prophecies of Merlin, and others. There are also some, like Rauf Coilyear, belonging to the cycle of Charlemagne. Thus all the three great cycles of Romance are represented, and indeed specimens are still extant of poems belonging to each of them.

The people of Scotland, therefore, even though the bulk of them may not have enjoyed much school education, became acquainted, through their minstrels and poets, with the heroic stories of Greece and Rome, the achievements of Arthur and his knights, and some of the brave deeds and courtesies of Charlemagne and his peers. And the priest, too, was aided by the minstrel in bringing to the knowledge of his flock the striking tales of Hebrew

Literature. Troy and Thebes became familiar cities: Hector, Alexander, Hannibal, and Cæsar lived and fought again in our Northern land. Their heroism in the past must have helped to nerve the warrior's heart as he fought the battle of Scottish freedom. The "Ballet of the Nine Nobles" covers the whole range of Romance, and, by introducing Bruce, brings it into touch with the real history of Scotland. The struggle for independence awoke the people of Scotland to a vivid sense of their national unity. A poet was not wanting with the epic genius to give worthy expression to this new feeling of Nationality. The breath of patriotic enthusiasm struck the chords of music to a mightier harmony and gave us our first great poem—"The Bruce." Barbour marks an epoch in the history of Scottish Literature. In his "Bruce" the national spirit awakes to full self-consciousness, and henceforth, though still using the forms of Romance, it begins steadily to produce a more distinctly national poetry. The minstrels went on singing the old-world stories, but the patriotic spirit used them all to strengthen its own vigour, till in Blind Harry, the last of the wandering singers, we get once more a definite and vigorous expression of a self-assertive Nationality. A simple man of the people, whose only education was the floating literature of romance and ballad, he gave voice in his "Wallace" to what was nearest to the hearts of the people—a growing love for their hard-won freedom and independence. Romance, which had connected Scotland with feudal Christendom, was dethroned, and a national poetry took its place, which was filled with the breath of a vigorous life, and by its bold criticism of clerical tyranny, prepared the way for spiritual as well as political freedom. Gradually, too, the democratic spirit had been growing out of the recognition of individual merit in the spirit of Chivalry. It is found in early poems, like the tales of "Rauf Coilyear" and "John the Reeve," which belonged to the fourteenth century and were well known in Scotland. Ralf the Collier is knighted at the Court of Paris, and John the Miller is raised to the same honour at the Court of Edward Longshanks. The miller's two sons, also, were educated by the Bishop, and "the one of them was made a knight," "the other a parson of a kirke." This recognition of personal worth in men of humble birth is a sign of the birth of Democracy. Having got a foothold in popular literature, this free spirit allied itself with Satire, and in burlesques and travesties of the old "gestis" asserted its power, and finally, in conjunction with a strong religious enthusiasm, overthrew the Feudal system and the Papacy.

The new epoch which began with Barbour in Literature is really also the dim dawn of another era in the History of Scottish Education. From that time it began to be more distinctly National, for the poets rather than the priests were the teachers of the mass of the people.

That these old romances and the ballads of the minstrels were used by good teachers in the education of their pupils is proved by the words of Sir David Lyndsay. In 1512 he was appointed tutor to the young prince who shortly afterwards became James V., and in the time at his disposal took his noble pupil through a course of ancient Scottish Literature. Out of the well-stored treasure-house of his own cultured mind he seems to have drawn, for the boy's benefit, things new and old—

> "More pleasantly the tyme for tyll overdryve
> I have at length the storeis done descryve
> Of Hectour, Arthur, and gentle Julyus,
> Of Alexander, and worthy Pompeius."

Not only the classic cycle, but the tales of Arthur, and the weird fairy stories born in Norseland, contributed to the lad's mental development—

> "The prophecies of Rymour, Beid, and Merlyng
> And of many other plesand storye,
> Of the Reid Etin, and the Gyir Carlyng
> Comfortand thee, quhen I saw thee sorye."

The versatile Lyndsay added music to the other subjects he taught the prince—

> "Upon the lute
> Than playit I twenty springis, perqueir
> Quhilk wes grete piete for to heir."

But he had to contend against the still vigorous, though dying, feudal antipathy to book-learning, and complains bitterly that the boy was too soon taken away from his care and set to the responsibility of government—

> "The Kyng was bot twelf yeris of aege,
> Quhen new rewlaris come, in their raige
> And tuke that young prince from the scuilis."

The reason given by those responsible for this step is founded on the "false opinion" which, Buchanan tells us, James I. had striven to eradicate, namely, "that learning drew men off from action to sloth and idleness, and was only fit for monks."

It was, however, a natural opinion for feudal lords to hold. Physical strength and the science of war were, they considered, far more necessary in the interest of the state than literary or philosophical culture. The words put into their lips by Lyndsay still show the old contempt of knighthood for the wisdom of the schools—

"We thynk thame verray natural fulis
That lernis ouir mekle at the sculis.
Schir, ye mon leir to ryn ane speir,
And gyde you lyke ane man of weir."

It is, indeed, possible for education to be too exclusively literary, but the tendency of enlightened reform is to correct that, and make the aim of school to be more a development of all the faculties and powers. The ignorant echo of the above lines, which may sometimes be heard even at the present day, comes from the type of man who has lost all touch with a chivalric or patriotic spirit, and knows no other reason for existence than the making of money.

CHAPTER VI.

SCHOLASTICISM—ITS BEARING ON MEDIÆVAL EDUCATION.

THE Mediæval Church developed to great perfection a certain ideal of life, and its whole philosophy came to be a defence of that ideal. Its theory of Education was that humanity had to be lifted into full communion and sympathy with the system which was, so to speak, the crystallisation of the ideas on which it was founded. Hence, perfect assimilation to the ascetic ideal of the Church was the main end of education, and the purpose of the early Teachers was, therefore, rather moral and spiritual culture than intellectual widening or scientific progress. Just as, to the Chinese philosopher, all truth is contained in the records of his forefathers, so to the Schoolman of the Middle Ages, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, all truth had been revealed, and the duty of the loyal Christian intellect was to grasp and understand it—to arrange it into categories and formulate it into syllogisms. The fulfilment of this duty naturally gave to the Schoolmen intellects of the keenest point and the sharpest edge, and forged the instruments which, when new worlds of thought opened up to Europe, would be able to grasp the new ideas in their fulness, and raise higher the platform of the world's vision. When, about the time of Kenneth MacAlpine, Roman influences first began to play on the Scottish Church, our country was being put in touch with the great electric current of spiritual life which the Roman Church was sending through Europe. The movements in the great centres of ecclesiastical life were likely henceforth in some degree to affect Scotland, though the distance from these centres might make it late before the movements reached her.

It was the Norman Conquest which, by its far-reaching consequences, led to the complete absorption of the native educational system in that which Rome was establishing all over Western Europe. The marriage of Malcolm Canmore to Margaret secured a permanent home in Scotland for a race of new settlers from the South, partly Saxon and partly Norman by birth. Margaret and her friends brought with them a whole-hearted devotion to the Roman Church and its ritual. The outcome of their influence was the absolute unity of the native Church with that central organisation, the pulse of whose wonderful life was now beating throughout Christendom.

From this time on there is a common basis of culture being laid by all the Churches which acknowledged themselves children of the great mother. Henceforth, what affected the Church in Italy, France, or England, in some degree also affected Scotland. Schools became European in their type; what was native, provincial, or national, tended to lose itself in the catholic.

Local conditions, doubtless, more or less modified the universal type, and native popular literature nurtured and developed national idiosyncrasies. But for some centuries, under the policy of Rome, there was a distinct solidarity in the educational systems of most European countries.

This fact is not only interesting in itself, but it may prove valuable where positive information about Scottish education fails us. For where detailed record is wanting, the analogy of the Church's educational work elsewhere will help us to arrive at the proximate truth.

It was the fortune of the Normans, not only to be great conquerors, but to have the attraction of sympathy for able foreigners who had other gifts and qualities than their own. And, owing to this broad freedom from exclusiveness, they were able to found monasteries and organise schools of learning in which youths from all nations might be taught the principles of obedience and government. The twelfth century was the great age of monastic domination—princes and prelates, noblemen and courtiers of all degrees made obeisance to the monk, because they recognised in him one who believed in a righteous order in the world and acted as if bound by it. Yet the century was also marked by intellectual energy and ferment, and it saw the higher pursuits of learning established as part of the proper business of the world. The defenders and exponents of the theocratic system, which had been evolved in Europe, were to be the teachers and educators of Scotland for many generations. The philosophy which underlay their teaching, and in so many ways touched social life till the Reformation, is called Scholasticism. It attempted to reconcile the dogma of the Church with Reason, to reduce it to intelligibleness, to show that it was deducible from eternal principles, not merely imposed from without. It is, in fact, the handmaid of theology, whose duty is to prove, to defend, to systematise, and to bring, even from heathen sources like Aristotle, armour for the safeguarding of her doctrines.

"All their arguments," says Schwegler, "found on the assumption that whatever is syllogistically proved has exactly the same constitution in actuality that it has in logical thought."

It deduced its facts and laws from first principles; it did not go to nature for them. Hence, it is formal and non-progressive. Its results were intellectual subtlety and logical acuteness, not scientific mastery of nature or gradual development to spiritual and political freedom. Change was heresy, science was magic.

A new Latin civilisation, based not upon force of arms, but upon the spiritual recognition of a Divine Humanity, had begun to take root in Europe. Through the monks and secular canons, who spread themselves all over the West, and in the twelfth century found a firm settlement in Scotland, the gates of a spiritual kingdom of God, of which the Church was the realisation upon earth, were thrown open to men. Into this unity all men, though members of hostile clans, tribes, or nations, by teaching and example were invited to enter. Obedience to the laws of this kingdom was insisted upon as a first necessity, and the discipline of this obedience reduced the most opposite minds into a common Christian form.

Charlemagne had made it clear that there could be a close bond between nations, strong enough to produce a unity greater than all local feuds and diversities. The idea of a Christian Commonwealth awoke in the West, and Scotland entered into full sympathy with it, through the monks whom David I. introduced into the country. This Christian Commonwealth was based upon certain dogmas, and the chief work of education was to bring men into full acceptance of them, and to obedient conformity to the ecclesiastical system which was their visible projection on the world.

Scholasticism, then, was a philosophy of defence rather than of inquiry. The early Schoolmen in their cloisters held that all truth necessary for salvation and, therefore, for this life, was summed up in the dogmas of the Church. The higher education culminated in theology, and the primary and secondary courses of the Trivium and the Quadrivium tended to become little more than formal preparations for its study, and for the endless logical and metaphysical discussions to which it gave rise.

Scholasticism enters on its long career about the time of Charlemagne, and its initial stage is marked by the names of John Scotus and Lanfranc. Just about the time when the Benedictine monks were finding a settlement in Scotland, the great word-contest was being vigorously fought out between the Nominalists and Realists. The latter secured the supremacy, and retained it till the close of the thirteenth century. About that period the Schoolmen began to have a better acquaintance with Aristotle, and under his inspiration their philosophy reached its zenith in Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus. But, as with other things and systems, when it touched its highest point, the decline began. By the time the fourteenth century is well on its way Thomas à

Kempis, Gerson, and others have ranged themselves against it, and schools with a different tendency are affording scope for mental activity.

The Mendicant Orders arose, and, proclaiming the wealth of the clergy to be the great stumbling block to the spread of Catholic doctrine, became the guides of thought and speculation in Christendom. Through them the poor "became the revivers of learning." The interests and wants of humanity began to overshadow the thrones of kings, and to cast into contempt the plottings of statesmen. Real spiritual power began in the followers of Dominic and Francis to waken into life the formal machinery of Scholasticism. Theology now came into contact with struggling men.

The problems of life were beginning to be fearlessly handled by acute and brave intellects, and the world of nature was darkly whispering her secrets to the men who were groping after her wisdom. Abelard, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and Roger Bacon were, in their lives and their works, prophets of a clearer light, a coming freedom, and a true science.

It was in Scholastic Philosophy, and under the system of education which it helped to create and maintain, that the monks and other clergy of Scotland were trained. And the various Regular and Secular Orders of churchmen were the early schoolmasters of the country, and, along with the minstrels, the only literary influence. It is, therefore, evident that the Scholastic system, as it reigned in the Schools and Universities of Italy, France, and England, must have had an important bearing on the education of the young, and the whole caste of thought in Scotland. The higher education of the superior monks and priests was in many cases completed at a foreign University. The lower orders, both of regulars and seculars, were contented with the training of the native Abbey or Cathedral Schools, but that also was conducted on the Scholastic method and lines. The abler men of each generation would bring with them from abroad the latest ideas from the great Schools of thought, and stamp the native schools and scholars with the hall mark of the common system in its latest developments.

In the Scottish Universities, Scholasticism reigned supreme until after the Reformation. Aristotle and the School Logic, Rhetoric, Physics, Theology, and Law made up their somewhat barren course. But we shall see more particularly in a later chapter how this mediæval philosophy affected the subjects and methods of instruction, both in the Schools and the Universities. Our present purpose is rather to get a broad view of its general relation to the ecclesiastical and educational systems which prevailed in Scotland, and other countries of Western Europe, from the twelfth till the sixteenth century.

It was undoubtedly a mighty tree which twined its roots round the Church, the School, and the very arrangements of Society. It was no mere gourd, for it flourished for centuries. The light of the Renaissance did not altogether wither it, and the strength of the new ideas of the Reformation did not drag it entirely from its root-holds. It cast some of its arms round the Reformed Church, and has been living on with strange vitality in some places even to our own time.

But its day was practically over at the Reformation. It had aided in the consolidation of Christendom, by laying a substratum of common doctrine and morality at the basis of European Society. It had kept alive and active the philosophic faculty, and it could not cultivate to such verbal accuracy and orthodox thoroughness without going further, and producing men of fresh ideas and original force, who paved the way for the general emancipation and the dawn of an age of freedom and progress.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NEW CLERGY AND MONASTERIES.

It was in 1107 that Turgot, who had been the confessor and adviser of Queen Margaret, was appointed by Alexander I. to the Bishopric of St Andrews. Inspired, possibly, by his influence, the king began to introduce into the country the Canons Regular of St Augustine. And his younger brother, Earl David—afterwards to be king—was working in the same direction, when in the South he founded the Benedictine Monastery at Selkirk.

Margaret had already founded Dunfermline; Alexander endowed Scone and Inchcolm; David, with that extreme generosity which gave one of his successors good reason for calling him a "sair sanct to the crown," established Jedburgh, Kelso, Melrose, Newbattle, Holyrood, Kinloss, Cambuskenneth, and Dryburgh, some of these being revivals of old foundations. During the next three centuries, their number was always being augmented, so that, at the time of the Reformation, there were, according to Spottiswood's list, one hundred and twenty monasteries and twenty nunneries, and it is said that some forty others are not included in the catalogue.

Of those mentioned by Spottiswood, forty-eight were Augustinian, thirty-one Benedictine, and the remaining forty-one belonged to one or other of the mendicant orders, the Dominicans, Franciscans, and the Carmelites.

It is estimated by Dr Cunningham that the total number of monks and friars and nuns amounted to between two and three thousand.

A manuscript in the Advocates' Library informs us, that at the time of the Reformation, there were in Scotland altogether about four thousand six hundred persons, male and female, consecrated to a religious life.

This number was divided as follows:—thirteen bishops, sixty priors and abbots, five hundred parsons, two thousand vicars, eleven hundred monks, friars, and nuns. This was a very large proportion of the population, but it has been estimated that this body of Clergy drew something like one-half the total income of the land of Scotland.

Dr Bellesheim gives the following detailed estimate of the annual revenues of the Church—

Income of 200 Abbeys, Monasteries and Convents,	£220,618
„ Archbishops, Bishops, &c., ...	33,765
„ Collegiate Churches, ...	5,350
„ Hospitals, ...	18,000
„ Tithes, Dues, &c., ...	50,000
Giving a total annual sum of	£327,734

To such extent and wealth had the Church reached, which Margaret and her pious sons had so lovingly and generously started and fostered. John de Fordun in his "Scotichronicon," speaking of what David I. did for it, tells us, "Nam cum ipse in toto regno Scotorum tres vel quattuor invenerit episcopos, ecclesiis ceteris sine pastore tam morum

quam rerum dispendio fluctuantibus, ipse tam de antiquis quas reparavit, quam de novis quas erexit, decedens duodecim reliquit. Monasteria quoque diversorum ordinum Cluniacensis, Cisterciensis, Tironicensis, Aronensis, Praemonstrensis, Beluacensis, videlicet, Calkhow, Melrosse, Jedwart, Newbotell, Holmcultrane, Dundranane, monasterium S. Crucis de Edinburgh, Cambuskenneth, Kynlosse, et juxta Berwik monasterium sanctimonialium ac plura alia plena fratribus ordinata reliquit."

He is justified in counting his work as a considerable factor in Scottish civilisation. "Populum illum rudem et agrestem ad mores compositos et edomitos illicere satagebat." For David had, both by his own munificent foundations, and by his example to others, set up centres of light, culture, and civilisation throughout the whole of Scotland.

The Mediæval Church was not only a great religious and social, but also a great educational Institution. Both its secular and its monastic or regular orders, during the most vigorous and healthy period of their existence, interested themselves in the work of instructing the young. The Church covered with its sacred mantle all kinds of learning, and for centuries there were no schools outside of its influence. Education was one of its recognised functions, and only within its folds was there any career for a cultured man. The mere ability to read was sometimes urged as a sufficient ground for claiming "benefit of clergy" by men who had come within the clutches of the criminal law. The religious ideal naturally regulated all the courses of instruction in its various classes of schools. Secular subjects were not neglected, but they were subordinated to theology, and used only to promote the religious life; for the Church's great aim was not culture, but the spiritual salvation of the individual and the nation. Whatever schools there were in Scotland originally sprang from, and were long intimately connected with, the Church. Doubtless, our notices of early schools would be more numerous than they are, were it not for the fact that the divorce between religious and secular instruction had not yet taken place. The work of instruction, like the Church services, went without saying as part of the ordinary duties of the Cathedral and the Monastery.

The Regular and Monastic Orders were the dominant element in the Catholic Church of Scotland before the Reformation. They were largely subject to the Rule of St Benedict or his imitators, which distinctly enjoined that, in addition to the religious exercises of prayer, praise, and fasting, the monks should spend a portion of their time in transcribing books, and imparting instruction to the young and the ignorant. The Secular Clergy, also, did their part; and in their Cathedrals and Collegiate and Parish churches, helped both to create and to supply a demand for some degree of religious literary education.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ABBEYS AND THEIR SCHOOLS.

Early influence of the Monasteries.

FROM the time of David I. till the era of the Reformation, the great monastic system wove itself into the whole life of Scotland—social, ecclesiastical, and even political. While the baron's castle and the Burgher gilds were contributing to the progress of civilisation under David and his successor, the foundations were laid of these great and influential institutions. Considering the important part which the great abbeys and other religious houses played in the nation, it is somewhat remarkable how little we know about the inner and ordinary life of their inmates. Yet three kinds of registers seem to have been kept in every monastery. Of these many were destroyed either at the time of Hertford's invasion, or at the Reformation, but many of them still survive, and are considered among the most valuable original documents which bear upon our national history. The first was a Chronicle or general Register, like the Book of Paisley and the Chronicle of Melrose. The second was the Obit-Book, in which were noted the deaths of abbots, priors, kings, barons, and benefactors of the abbey. The third and most important was the Cartulary, in which were preserved copies of the charters granted by the kings and great nobles, the papal bulls affecting the monastery, and much other detailed information regarding the finance and administration of a great and wealthy house. The Book of Dunfermline, and the Register of Arbroath are examples of the Cartulary. Historical societies, like the Bannatyne and the Maitland Clubs, have had many of these valuable registers edited and published, so that they are available to the student who wishes to go back and explore for himself the sources of Scottish history.

These registers, however, at least those still extant, throw but little light on the daily routine, still less on the aims and aspirations, the motives and the manners, of those who wrote them and spent their lives in the cloisters. The reason is, perhaps, not far to seek. The ordinary daily life was so familiar and uneventful, so much a thing of course, that the chronicler must have thought it a needless thing to tell its story. He, doubtless, thought that the monastic life would go on through the ages, and never dreamed that some real picture of his brother-monks at their services and labours, in their ordinary relations to each other and the world around them, would one day be an object of interest to the Historian. It is not till the hey-day of monastic influence was well nigh past that we find the distinguished teacher, John Ferrerius, writing down for the benefit of posterity an account of the subjects which he taught in the Abbey of Kinloss. He lectured not only publicly in the chapter-house of the monastery on a wide range of authors, but also semi-privately to a number of the young monks in his own chamber, and he further acted as tutor to one youth who showed special interest in study. Ferrerius, also, from the most reliable sources, wrote the lives of some of the Abbots of Kinloss, and from them we get some information about the educational work done both in his own monastery, and in Culross, and the Blackfriars at Aberdeen. Thus we learn that Grammar, Music, and Scholastic Theology were taught in these institutions, and that a distinguished teacher could attract pupils, and make a name for his monastery, just as a successful schoolmaster may win fame for his school in modern times. The letter of the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, quoted elsewhere (p. 235), speaks of the study of Literature as in a special manner the province of ecclesiastics, and its author is anxious to raise up a new class of learned men to revive the old credit of the monasteries in this respect.

"There can be little doubt," says Skelton, "that whatever was best and worthiest in Scottish life, for several hundred years, was to be found in one form or another in connection with the great religious houses—the abbeys and monasteries—which were planted in nearly every district, however remote and however inaccessible. There the sacred flame of liberal culture, of polite learning, of a humane civilisation was encouraged to burn. The Abbey Church of Haddington was emphatically 'the Lamp of Lothian,' and from age to age, from Kirkwall to the Borders, such lamps had been lit. The moral, spiritual, intellectual illumination of the people—what of it there might be—came from them."

On the material side the monasteries must be considered the source of all that was best in the rural districts. To them we owe the settlement of these districts, and the spread and progress of agriculture and horticulture. The monks were great landowners, and, as much as the yeoman, were concerned in the crops and the weather. They lived, too, on the land in the midst of the people, and their energies were not exclusively, nor even mainly, spent upon ceremonial duties. The barns, farmhouses, and cottages were the objects of their care. They were large employers of labour, and their labourers had rights and privileges which the serfs of the nobles did not enjoy; to them, indeed, these serfs in some measure owed the emancipation which was finally secured from their feudal lords. For, as Christian masters, the monks were touched with a spirit of consideration, charity, and mercy, and in due time their influence operated upon others. The settlement of a monastery was followed by the cultivation of the land, and security for the cultivator—and comfort and comparative wealth naturally came, too, in due time to bless the people. They established markets and fairs in many places which otherwise would have been wastes, and so encouraged and developed the rudiments of commerce. They took upon them responsibilities which landowners do not always or often recognise. They were the advisers and teachers of all—the schoolmasters, lawyers, doctors, guardians, and relieving officers of a community which they protected by the sanctity of their profession against the ruthless dealing of a rough age. The stranger found shelter within their gates, the sick a hospital, the poor charity, the fugitive from the law a sanctuary, the student a home of culture. Their courtyard was at times a busy thoroughfare like a market-place, and there the wandering minstrel sang his lays, and the merchant sold his wares.

By their mere example and influence the monasteries in their best days must be considered as great educational institutions for agriculture and for commerce, as well as for the clerical profession. But their very organisation was a school for statesmen. The transaction and management of the abbey business: the meetings in Convocation: the general gatherings of abbots and priors and their deputies were all opportunities for practice in dealing with great affairs, and managing deliberative assemblies. The monks, through their abbot or prior, were in touch with men of all ranks, from the baron to the peasant, and were affected by all the movements of public life.

And the monasteries were centres of general progress and enlightenment. Many of their inmates had been educated abroad, and come into contact with the most cultured men of the time. They naturally brought with them some of the broader views and the more cultured tastes of Paris or Bologna. Whether they had studied medicine or law, or the logic of the Schoolmen, there was an ample field for their various tastes.

Their abbeys and churches had been in many cases the work of the famous guild of artists and craftsmen, who, from the thirteenth century, when they were created into a corporation by the Pope, travelled from country to country, and left behind them these exquisite examples of architectural art. But these men must have educated native workmen to assist them, and the monks themselves, no doubt, took their share in the task of raising the sacred edifices. They remained, at any rate, "things of beauty," which, even in their ruin, are an educative influence in the land. And these buildings had the charm of sanctity, as well as the grace of beauty, and so were saved through ages of strife and war. "Thus they became," to quote the words of Skelton, "the public museums and the public libraries, where the most venerable relics—the historic records and title deeds of the nation—had been deposited. Many of them, besides, had been intimately associated with the most memorable events in the national history. With much that was meretricious and much that was puerile, it might yet be said with confidence, that in these august sanctuaries of the mediæval Catholicism the deepest and most imaginative expression of the national life was to be found."

The foundation of our national Universities at St Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen may possibly have affected the monasteries as schools of the higher learning. The Church had succeeded in getting Papal Bulls for their establishment; they had been founded amid national rejoicing: four hundred of the clergy joined in the thanksgiving service which celebrated the reception of the Charter for St Andrews University. But their foundation was a step towards the secularisation of learning and education, which was to end in the separation of schools from the Church. The Church created the demand, and satisfied the demand until she had educated others to undertake her work. With three Universities founded in the fifteenth century, and her Schools gradually securing an independent position in connection with the growing Burghs, the need grew less that the monasteries should continue to act as educational agencies. But, till these Universities were founded, the monasteries were both schools and colleges—the only colleges, indeed, which young Scotsmen had, unless they crossed the Borders to Oxford or Cambridge, or went further afield to Paris or some other Continental University.

The desire for learning and its encouragement was apparently strong within the Church at the beginning of the fifteenth century—and the need of great national Schools must have been fostered by the monasteries themselves. Bishop Wardlaw recognised the desire and the need, and even before he succeeded in getting the Charter, he had gathered together the elements of a native University, with native Professors and Lecturers. Among them were a canon and an archdeacon of St Andrews, and the Abbot of Scone lectured on the Sentences of Peter Lombard. "All who thirsted for learning flocked there."

This was the beginning of secularisation. The intellectual leadership was now to be transferred from the monasteries to the Universities. This transfer had taken place earlier on the Continent. "In the thirteenth century," says Frederic Harrison, "it was not the monasteries but the Universities that held up the torch. Paris, Oxford, Montpellier, and the like were wholly secular schools; for, though the leading doctors and professors of this age are still nominally churchmen, and even monks, their whole moral and mental attitude, and the atmosphere of their school, are strictly secular, and not monastic." Still the fact remains that Schools and Universities alike owe their origin to the Church, and were fostered and tended by the Church in their struggling years of infancy—and that, further, the Church helped to create and maintain a demand, both for the lower and the higher education which they were established to supply.

The Abbey Schools.

The great abbeys and priories, and in their own degree the smaller convents and hospitals, were in most cases—by their very foundation—doing for the country important and valuable educational work. They not only had schools within their own walls for the education of young ecclesiastics and others, but they had under their control and patronage many other schools, both in neighbouring and more remote places.

(*A.*) *Schools within the Abbeys.*

We shall first refer to the schools which existed *within* the walls of the monasteries—the conduct of which was in the hands of the members of the convent. It was the usual thing in the monasteries of France, England, and Germany to have educational work carried on as part of the regular routine of religious service. In these there were two distinct classes of pupils, who constituted an inner and an outer school. In the inner or cloister school were taught, by the brethren, the lads who had given themselves up to be trained for the full monastic life. In the outer school, which seems partly to have corresponded to the day-school side of some of the English Public Schools, were taught the pupils whose aim in life was to become parish priests, or to acquire enough of education to fit them for the many appointments in courtly and diplomatic service, which required proficiency in writing, and some measure of general education.

Arrangements were sometimes made for free instruction to the poor in these outer schools. Pious Christians now and then left endowments for the purpose; but when these were not forthcoming, alms was sometimes asked. And the gift by the Lady of Molle to the Abbey of Kelso shows that similar arrangements prevailed in some of the Scottish monasteries, and that there were two classes of scholars maintained and educated in the abbeys. Some, apparently, were expected to pay for their maintenance by gifts or otherwise, and the others—who were consecrated to follow the rule of the Order—were doubtless, according to the general custom, maintained and educated at the expense of the Foundation.

Of the English monasteries it was said, "they taught the unlearned that was put to them to be taught: yea, the poor as well as the rich, without demanding anything for their labour, other than what the rich parents were willing to give them of mere devotion."

However much the Scottish monasteries might differ from each other, or the monasteries in other parts of Europe, the fundamental principle in all of them was life, according to rule, spent in the Divine service. The primary duty in all was prayer and praise; but, besides this, the Rules of their Orders, in most cases, insisted that a portion of each day should be set apart for active labour. The senior and higher members had the cares and responsibilities of administration. Some had to attend to the tilling, sowing, and reaping of the land; but transcribing, study, or teaching were supposed to occupy, more or less, the attention of the entire monastery. The Benedictines, especially, were bound to devote a considerable share of their time to the education of the young, the instruction of novices, or the copying of manuscripts, which was then a necessary and important part of educational work, just as the writing and publishing of text-books is at the present time. Many of the conventual institutions of the country were founded by or for this Order, which had several branches. It counted among its offshoots the Carthusians, Cistercians, Clugniacs, and others, so that its rule was more widely spread than even its name. Fully thirty Benedictine houses are enumerated in the list given by Spottiswoode. When we mention among this number Dunfermline, Kelso, Arbroath, Melrose, Coldingham, Newbattle, and Dundrennan, it will be evident that there were at least stately buildings and great endowments consecrated, in part at least, to the cause of Education.

It is unfortunate that the extant Registers of the Monasteries do not give us more information about the educational work done within their walls. But we are not altogether dependent on the analogy of the similar institutions of other countries, although we should be justified in drawing some inferences from the common customs and methods of the great Orders of the Catholic Church.

If we could believe that the records left us by Ferrerius of his own work in Kinloss about 1540 represented in any degree the kind or amount of work done in the other monasteries, even at their most flourishing time, we should have to admit that the standard was equal to that of the Universities. But Ferrerius was an exceptional man, and both he and his patron, Robert Reid, had been influenced by the new enthusiasm for learning due to the Renaissance. Doubtless, in some cases, the intellectual interest awakened in the University of Paris or Oxford found vent in the instruction of the younger monks in the higher learning; but we shall rather refer to some of the instances which prove that something, at least, of educational work was done in many, if not all, of the monasteries. The short Biographies written by Ferrerius are valuable sources of information regarding the practical interest shown in education, even before his own time. Abbot Thomas Crystall, he tells us, was born in 1478, and succeeded to the Abbey in 1505. His parents were simple, pious people, who, when they saw that he was a lad of promise, entrusted him, along with an elder brother, to the Abbey of Culross, to be educated in literature and morals. There was at that time in the Abbey of Culross a monk of distinguished piety named Thomas Person, who, for his time (which was "ad meliores literas rudior"), was well versed in the elements of Grammar. To him was committed the instruction of the boys. The future Abbot proved himself a capable and eager student, and in a short time outstripped all his fellows in learning. His parents, hearing of this, were filled with higher ambitions for the lad; and, by the advice of friends, took him (too soon, says Ferrerius) from the Grammar Schools, and transferred him to the study of music, either because they believed that this was a surer means to ecclesiastical promotion, or (as the biographer thinks) led by the hand of Providence, which was fitting the boy for his future position.

Primarily the monastery schools were doubtless intended to rear up young aspirants to the Religious life. The Church was the one learned profession in mediæval times, and through its avenues alone could the children of the poor hope to rise to positions of influence and dignity. But there is evidence to show that these schools were also taken advantage of by those members of the wealthier classes who desired to give a moral and religious, as well as an intellectual or knightly, training to their sons. The Cartulary of Kelso informs us that in 1260 the widow of Richard, Lord of Molle, granted to the abbot and convent her dowry from certain lands in return for the maintenance and education of her son among the "majoribus et dignioribus scolaribus" who have residence in their house. The phrase used in this record, "exhibere in victualibus," illustrates the origin of the word exhibition applied to a Bursary or Scholarship at a College. There is every reason to believe that in the same way at Dunfermline, Melrose, Paisley, Arbroath, and other houses, there were cloistral schools, whose benefits were not entirely confined to the rising generation of ecclesiastics. At Dunfermline "gud Maister Robert Henrisoun" was schoolmaster before the close of the fifteenth century. In the Register of the Privy Seal there is a complaint, dated 1573, from the Master of the "Grammar School within the Abbey of Dunfermline," which refers to the fact that his predecessors had taught the youth there from time immemorial in letters and doctrine, and had received their appointment from the abbot. The schools of Haddington, which, doubtless, were connected with the Abbey Church, were famous even in the fourteenth century, and sums of money were paid by the Treasury for the support of pupils there. From the Register of Arbroath we learn that in 1486 an agreement was entered into between the abbot and a discreet clerk, Master Archibald Lame, for the instruction of the novices and younger monks. The salary this teacher received was ten merks, the customary and (according to Innes) almost legal salary of a Parochial vicar, and in addition he had his daily portion with the members of the convent. Robert Logie, a canon-regular of Cambuskenneth, who had to leave the country in 1538 on account of his sympathy with Reformation ideas, had been employed as teacher of the novices in his abbey. And there are frequent references to the same office in other monasteries.

When the abbey was situated in or near a town, the growth of the Burgher class, and the demand for education among its members, in time necessitated the opening of a school in the town itself. This, doubtless, was the origin of the ancient Grammar School of Edinburgh, and of other schools, like Arbroath. Their rise we are shortly to attempt to trace.

We find traces of high-class educational work in the convents of the Dominican and other smaller Orders. The school of the Blackfriars of Aberdeen attracted pupils by its reputation in the beginning of the sixteenth century. There were nine Observantine Convents in Scotland before the Reformation. One of these was established in Edinburgh in 1446, and there Divinity and Philosophy are said to have been constantly taught until the convent was demolished in 1559. In the school connected with the Priory of St Andrews young men were instructed in the philosophy of Scotus. Even in Religious Houses, which went by the name of Hospitals, some attention was paid to the work of instruction. The Canons of St Antony had a monastery of this kind at Leith. Though the name Hospital suggests that these institutions were primarily meant to be homes for the aged and the poor, their governors were called Praeceptores, and they also fulfilled the functions of schools for the benefit of the community. In Brechin a Hospital was founded in 1264 by a grand-nephew of William the Lion, who reserved to himself and his successors the sole right of presentation of the Master. From an early date the office of Teacher was generally combined with that of Chaplain, and the tradition continued till after the Reformation, for in 1634 the emoluments of the Praeceptory were attached, for all time coming, to the joint-office of Schoolmaster and Chaplain.

Various circumstances gradually tended to make it less necessary that the abbeys should perform the work of public schools within their cloisters. With the rise of the Burghs to importance, schools under the patronage of the abbots were established within the towns; the secular clergy in the Cathedrals, and later also in the Collegiate and Parish Churches, gave instruction in music and letters to a large number of the youth of the country, and in the fifteenth century the three national Universities were founded to supply higher instruction in rhetoric, philosophy, and theology to all who desired it. Thus their educational function in many cases became limited to the rearing and training of a succession of monks to carry on the work of the monastery, and the intellectual interest in learning began to die out, because learning had become less necessary for the monastic life.

Long before the Reformation, as is admitted on all sides, the monasteries, as a rule, had fallen away from their early vigour, earnestness, and discipline. This was partly due to the devolution of some of their early functions on other bodies, partly to the corruption which is apt to attend the possession of great wealth and power. The revival in a few of them of the old spirit did not check the advancing wave of change. Their shortcomings hastened the downfall of the old system, in which they played so important a part; but it must ever be said to their credit that in their best days they were the homes of culture, and, as we shall see, they laid the foundation of many of the Grammar Schools of Scotland.

(*B.*) *Schools outside the Abbeys.*

We now pass on to an account of the schools outside the monasteries, which were under the patronage and control of the abbots and their convents.

These were either (1) in the Burgh close to the abbey, or (2) in parishes or towns which, though more or less remote from the convent, were under its supervision, inasmuch as the churches and schools in the district had been gifted to it by founders or benefactors at an early date.

I. Where Burghs grew up close to or under the wing of great monasteries, as was the case in Edinburgh, Arbroath, Dundee, and elsewhere, schools began at an early period to hive off from the abbeys. It is almost certain that the Grammar School of Edinburgh took its rise from the cloister school within the walls of Holyroodhouse. At first only ecclesiastics, or pupils likely to devote themselves to the religious life, would be educated there, but as the Burgher class began to recognise the importance of education, others would crave for their sons the benefit of monastic instruction, and the demand increasing with the growth of the town, schools would be established to which such pupils might resort. Some of the monks would be set apart to go without the convent and teach the sons of the burgesses in the town itself, and in due time special masters would be appointed by the abbot. Something like this was probably the origin of the High School of Edinburgh. It is, however, possible that the school had been founded by the early Northumbrian Church, and was handed over to the abbey when the king set it up in Holyrood. Again when this abbey was endowed for Canons-Regular of the Augustine Order in 1128, the Charter granted permission to the canons to found a Burgh between the abbey and the King's Burgh. Thus the Burgh of Regality of Canongate arose, and in due time was possessed of a Grammar School of its own, which was also an offshoot from the abbey. The Magistrates of the Canongate in 1580 stated that their Grammar School had existed "past the memory of man." In 1519, David Vocat, "clerk and orator" of the abbey, was Master of the Grammar School of

Edinburgh, and in 1524, on his recommendation the abbot appoints Henry Henryson, at the time master of the neighbouring Canongate School, to be his colleague and successor.

From the case of Dundee we find that special powers were sometimes given by charter to the abbeys to found new schools. About the year 1224 the Bishop of Brechin, in whose diocese Dundee lay, ratified a gift made to the abbot and monks of Lindores of the churches of Dundee, and granted to "the said abbot and convent liberty to plant schools wherever they pleased in the said town." In virtue of these powers, the abbey seems to have set apart some of its monks to teach in the burgh, and in due time a school was raised of such fame that, according to the story of Blind Harry, William Wallace came there from the West to receive his education; at a later period, Hector Boece, the historian, who was the first principal of Aberdeen University, was trained in this school.

That some schools were at a very early date so far separated from the convent as to have antagonistic interests, is proved by the record, of date about 1216, in the Register of St Andrews, entitled "Conventio inter nos et scholares de Sancto Andrea." Master Patrick, the master of the schools, and the poor scholars sue the prior for certain grants of barley, &c., which they claim as their own, and by the decision of an arbiter appointed by the Pope a yearly income, amounting to forty stones of cheese and seventy measures of barley, is awarded for the use of the poor scholars.

The schools of Haddington, which had attained to some note at a very early period, were in the patronage of the Abbot of Holyrood, but they probably grew up under the fostering care of the Abbey Church. We are justified, also, in believing that the grammar school of Arbroath had its origin in the great monastery which did so much for that seaport town.

II. The other class of schools with a monastic connection were in towns or parishes *at some distance* from the abbeys. They were, as a rule, granted to the monasteries as part of their foundation, and, like the churches with which they are mentioned, must have had their origin at a date which carries us back either to the Culdee Church or to early Catholic influences. David I., in endowing the abbey which he had founded first at Selkirk and afterwards at Kelso (1128), grants to it all the churches and schools of Roxburgh, with their pertinents. In the same way, the churches, chapels, and schools of Perth and Stirling are conveyed by charter to the abbey of Dunfermline. This gift was confirmed by the Bishop of St Andrews as early as 1160.

The churches, chapels, and schools of Linlithgow were, in 1187, handed over by Pope Gregory VIII. as part of the endowment of the priory of St Andrews; and the grant was confirmed by later pontiffs.

The school in the parish of Lanark, along with other possessions, was confirmed by the pope to the abbey of Dryburgh in 1183, and the letter of confirmation provides that the masters in the said school should be allowed to carry on their educational work without interference as long as they kept their demands within just bounds. It is noticeable in all these grants that church and school go together, apparently as part of the same organisation. The tradition of the Columban system of a close connection between religion and education was, therefore, still surviving when the Roman Church took over the ecclesiastical supremacy of Scotland. These schools form a link between the early native religious culture and the later monastic administration, by which the thought and life of Scotland were brought into full contact with the Christian civilisation of Europe.

Under the direction of the monks these schools seem to have flourished. At any rate, the master in that of Perth was, in 1212, a man of sufficient standing to be appointed an arbiter in an important dispute. Early in the sixteenth century this school had become one of the most famous in Scotland. At that time its rector was the distinguished grammarian and teacher, Andrew Simson, and there were no less than three hundred boys in attendance, many of them sons of the nobility and gentry.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PAROCHIAL AND DIOCESAN SYSTEM.

In Celtic times, society and the Church were organised upon a tribal basis. The territorial system, with its episcopal dioceses and its parishes, was introduced along with feudalism, and may be said to date its rise from the appointment of Turgot to the bishopric of St Andrews.

Some assert that in England parishes were at first merely sub-divisions of the ancient hundred through which taxes were collected, and that advantage was taken of them for ecclesiastical purposes. Others hold that they were never anything else than the districts set apart for the spiritual superintendence of one priest. However this may be, in England as in Scotland, they seem to have been intimately connected with the feudal allotment into manors. At the close of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century, then, we have the parish and the parish priest, and the diocesan bishop called into existence.

The new colonists from the South, when they received their charters as proprietors of land, doubtless found in many cases old churches upon their manors. Although, previously, there had been no ecclesiastical dues, as lords of the manor, influenced by feudal ideas and the example of a pious king, they began to recognise certain duties to their districts. If a church already existed on a manor, its lord would grant to it the tithe of his property; if no church existed, he would build one, and set apart for its support the same endowment. Thus every manor came to have its parish church, and the land was tithed for its benefit.

The territorial division was not effected all at once, but considerable progress was apparently made with it in the reign of David I. "The system," says Dr Cunningham, "was the growth of circumstances, rather than the result of any legislative plan." At first the name "parish" was applied to the diocese of a bishop. But soon the term came to be restricted to the district which was attended to by one clergyman, and it was also applied to the churches belonging to the monasteries. Large parishes in time were sub-divided, and new parishes were created where towns sprang up. The Church, thus endowed and established in every manor, undoubtedly repaid the generosity of the king and the feudal lord, for it educated and humanised the serf, and enabled the roots of a religious civilisation to sink deep into the hearts of the people. By organising and dividing its forces, the Church subdued the land, and brought all classes and districts into touch with its spiritual influence.

Centuries after, the national education of Scotland was to be grafted by the State upon the parochial system of the Church, but before the Reformation it was the monk, and not the parish priest, who held the ecclesiastical power, and played the chief part in the history of education. At this early period the territorial divisions were not allowed to take a leading part in the social development of the country. The parish priests were either "jostled out of their places" by the monks, or were permitted to struggle on at a mere pittance, while the bulk of the parish revenues were used for other purposes by the monastery. The great abbey overshadowed and weakened the parochial influence, and it was not till the monastic system had done its work and been superseded, that the parish became a really important factor in the machinery of education.

When the burghs had begun to take over the responsibility of the schools, when the Universities had been founded with special privileges to do the higher educational work, and when the new sense of freedom awoke among the people about the beginning of the sixteenth century, it became evident that the monastic establishments were no longer a necessity, and that the welfare of the country demanded that spiritual and educational forces should be applied from local centres. The Reformation, from this point of view, represents the final victory of the parochial clergy over the monastic system.

But during the four hundred years that preceded that great change, the parish churches had at least some share in educating the people. If that share was not so great as it might have been, and as it afterwards became, the fault lay at the door of the monasteries which starved them, and of the evil system of pluralities which prevented the parish work from receiving its due attention. The cathedrals, however, from the time of their foundation, faithfully upheld and advanced the cause of education in their respective dioceses, and some of our most famous schools owe their origin to an early connection with them.

There are four classes of schools which sprung out of the territorial organisation of the Church, and of these we shall give an account in their order:—

(1) *Parish Schools.*
(2) *Cathedral Schools.*
(3) *Collegiate Schools.*
(4) *Sang Schules.*

§ I. **Parish Schools.**

It has been a common, though mistaken, belief that primary education in Europe dates only from the Reformation. It certainly received a great impetus at that time, but it is beyond dispute that the parish schools of the Mediæval Church offered at least the rudiments of religion and letters to the children of both rural and town districts.

M. Simeon Luce notices the existence of the primary school in France in the fourteenth century. "Mention is made," he says, "of rural schools in all the documents, and we can scarcely doubt that, during the most stormy years of the fourteenth century, most villages had their masters teaching children reading, writing, and some arithmetic." A Statute of the diocese of Rouen (1230) instructs the clergy "frequently to exhort their parishioners to be careful and exacting in sending their children to school."

In country districts the clergyman either taught the school himself, or had with him a young ecclesiastic who assisted in the performance of the Church services, acted as sacristan, and instructed the children. Even as far back as the ninth century, one of the questions asked by the bishops in the Province of Rheims during a parochial visitation was, "whether the parish priest had with him a cleric who could teach school."

In Germany, also, there was early provision made in the towns and country parishes for elementary education. It is said that, in the Middle Rhine Province at the end of the fifteenth century, there were schools within every two miles. At Eisenach, where Luther received part of his training, there were parochial schools in connection with each of the three churches.

In the parish schools of England, from a remote period, children of the lower classes were taught grammar and Church music free of charge. In the fourteenth century there were schools in connection with most of the churches, and it is asserted, in "Christian Schools and Scholars," that they were frequented by the children of the peasantry indiscriminately, and that their benefits were not confined to those who were being set apart for the clerical life.

In the same way, there is reason to believe that, in many of the parishes of Scotland, elementary education of a religious type was given in connection with the churches, from the time when the catholic system was recognised. In this the Mediæval Church was only carrying on the traditions of the Columban monasteries, which were schools as well as churches.

In support of this we have the interesting story told by Reginald of Durham in the twelfth century. In the church of Norham on the Tweed, a school was kept, *according to the usual custom* of the time, and one of the pupils, to escape punishment for idleness, threw the key of the church into the river, hoping thereby to be no more "distressed with the slavery of learning." We have seen that ancient churches, with their schools, were part of the endowment handed over to several of the monasteries which were founded in the twelfth century.

It is interesting to notice that in Scotland, as in other countries, it was apparently the custom, where school-houses did not exist, to use the church itself for the purpose. The Statutes of Troyes, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, decree that every parish priest shall have dwelling with him a cleric, who shall teach school, and that the priest shall notify his parishioners to send their sons *to the church* to be educated by this cleric. In England we hear of the children in the fourteenth century being taught either within the church itself or in the porch, as at St Martin's, Norwich. At a much later period (1662) the Bishop of Bayeux found it necessary to forbid the holding of schools in churches and chapels.

Parish schools in Scotland are, therefore, as old as the parish system itself. Some of these were transferred to the control of great abbeys, like Kelso and Dunfermline, others were handed over to the bishops when the new sees were established. We have documentary proof of their existence at Abernethy, Perth, Stirling, Roxburgh, and Linlithgow in the twelfth century.

The masters of the schools in the parish of Lanark are specially referred to, and protected from hindrance in their educational duties in a communication from the Pope, dated 1183. There was an endowment of land specially set apart for scholars in the parish kirk of Ellon, and at Kirkcudbright. The Register of the Bishopric of Moray gives us positive proof that the rector or vicar of a parish church was, in some cases at least, responsible for the education of the children of his cure. In 1489 it was decreed by the chapter that the rector of the church of Kincardine should be ordered to govern and teach the school, for which purpose "he possesses and holds his rectory." The education of the young was here fully recognised as one of the duties of the priest, and the process of separation between the work of the clergyman and the work of the teacher was being initiated by the neglect of this rector to do the work for which he was paid.

George Buchanan informs us that he was educated in the schools of his native county, and it is probable that he received his first instruction in the parish school of his native place, Killearn, and that his education was continued in the school connected with the church of Dumbarton.

When Knox and the other commissioners who drew up the "First Book of Discipline" proposed that every church should have a schoolmaster appointed, and that in rural districts the minister himself should see to the instruction of the youth of the parish, they probably intended to make more effective and universal the educational work which, in some parishes at least, had been carried on for centuries before the Reformation.

Most reforms have their root in the past. Knox must have known of parish schools in Scotland, as well as of a parochial division. The fact that he does not refer to them is no more a proof that they did not exist, than is the fact, that he speaks of founding grammar schools and erecting colleges, a proof that none had been established before his time. The "Book of Discipline" did not become law, but the tradition of earlier parish schools survived, and supplied an imperfect working system till the complete organisation of schools upon a parochial basis was effected in 1633 and 1696. Thus, even after the Reformation, we find that the offices of minister and schoolmaster were sometimes held together. For example, James Melville was sent (1563), at the age of seven, to a school taught at Logie by the minister of the district, Mr William Gray. In 1576, the parish minister of Kirkcudbright was also the schoolmaster. And some time afterwards the two offices are still found united in one person, who is instructed to have a doctor, or second master, to assist him in his educational work.

In 1582, Mr David Spens, the minister of Kirkcaldy, made an agreement with the Town Council to teach a grammar school, "be his self as principall, with ane doctor under him, for whom he sall anser."

In 1603, the master of the grammar school of Dundee held also the office of minister, but he resigned the mastership in 1606, because he "was not habile to discharge with a good conscience both the said offices."

§ II. **Cathedral Schools.**

The introduction of the diocesan system of Church government by Alexander I. has an important bearing on the History of Scottish Education. It marks the growth of the process of assimilation between the Church of Scotland and the other Churches of the West. Beginning with the appointment of Turgot to the See of St Andrews, it extended by the foundation of Glasgow in 1116, till in all there were twelve dioceses. In the fifteenth century, when the Northern islands were transferred to the Scottish crown, the new See of Orkney was added to their number. These dioceses were Caithness, Ross, Moray, Aberdeen, Brechin, Dunkeld, Dunblane, St Andrews, Argyle, the Isles, Glasgow, Galloway, and Orkney.

From early times there had been schools established in connection with the cathedrals of Western Christendom. Bishop Chodregang of Metz (742-766) set the excellent example of organising his cathedral staff with a view to securing more thorough and extensive educational machinery. In England, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Adrian had, in the seventh century, shown an active interest in the establishment and improvement of schools. Towards the close of the eighth century, Charlemagne, under the guidance of Alcuin, initiated by his enlightened enthusiasm a great educational revival which, though not permanent in his own empire, extended to England, and doubtless stimulated Alfred and the leaders of the Church in the work of founding and fostering schools in their different dioceses. Archbishop Lanfranc, after the Conquest, issued instructions for the reorganisation of the schools—and he was evidently anxious that their benefits should be extended to all classes. The primary purpose of the cathedral schools in all countries was the instruction of young men who were aspirants to the priesthood, but others were allowed and encouraged to take advantage of the education given in them.

In establishing a diocesan system in Scotland, great care was taken that, as far as possible, the new cathedral foundations should resemble in all important points those of earlier date in other countries. The Scottish sees, when reconstituted upon the territorial basis, were organised to a considerable extent upon the model of one or other of the existing bishoprics. There is evidence to show that schools were an important feature of the new cathedrals, as they were of their models.

The customs of Durham influenced St Andrews through Turgot, the first bishop. But there the prior and canons of the monastery formed the Chapter, and probably the schools connected with the priory rendered it unnecessary to establish another in connection with the cathedral.

Glasgow followed the constitution of the ancient See of Salisbury. According to a letter from the chapter of Salisbury, the chancellor of that diocese was engaged, among other duties, "in scolis regendis," looking after the school books, and fixing the amount of the lessons. The Episcopal Register of Glasgow at an early date informs us that its own chancellor, from beyond the memory of man, enjoyed the right of appointing and deposing the master of the grammar school, and of directing and superintending the school itself; and that, without his license, no one could teach grammar in the burgh of Glasgow. In the cathedral chapter-house, or library, lectures seem to have been given in canon and civil law, and scholastic philosophy and theology, by some of the higher officials. A considerable collection of books had been brought together for educational purposes at an early date. A list given in the Cartulary (1432) contains the names of 105 books—which included a complete course on civil law, "Totus cursus Juris Civilis, datus per Magistrum Johannem Stewart, quondam Subdecanum Ecclesiae Glasg." There was also a full course on Canon Law, "Istum cursum Juris Canonici dedit Gulielmus Lawedre, quondam Episcopus."

In 1475 and 1483 the bishop and two of the canons of the cathedral presented the university with a great many books of the kind which must have been chiefly used in the philosophical and theological training of the young priests. Before the foundation of the university in 1450, the cathedral did the work of a college, and offered to those who could not go to a foreign school opportunities of acquiring some knowledge of the range of higher subjects professed in mediæval times.

The Bishop of Moray in 1203 adopted the constitution of the See of Lincoln. The chancellor of that Southern diocese had also to supervise the schools of theology and grant licenses to teach, and he enjoyed the right of nomination to all the schools in the district. In the Episcopal Register of Moray there is a Statute, dated 1489, providing for the erection of a school in Elgin, and the chancellor is commissioned to have a suitable master appointed to give instruction in grammar.

In Dunkeld, the chancellor, Master George Broun, endowed a "scholasticus capellanus perpetuus" to serve in the Church of St George, and be master of the grammar school.

A similar foundation is referred to in the Register of Brechin. There the chaplain, who had charge of the school for the chancellor, was to have all the fees and endowment, and was expected to devote to educational duties the time which was not occupied with religious services.

When the Orkney islands were attached to Scotland in the fifteenth century, Kirkwall was made a royal burgh, and the cathedral was handed over to the town with this condition, that its endowments should be used to maintain the church and its school. In 1544, Bishop Reid, who, as abbot of Kinloss, had manifested a warm interest in the cause of education, founded a grammar school in connection with his cathedral, and endowed a chaplain as master, who was to devote his whole time to the work of teaching.

The duties of the chancellor of Aberdeen are set forth in the Statutes of 1256, in which it is stated that "it belongs to his office that he should supply a capable master, to have the management of the schools, and be able to teach the boys both grammar and logic." As early as 1262 we hear of the rector of the schools of Aberdeen as one of the signatories of an episcopal ordinance.

A deed in the Burgh Records, dated 1418, informs us that, according to his recognised right, the chancellor, in view of the vacancy in the mastership of the school of the burgh, caused by the death of Andrew of Syves, late Vicar of Bervy, has presented to the said office Master John Homyll, "who has been examined regarding his sufficiency, and found of good life and laudable conversation." Thus, under the wing of the cathedral church, grew up the famous grammar school of Aberdeen, which, by its long succession of famous scholars and teachers, has played an important part in the development of our national education. The rector of the school had, *ex officio*, a place reserved for him in the choir of the cathedral.

There were also song schools connected with the cathedrals, in which boys were trained for the choir, and received not only instruction in music, but a certain amount of general education.

The chancellor's right of supervision seems to have extended to all the schools within the diocese, even those in the patronage of the monasteries. This right was sometimes asserted against the power of the abbot himself. For example, in 1434, a dispute arose as to the supervision of the work in the school of Dundee. The master appealed to the Abbot of Lindores, who had appointed him, as against the Bishop of Brechin, in whose diocese the town is situated. But the bishop (through his chancellor) was found to possess jurisdiction, and suspended the master.

In all the typical cases we have cited, the chancellor had control and superintendence, as was the universal custom in the reorganised cathedral system, both of England and the Continent. The master, also, in several of the instances is called by the title "Scholasticus," which was the usual name for the teaching canon.

It is possible, also, that the course of instruction followed the usual lines of the cathedral schools of England and other countries.

§. III. Schools in Connection with the Collegiate Churches.

Occupying a place between the cathedrals and the ordinary parish churches came the praefecturae or collegiate churches of Scotland. They belong to the latter period of Roman rule in the country, and represent a new influence which began to develop the religious life of the people just when the monasteries began to decline in fervour and discipline. The first of them was founded during the second half of the fourteenth century, and from that time almost till the very eve of the Reformation we hear of new foundations being established. The collegiate church of Biggar—perhaps the last creation of the old system—was endowed shortly before the death of Cardinal Beaton in 1546. These establishments received their name because they had a college or chapter connected with them. Though they were of less importance in the ecclesiastical life of the nation than the great cathedral and monastic institutions, they did a good work at the time when the monasteries, as religious and educational agencies, were on the wane. The fact that no less than thirty-three of them were founded and endowed in different districts shows that, in spite of the satire and criticism of these later years, the old Church had still a wonderful hold of the hearts of the people, and was able to adapt itself to some extent to new requirements. To most of these collegiate churches, by the terms of their foundation, were attached elementary or music schools, which were taught by some of the clergy belonging to the chapter. Among their number may be mentioned Linlithgow, Peebles, Biggar, St Giles', Edinburgh; Crail, Corstorphine, Royal Chapel of Stirling, Seton, Tain; Our Lady College, Glasgow; Strathblane, and Sempill.

At Lochwinnoch or Sempill the college was endowed in 1504 for a provost, six chaplains, and two singing boys. One of the chaplains was to be organist, and was instructed to teach a singing school, and give daily lessons to boys in the Gregorian Chant, and prick-song. Another chaplain was to be skilled in grammar as well as in music, and was expected to teach the first and second parts of grammar to the pupils. There seems little reason to doubt that this, and similar institutions, served as primary schools for their districts.

There was a school attached to St Giles', Edinburgh, about 1496, to which Dunbar is supposed to be referring in the lines—

> "Your stinkand scule that standis dirk
> Haddis the lycht fra your parish Kirk."

Our Lady College in Glasgow was founded about 1530 for, "inter alios," a master of a song school and three singing boys. The song school stood at the west side of the church.

In connection with the collegiate churches of Linlithgow, Biggar, and Crail, grammar schools were founded. In that of Linlithgow, Ninian Winzet distinguished himself as a teacher, and he himself has left us an account of his work there. At Biggar, Lord Fleming set apart the endowment for a provost, eight prebendaries and four singing boys; and appointed one of the prebendaries to be master of the grammar school.

The founder of the church at Crail proposed, also, to establish a grammar school there, but this honour was reserved for Sir David Bowman, one of the prebendaries, who granted a charter of endowment in 1542, and appointed a kinsman of his own as the first master.

§ IV. **Sang Schools.**

It was to be expected, when the Church was so powerful and its choral services formed such an important part of the religious life of the community, that music would hold a prominent place in education. Music was one of the seven arts which constituted the whole of a liberal education in mediæval times. It had been one of the chief means of culture in classical Greece, and was the only one of the fine arts which, under the ascetic rule of the early Church, held its place in all Christian countries. Wedded to poetry, it found its way to the hearts of the people through the early minstrels — the young page learned to sing and play in the baronial hall—and all who wished to enter the service of the Church as priests or monks, or members of the choir, had to master its elements, and fit themselves to take their part in the singing of mass or matins. There was no subject to which the Church seems to have attached more value and given more attention. In music the priest and the poet joined their forces for the common good. Popular songs and a large variety of musical instruments are referred to in early specimens of our national literature. As printing was not yet discovered, books were rare and expensive. The mass of the people did not need to be able to read, but all good Christians were expected to join in the praise of the Church. Even the humblest scholars in the lower schools seem to have been taught to sing the common music of the Church service, and the chief end of the education of many was ability to perform Church ceremonies.

Organs and choirs are said to have been used in Scotch cathedrals as early as the thirteenth century—that is, practically from the time of their erection. A Dominican friar, who had studied the higher branches of musical science at Rome and Paris, found, on his return to Scotland, that the music of the Church was far behind what he had found in the great centres of ecclesiastical life.

His proposal to reform it was accepted by the bishops and clergy, and in a few years he is said to have brought it to such perfection that Scotland was abreast of Rome itself. He also did something to advance the science of music by publishing four treatises, entitled De Cantu Ecclesiastico Corrigendo, De Tenore Musicali, Tetrachordorum, and Pentachordorum. Bishop Elphinstone, on his appointment, set himself to restore the service in the cathedral. For this purpose he employed one John Malison who was, *inter alia*, to see that the music was of the ancient manner. Boece says that the North owes its knowledge of music and the art of singing to him.

"The daily cathedral service," says Dr Cunningham, "the solemn chanting of the monks in their conventual buildings, and the way in which the Roman ritual had so beautifully blended music with almost every act of religious worship, diffused a love of it among the people. It is probable that some of those touchingly simple Scottish airs, of unknown antiquity, which give such perfect utterance to the finest feelings of the Scottish heart, may first have been sung by young men and maidens, who learned from monks the concord of sweet sounds." Thus did the Church foster the art of music, which even Luther places in the foremost rank as an educative influence. And this demand for some measure of musical skill necessitated the musical training of the "sang schule."

But not only were the clergy instructed in the elements of music, but before the Reformation the children of the gentry and nobility seem in many cases to have been adepts in musical art. Sir David Lyndsay "playit upon the lute" to his royal pupil. Darnley is described as being—

"Cunning of Clergy, of musick mervelous,
The louing leide of Latine could declair;
Sangis set with divers tunes expres,
With instrument maist sweit into the eir."

James Melville, whose Diary gives us as vivid a picture as we possess of the kind of education which a boy of the middle classes could receive about the latter half of the sixteenth century, acquired his knowledge of music at St Andrews. His teacher had received his music training among the monks in the priory, and was able to instruct his pupil in the gammot, plain-song, and treble of the psalms. Melville was fond of singing and playing, and took pleasure in attending the performances at his college. Some of his fellow students could play on the virginals, others on the lute and githorn.

Music was taught, then, both in the cathedral, monastery, parochial, and collegiate schools, and from an early period the music or song school was in certain cases separated from the grammar school.

Grant thinks that at first the song school "existed only in cathedrals and cathedral towns, for the education of boys intended for the choir," but it is very probable that in Scotland, as elsewhere, the music necessary for the Church services was taught even in the early parochial schools. Grant admits, however, that long before the Reformation we meet with sang schools not only in the seats of great abbeys, as Jedburgh and Dunfermline, but in all the leading burghs of Scotland. And the foundations of the collegiate churches which were established during the century and a half prior to the Reformation nearly all provide for a number of "singing boys."

In the middle of the thirteenth century, the Statutes of Aberdeen provide for "singing boys" to be in attendance at the church on great festival days. In Brechin, according to the Episcopal Register (1429), a sang school was endowed by the Earl of Athole, and a chaplain was set apart to conduct it. In Kirkwall, the charter of Bishop Reid (1544) set apart the prebendary of St Augustine as an endowment for the sang school. The chaplain who taught this school was not allowed to hold any other benefice in the cathedral, and, along with the master of the grammar school, was expected to teach gratuitously, not only the boys of the choir, but any of the poor who desired to attend. This provision supports our belief, that in the collegiate churches the poor of the neighbourhood were taught along with the boys on the foundation.

We have a very definite statement of the duties of the master in a contract, of date 1496, between Robert Hutchison and the town of Aberdeen. In terms of this agreement the teacher binds himself to remain all his life in the burgh, "singing, keeping, and upholding mass, matins, even-songs, completories, psalms, responses, antiphonies, and hymns in the church on festival days," at a salary of twenty-four merks annually. He is also appointed master of the sang school, "to instruct burgesses' sons in singing and playing on the organ, for the upholding of God's service in the choir, they paying him his scholage and dues."

Dr Joseph Robertson thinks that Bishop Lesly at one time acted as master of the sang school in Aberdeen.

In 1536 there is a notice of a sang school at Ayr, in 1555 at Dundee, in 1552 at Edinburgh. In 1525 the Vicar of Lathrisk offers to the community to endow one at Crail.

Shortly after the Reformation we find James VI. endowing several "sang schules," as at Elgin (1585), Musselburgh (1609), and Queen Anne his wife endowed one in conjunction with the grammar school in Dunfermline. We have also notices of such schools in other burghs, like Cupar (1581). At Peebles the "doctor" or second master of the grammar school in 1608 was paid for teaching music, or acting as master of a sang scule. James

Melville informs us that when he was at Montrose [illegible] the Laird of Dun "of his charity entertained a blind man who had a singular good voice. Him he caused the doctor of our school teach the whole psalms in metre with the tunes thereof and sing them in the kirk, by hearing of whom I was so delighted that I learned many of them."

The earliest notices of these schools occur, therefore, in connection with the cathedrals, where separate schools existed for singing and playing on instruments. But the collegiate churches, with their foundations and schools for "singing boys," probably extended to other burghs the desire for special opportunities of having music taught, and so "the sang school" as a separate institution from the grammar school began to come into existence elsewhere. In some cases the sang school was apparently held in a different building from the grammar school. In 1554 the Town Council of Edinburgh give instructions for repairing the sang school in the kirkyard, so as to make it habitable for the bairns, and these instructions seem to have been carried out the same year.

In other cases the sang school is mentioned so closely with the grammar school that it is probable that, as was the case in Peebles after the Reformation in 1608, the doctor or "second master" was the instructor in music, and the sang scule was held in the grammar school building.

The master of the sang school of Dundee in 1555 is mentioned, along with the master of the grammar school, in the prohibition issued by the Town Council against the teachers appointed by the Abbot of Lindores, "to teach ony bairns privately or openly grammar, Ynglish, or singing, but with the company of Maister Thomas MakGibbon, maister of the grammar school, and Richard Barclay, maister of the sang school."

Mention is made of sang schools at Glasgow (1578), Linlithgow (1633), Lanark (1628), Haddington (1677), and it is very probable that such schools were either developments or survivals of pre-Reformation music schools.

The influence of the early Church in encouraging the teaching of music lasted long after the Reformation, and sang schools continued to have a separate existence till the eighteenth century. It is interesting to notice that in 1746 the presbytery had reason to find fault with the way in which the grammar school of Kirkcaldy was taught, and especially with "neglect of duty on the part of the master, who had omitted for a year past to teach Church music"

Both before and after the Reformation the ordinary subjects of an English education were, in many cases, taught in the sang schools along with music; so that the sang school began to represent the school of the present day, which is conducted on modern lines, while the grammar school continued to follow out the traditions of a classical education. It is probable, for example, that the sang school of Aberdeen was incorporated in the English school, which the Town Council managed in a different part of the town from the grammar school. The sang school at Elgin in 1659 was converted into an English school, in which sacred music was taught.

As music seemed in danger of being neglected in the altered circumstances of schools after the Reformation, James VI. got an Act of Parliament passed for instructing the young in this art, "which is likely to fall in great decay, without timous remeid be provided." The king, therefore, requests "the provosts, bailies, councils and communities of the most special burghs of the realm, and the patrons and provosts of the colleges where 'sang schools' are founded, to erect and set up a sang school, with a master sufficient and able for the instruction of the youth in the said science of music, as they will answer to his highness upon the peril of their foundations."

Dr Cunningham remarks that it is evident that the first reformers desired to encourage sacred music, from the fact that the first editions of the Scottish Liturgy have the various tunes then sung attached to the psalms. But, as the musical part of the Church service declined in importance under the rule of presbytery, the catechism gradually took the place of music as the characteristic feature of a primary education. And, as the clergy did not require to be proficient in the art to perform their functions, and no career was offered in this country to experts, the higher study of music came also to be neglected.

CHAPTER X.

THE BURGHS AND THEIR SCHOOLS.

THE chief part of the secondary education of Scotland for many centuries has been given in the ancient grammar schools. From the Reformation, and in some cases much earlier, they were under the patronage and management of the Town Councils, until the Act of 1872 transferred them, along with the parish schools, to the management of popularly elected School Boards.

We have already traced their origin in giving an account of the various schools which arose under the fostering care of the early Church. But the somewhat difficult task remains to show how the burghs, being gradually educated by the Church to some conception of the value and importance of schools, began to take upon their shoulders the responsibility of supporting and encouraging them, and at last claimed and acquired their whole patronage and control.

Before attempting to illustrate the various ways in which the grammar schools passed from the hands of the Church into the management of the town councils, it will help to clear the way if we give a concise account of the RISE OF THE BURGHS themselves.

In early days, when the times were troubled and tribal wars were rife, the followers and clans of a great chief naturally built their huts for protection close to the stronghold or castle of their head. In Scotland, it was under the shadow of the royal or baronial castle, or of the cathedral or great abbey that the simple artizans and labourers of the fields at first gathered for safety. Rights at first they had none, and rights they did not dream of, if only they might work at peace, and have protection for their families and themselves. They were content to earn a scanty livelihood by tilling the fields as serfs, or giving their services in times of peace and war to their lord. Experience taught their chief—whether he were king or baron—that the best way to improve his lands was to raise the condition of his labourers. The teaching and influence of the Church must have tended to make the ruder people fit for something higher than ignorant serfdom, and to encourage the over-lord in any measures for their benefit which he might devise. Feudalism itself was ever fostering and strengthening ideas of rights and privilege. It had not much sympathy for commerce, but it insisted on organisation. Honourable obligation of lord to vassal, as well as of vassal to lord, was the key stone of the system. It was, therefore, for a primitive people a school of moral and social discipline. Thus certain rights and privileges began to be granted to the aggregates of people gathered round the castle, the cathedral, or the abbey.

Men also began to take an interest in trade and to form commercial relations with other districts, or even with other countries. This trading enterprise was an education in self-reliance and independence, and in time the traders of different localities formed themselves into gilds or hanses which finally received royal sanction and recognition. Such societies were the nuclei of future burghs. Commerce received a considerable stimulus from Queen Margaret, and was further promoted by her famous son David. By giving the protection of the law and the crown to these trading communities, he gave a dignity and a security to their operations which were of great value. In his reign arose two great commercial confederacies, one North of the Grampians, the other in the South. To Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, David gave municipal charters, and formed them into a commercial court. On this account, he is credited with being the chief, if not the first, founder of the chartered municipal institutions which are known by the name of burghs. In the Cartulary of Kelso, &c., we find evidence of the early importance of the burgher class, and of the wealth of many merchants of Roxburgh, Berwick, and other places.

William the Lion carried out the policy of his grandfather in this respect. He incorporated many more of the principal towns by charter, and endowed them with the right of self-government by elected magistracy. These royal burghs anticipated the principle of popular representation, for they chose delegates to sit in their court or convention, which legislated for the common interest and fixed the amount of their taxation for the public service. In this way did the people rise from villenage to freedom. The Church assisted in their emancipation, and the " free institutions of burghs not only afforded the machinery, but supplied the spirit and motive of emancipation."

But not only did the Church aid the development of freedom by spreading enlightenment in the Royal burghs, but there were some towns which owed all their burghal privileges to the influence of the abbey or cathedral around which they grew.

When, for example, Holyrood Abbey was founded in 1128, the charter gave permission to the canons to found a burgh between their church and the King's burgh. Hence arose the burgh of Canongate, whose interests were always warmly supported by the abbot and the canon. By the foundation charter freedom from toll and custom all over Scotland was granted to the "canonici et eorum homines." The interpretation of this clause gave rise to fierce disputes in later times between the city of Edinburgh, and the burgh of Canongate; for the commendator of the abbey insisted that these privileges were meant to be extended to all the burgesses of his burgh, as being included within the expression "eorum homines," and not to be confined to the canons of the monastery. Services like these won the gratitude of the traders and craftsmen.

"It was," says Dr Cameron Lees, in reference to the abbey and burgh of Paisley, "in recognition of all that the convent had done, in bestowing upon them burghal privileges and maintaining their rights, that several of the chief townsmen endowed altarages in the church and abbey."

So also Glasgow "began to flourish" as a burgh of barony under the jurisdiction of the bishop. It was the influence of the cathedral which secured for it all its trading rights—and the superintendence of the education of the town and district remained in the chancellor's hands till the Reformation. The craftsmen of the town showed their gratitude and loyalty by rising in strong force to protect the cathedral when it was threatened with destruction by an anti-Papal mob. The patronage of the grammar school seems to have been held by the Chancellor till his office was swept away.

How the Burghs became connected with the Schools.

It is proved by recent researches into the history of the ancient gilds — especially the merchant gilds, and the trade gilds, out of which the burgh corporation developed—that they not only looked after the temporal interests of their members and regulated the work of the crafts, but had also a social and religious side. All of them had particular saints for patrons. They founded masses and altars, presented painted windows, and made important contributions to the repair of churches and cathedrals. Thus they became the patrons of chaplainries and altarages in the cathedrals and collegiate churches, and had livings in their gift. This religious connection was illustrated in very recent times in Scotland by such processions as that of St Crispin, and by the seats in the parish churches formerly belonging to, and set apart for, the various crafts.

It has been shown, also, that in England the constitution of the gilds enabled them in some cases to support a free school and schoolmaster.

This was done by the gild of St Nicholas in Worcester, the gild of Palmers at Ludlow, and the famous gild of Kalenders in Bristol.

In Scotland the burghs seem to have become first connected with the schools, of which they were afterwards to have the patronage and control, by undertaking the whole or part of the expenses connected with them.

In those burghs which grew up under the protection of a great abbey, the demand for education would soon become too great to be supplied by the training given within the walls to novices and the young who studied with them. When the monks were sent without the convent to conduct schools for the children in the town itself, the burgesses naturally would provide accommodation, and in gratitude give some payment to the teacher or his abbey, either by endowing a chapel or altar, or by a fixed salary, or a capitation charge. Thus would arise the state of things which we find in Edinburgh, Canongate, Dundee, where the abbot or commendator held the appointment of the master, and the town council was responsible for his payment and the maintenance of the school.

The grammar school of Ayr, to the rector of which we find reference made as early as 1233, was apparently connected at first with the Church of St John.

In 1510 the town council pay a salary to one of the chaplains for performing the duties of master. But the power of the corporation had extended between that time and the Reformation, for in 1551 they themselves chose and appointed a schoolmaster for one year. At the same date, the parish clerk offers to teach a sang school for them within the burgh.

The burgh of Peebles was one of the earliest to secure the right of patronage in its school. In 1464 the bailies and burgesses appoint Sir William Blaklok schoolmaster in the town. Their burgh seems to have had a number of benefices in its gift, for in 1475 they agree that the first vacant service shall be given to the schoolmaster of the time, in recognition of his earnest and successful work as a teacher. It is probable that their former generosity to the Church in founding benefices had secured for them the right of appointing their master at this early date.

It was natural that burghs which, as founders or benefactors of churches or chapels, had obtained the privilege of patronage to altars, chapels, or benefices, should also in due time gain the patronage of the schools which they supported. The gilds and burgesses seem to have largely contributed to the endowment of many of the collegiate churches, and in some cases had the right of appointment of the masters of their schools from the beginning. The patronage of the song school in connection with Our Lady College, founded about 1530, was vested in the bailies and council of Glasgow, although the Abbot of Kilwinning nominated the provost. There were fourteen well endowed altars in the collegiate church of Linlithgow, served by as many chaplains, and of these the magistrates were the patrons. Doubtless Ninian Winzet held one of these at their hands as schoolmaster of the town.

In the case of the grammar school of Crail, founded in 1542 by Sir David Bowman, one of the prebendaries of the collegiate church, the founder, in terms of his charter, retains for himself during his life the right of patronage, but names the honourable bailies and burgesses as his successors. The mastership was endowed with a chaplaincy in the church.

At Kirkwall, when its charter as a royal burgh was received in 1486, the cathedral and bishopric were conveyed to the town, but a condition was attached that the rents and income should be used in supporting the church and school. But the charter of Bishop Reid (1554) enjoins that the master should prove his qualifications before three leading officials of the cathedral. So that, even if the town had the appointment, it was subject to the approval of the church authorities.

It was only after a prolonged struggle that the Town Council of Aberdeen finally obtained the entire control and patronage of the famous grammar school. In 1418 a schoolmaster, "burgi de Aberdeen," was presented by the bailies and the council, when the chancellor of the diocese testified him to be of good character, sound learning, and a graduate in arts. Sixty years later, the master had a yearly salary out of the common good of the town until he should be provided with a benefice in the church of St Nicholas.

The chaplaincy of St Michael seems to have been part of the endowment of the mastership. It is possible that the town council were the founders and patrons of this chaplaincy, and based their claim to the appointment of the master partly on this fact. We have seen that in 1418 the burgh appointed a master on the recommendation of the chancellor. But in 1509 they took upon themselves the entire responsibility, and presented Master John Merschell to the office. This action gave rise to a dispute between the chancellor and the town council, and the question was referred to the decision of the pope. But the burgh was successful in asserting its right, for in 1523 the master thus appointed, who seems in some way to have favoured the claims of the chancellor, appeared before the council, and confessing his offence, prays for the pardon of the good town of Aberdeen, his masters, of whom "he held the school as his predecessors before him." The question came up again in 1538 when the council nominated Master Hew Munro, and the chancellor Master Robert Skene, but once more the town carried its point, and had its nominee presented to the office.

Though the council thus asserted and made good their right to choose the master, there still remained a courteous recognition of the chancellor's position, and of the connection of the mastership with the cathedral. When Munro resigned in 1550 and the council elected Master James Chalmer in his place they sent him to the chancellor to be formally admitted, as in former times.

Apparently all over Scotland, after the beginning of the sixteenth century, the spirit of freedom was growing, and the communities were gaining courage to show a bold front, even against the still vigorous, if much assailed, power of the Church.

On the eve of the Reformation, the Abbot of Lindores and the Town Council of Dundee had a dispute regarding a master, which further illustrates how the municipal authorities were in many places asserting their claims to the patronage of their schools.

One Thomas MakGibbon had been appointed master of the school, and appears to have adopted and disseminated among his scholars the new ideas regarding religion and the Church. The abbot and convent attempt to supersede him, by appointing a nominal master with power to appoint substitutes. By these substitutes opposition schools were started and attempts were made to take away MakGibbon's scholars. The town council, however (1555), supported MakGibbon as against the abbot, and did their utmost to suppress his rivals, by giving an "inhibition till Robert Merschell and Andro Kemp that they nor nane of them teach ony bairns privately or openly grammar, Ynglish, or singing, but with the company of Maister Thomas MakGibbon, maister of the grammar school, and Richard Barclay, maister of the sang school—and gif they be found doing in the contrair to be banisht for year and day." Fines were imposed, and afterwards (1556) increased for the fault of not "sending of their bairns to our common grammar school"—in the case, doubtless, of parents who remained loyal to the old ways and sent their children to the school sanctioned by the abbey and the convent.

The abbot and convent took their case before the ecclesiastical courts, and "obtenet sentence that they had the richt to the school, and to the presenting of ane maister thereto," and "monishing" the town council "to desist and cease frae all molestation and perturbation of Maister John (the abbot's nominee) and his substitutes in the office, under the pain of cursing."

The council appealed to the pope, or his legate, the Archbishop of St Andrews, and obtained temporary absolution from the cursing. The matter was then carried to the civil court, and as late as 1559, had not received its final settlement. But the spread of the Reformation overthrew the abbey of Lindores, and the opposition schools fell with it.

The connection between the grammar schools and the burghs was in many cases strengthened by the protective rights extended to the schools by the municipal authorities. We have just seen how the magistrates of Dundee prohibited the citizens from sending their children to opposition schools started by the Abbot of Lindores. In the same way the Town Council of Edinburgh safeguarded the interests of the grammar school by decreeing (1519) that no citizen should "send his bairns" to any other school, under a penalty of ten shillings. And at Ayr private schools were similarly discouraged, and masters who dared to teach on their own account were compelled to repay the fees to the teacher of the grammar school. The master of Aberdeen grammar school claimed the same rights.

Apparently this protection was specially intended for the higher, or secondary, subjects included under the comprehensive name of grammar. In Edinburgh it did not extend to the elementary instruction implied in "grace-book, prymar, and plane donat."

Shortly after the Reformation the Town Council of Edinburgh endeavoured to secure the retirement of an incapable master of the grammar school, who had been appointed in 1546 by the Abbot of Holyrood. After some considerable difficulty, this last nominee of the old patron retired, and the magistrates and council in 1568 made their first appointment in the person of Alexander Buchanan, a nephew of the famous Latinist. This was confirmed by a royal presentation given by the Regent Murray in name of the young king.

Two years before, the patronage had been gifted to the magistrates by Queen Mary, along with other patronages and endowments belonging to the Dominican and Franciscan monasteries.

In the Register of the Burgh of Canongate there is an interesting entry, of date 5th April 1580, showing how, in the case of the Canongate school, the right of nomination, which had previously been in the hands of the Bishop of Orkney, as the commendator of the abbey, was finally assumed by the town council of the burgh. "Comperit Gilbert Tailyeour Skuilmaister and renuncit and dimittit his gift grauntit to him be Adame Bischope of Orknay of the rycht of the Grammar Schole during his lyf tyme in favouris of the bailleis and counsall Quha grantit the rycht and tytill thairoff to the said Gilbert to be haldin of thame as thai quha hes undouttit rycht to dispone the samyne, and that sa lang as the said Gilbert suld remane within thair burgh in teiching of the youth and farder induring the saidis bailleis and counsall's will."

A number of the other burgh schools passed into the hands of their town councils immediately after the Reformation. Among these may be mentioned Paisley and Irvine, and probably Dumfries and Elgin. All of these burghs benefited by properties and endowments which had belonged to the old Church, and the funds set apart for educational purposes were to be administered by the magistrates and the corporation. In the burgh of Brechin the grammar school orginated partly with the old cathedral school, and partly with a hospital. The patronage of the preceptory connected with the hospital was purchased by Sir Patrick Maule in 1634. The Burgh Records begin in 1672, and from them it appears that the town council by that time appointed the rector of the school, but made formal application to the Earl of Panmure, as patron, for the preceptory of the hospital. In 1715 the estates of the earl were confiscated, and from that date the council, whenever they appointed a new rector, applied to the crown for the revenues, which were always granted them.

Lecture Schools and Dame Schools.

Although the grammar schools, which had been founded in most of the burghs by the beginning of the sixteenth century, enjoyed, as a rule, a protected monopoly in the teaching of Latin, it is clear that there were, in some of the large towns, at least, other schools where children received elementary instruction.

In June 1499, for example, in order to prevent the spread of the plague, the Town Council of Edinburgh forbade the holding of schools by any manner of persons, men or *women.* The terms of this decree imply that there were dame schools in the town before the close of the fifteenth century. We are informed that about the same time the parish schools of England were not unfrequently taught by women. Shortly after the Reformation, as James Melville tells us in his Diary, his old friend, Marjory Gray, taught a "school for lasses" in Montrose.

By the decree of Edinburgh Town Council (1519), "Grace buke, prymar, and plane donat" are expressly excluded from the monopoly of teaching granted to the grammar school, and these subjects were doubtless, therefore, taught, along with writing and English and arithmetic, in elementary schools. It was possibly to such schools that boys were meant to be sent "from the age of six to nine years," in terms of the Act of 1496.

A royal charter, of date 1529, excepts "the teaching and lering of Lectouris" from the prohibition against the establishment of other grammar schools in Edinburgh. Thus "lecture" or reading schools arose to meet a popular want. In them, probably, girls of the middle classes received all the education which was considered necessary for their sex in addition to the training of their homes. The few nunneries which existed in Scotland would give instruction in many accomplishments to the daughters of noble houses entrusted to their care.

Women were not so utterly ignorant before the

Reformation as is sometimes assumed. Dunbar makes the widow in his poem say :—

> "Quhen that I go to the Kirk, clad in cair weid,
> Then lay I furtgh my bright buke on breid on my knee,
> With mony lusty letter elluminynit with gold";

and it is fair to infer that some women, even of the middle classes, in his time were able to read their prayer-book.

Queen Mary, we know, enjoyed a liberal education, and composed a prayer in Latin on the eve of her execution.

In the Appendix to M'Crie's "Life of Knox" will be found a number of letters written by the reformer to female relations and friends. These not only prove that the ladies could read, but their frequent references to letters received by Knox, also show that they could write.

One of them is addressed to his mother-in-law (1553), and speaks of the receipt of her letters. So that this lady must have had opportunities of learning to read and write in the early part of the century.

James Melville tells us that his eldest sister used to read him selections from Lyndsay's poetry, and Alexander Scott, the poet, speaks of "lasses," as well as lads, arguing upon theology, like learned doctors.

The good Bishop Reid of Orkney, who in many ways proved himself one of the most enlightened men who ever graced the Church, by his will (1558) left an endowment for the education of young gentlewomen.

The Inner Life of an Ancient Burgh School.

To illustrate the inner life of the Scottish grammar school before the Reformation, we have fortunately preserved in a volume in King's College, Aberdeen, the *Statutes and Rules of the Ancient Grammar School* of that city. They have been reprinted in the Miscellany of the Spalding Club. The following translation may be given :—

On first entering the school a boy must prostrate himself, and on bowed knee salute Christ, the author of the human race, and the Virgin, the equal of God, in a short prayer. At seven o'clock, "*Pars*," *i.e.*, the prescribed task, shall begin, and when it is finished the preceptor shall enter, and punish by word or lash those who fail. When the punishment is over, there is to be a public lecture on all the lessons by the preceptor himself at eight o'clock. At the close of the lecture, the boys will hurry to breakfast. There will be a private lecture by the under-masters in their separate classes at ten o'clock. At eleven or half-past eleven the poor scholars shall have an opportunity of going into the city, and the town boys, if there be any, shortly after.

The second lecture of the head master on Terence, Virgil, or Cicero shall be at half-past eleven to those who ought to be present. At the stroke of mid-day the boys will be allowed to dine.

AFTERNOON STATUTES.

Every scholar must be at the school by two o'clock to hear the various class lectures. One of the under-masters will always in turn be present in the school to mark errors and mistakes in Latin, and to note those who are inattentive to their work. They must also see that they do not themselves commit the faults which it is their duty to find fault with in others.

At four o'clock, after the bell is rung, the boys must go over to their tutors the task for the day.

They may go out in pairs for necessary purposes with a check or staff, but no one will be permitted to leave the room (save under compulsion) before the return of those who have already received permission.

The head master himself will hear one class or another, in addition to his own highest class, when he sees fit.

There will be evening disputations from five till six o'clock: and thereafter they will hasten to sing prayers to Almighty God.

A Pythagorean silence for one year shall be enjoined upon elementary pupils and beginners. Pupils must learn by heart the table of confession. They must acquire a fair knowledge of arithmetic. They must all speak in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, or Irish (*i.e.*, Gaelic), never in the common tongue, at least with those who are acquainted with Latin.

Each scholar must carry his own rod.

The resident scholars must have no dealings with outsiders nor any of the class of grammarians with a dialectician.

LAWS.

It is not permitted to barter, nor to buy or sell property without the knowledge of the head master or his assistant.

No one must play for such stakes as books, money, clothes, or food, but the older boys may use as stakes in their games leather straps or pins. Dice playing is forbidden. Games are not allowed out of sight of the under-masters.

RULES FOR CONDUCT.

No one shall wrong another by word or deed. Any one who is injured may complain, if he does not retaliate, and the offender will be punished. But if there is wrangling and fighting, both sides will bear the penalty. Any one who for words returns blows, shall alone bear the punishment.

Older boys who, by any of the foregoing faults, lead younger boys into transgression, shall be doubly punished, because they both did wrong themselves, and led innocent minds into wrong.

The following offences will be punished:—Disobedience: lateness for morning school: ignorance of the prescribed lessons: moving from place to place without sufficient reason: running up and down: talking during lecture: lateness after breakfast and dinner: wasting time when allowed to leave the room: speaking in the common tongue: long absence from the lecture room: mischief.

These rules and laws were in existence before the Reformation; but they are not older in this form than the introduction of printing, for they are said to have been printed, "typis excusae," so that no boy might plead ignorance.

The rules are followed by three sets of hints on the duties of scholars taken from Quintilian, Cicero, and Terence.

CHAPTER XI.

THE TEACHER—HIS POSITION AND STATUS.

EDUCATION was in mediæval times a recognised function of the Church. Not only were the first schools of Scotland in close connection with the churches and abbeys and hospitals, and under the supervision of the chancellor, or the patronage of the abbot, but the mediæval schoolmaster was almost invariably a clergyman in either secular or regular orders. The earliest notices which we find of the rectors of schools show, by the use of the title "Master," that they were men of considerable culture who had graduated at some university. As some of the references date back to the thirteenth century, the early schoolmasters must have studied at Oxford, Paris, Bologna, or other famous centre, and must, therefore, from age to age have brought to Scotland whatever new influence was stirring the academic world. The title "*Master*" is the anglicised translation of the Latin word *Magister*, which survives in the university degree of Master of Arts. It was higher than the other title, *Sir*, which we find bestowed upon many of the Catholic clergy who had not proceeded to full graduation.

Sir David Lindsay alludes to the latter title in the following lines—

> "The pure priest thinkis he gets nae richt
> Be he nocht stylit like an Knycht
> And callit Schir before his name
> As Schir Thomas and Schir Williame."

The inferior title, "*Sir*," as applied to the clergy, whether in benefices or in schools, fell into disuse after the Reformation. A considerable number of priests, who were willing to adapt themselves to the new order, found employment as readers and teachers, and the appellation, Dominie, which is the semi-Latinised form of Sir, began to be applied in a familiar way to them. (The word "*Don*," applied to a fellow or tutor in Oxford or Cambridge, is a corruption of the same term "Dominus.")

An early instance of its use in this way is found (1580) in a conversation which John Row, the minister of Perth, had on his death-bed with "the master of the gramer schoole, commonly called *Dominie* Rind." Sir Walter Scott has made the designation immortal in his character, Dominie Sampson. That the schoolmaster, when we first find him mentioned in our records, was often a man who had received a better education than the general mass of even the monks and the priests, and was held in great esteem and consideration, hardly needs to be proved. Some of our earliest references to schools and their teachers occur in important documents signed by rectors or masters. Berbeadh, rector of the schools of Abernethy, witnesses a deed of gift in 1100. The other signatures are those of the Earl of Fife and two sons of Macbeth. Master Thomas, rector of the schools of Roxburgh, is one of the witnesses of a grant of divine service to a son of the Earl of Dunbar in 1241. Master Thomas, rector of the schools of Aberdeen, attaches his name in the same way to a decision of the bishops in 1262. Master John Turnbull, rector of the school of Dumfries, is witness to a seisin of Lord Maxwell in a house within that town in 1481. And the name of Alexander Hog, rector of the school of Brechin, appears on a deed of resignation in 1485.

The Church, as well as the country, gave public evidence of its esteem for some of the cultured and reliable men who devoted their lives to the instruction of the young. At different times we find the master of a school nominated by the pope as one of the arbiters in disputes which had arisen between churches and monasteries. This honour was given to the master of the schools of Perth (A.D. 1212), in a dispute regarding the church of Prestwick ; to the master of the schools of Ayr (1233), in the settlement of a question which had arisen regarding lands claimed by the abbey of Paisley, and to other early schoolmasters.

In 1357, when the bishops, barons, and burgesses undertake to pay a large ransom for David II. to the English crown, the Act of Parliament mentions, among the guaranteeing burgesses, the name of Nicholas, rector of the school of Cupar.

Schoolmasters seem, also, in certain cases to have been called upon to perform various functions connected with the civil service. For example, the same rector of Cupar was apparently collector of customs in the burgh, and similar appointments were held by the schoolmasters of Haddington and Tranent, as is proved by the public accounts towards the end of the fourteenth century.

Some of them, also, in virtue of their special acquirements and education, acted in the capacity of notaries public for their respective communities. "Gude Master Robert Henrison," the poet schoolmaster of Dunfermline about the end of the fifteenth century, was a notary public, and so, too, was Ninian Winzet of Linlithgow, who took a prominent part in the turmoil of the Reformation struggle.

As was to be expected, also, we have evidence to show that, after the universities were founded, the master of the grammar school occasionally assisted in such non-professorial work as the examining of candidates for graduation.

This was the case in Glasgow, for example, with three different masters, between the years 1523 and 1555.

One or two illustrations may be given to show that the masters before the Reformation were almost invariably Churchmen. In cathedral towns, like Glasgow and Aberdeen, Dunkeld and Kirkwall, the master of the grammar school had a special stall in the choir reserved for him, and chaplaincies were attached to his office.

The master of the grammar school of Glasgow received an endowment in 1460, on condition of his performing certain religious rites, and he was chaplain of St Ninians, which was founded in 1494. In the latter capacity he was enjoined to commend the founder to the scholars every night, and offer prayers for his soul.

In the collegiate churches it was one of the chaplains on the foundation who taught the grammar and song schools. Ninian Winzet was schoolmaster in the collegiate church of St Michael in Linlithgow, and was promoted to its provostship. There are other instances of good service on the part of the teacher being rewarded by promotion to a vacant clerical living; *e.g.*, in 1475 the Town Council of

Peebles agree to give the first benefice in their gift to the master, Sir Lowrans Johnson, in recognition of his earnest and devoted work as a teacher of their children. The masters of Crail grammar school, which was founded in 1542, were required to be priests of proved learning and blameless life.

The same thing held true in schools which were in connection with, or had sprung from, the monasteries. The master of the school of Edinburgh was expected also to assist in the performance of divine service in the abbey.

The royal charter (1524) sanctioning the appointment of Henry Henryson to be colleague to David Vocat in the office contains the following words: "And we will the said Maister Hary Henrysoun heirfor be ane gude, true, and thankfull servitour to us and our successouris enduring his liftyme, and to be, at hie solempne festuale tymes, with us the said abbot and our successouris at hie mass and evin sang with his surples upon him to do us service, the tyme that we sall doe devyne service within our said abbay as efferis."

A divorce between the clerical and teaching professions took place at, or shortly after, the Reformation. The first steps towards the secularisation of national education had already been taken by the foundation of the Universities, and by the transference of the grammar schools in many cases to the management of town councils. The parish school remained for three centuries longer under the control and direction of the Church, and, on the whole, did good service to the country, by placing the boon of an elementary education upon a religious basis within the reach of all districts and classes. But in 1872 the State took over the whole system and completed the process of secularisation.

So far as the schoolmasters' profession was concerned, the secularisation was practically an accomplished fact at the close of the Reformation movement. For a time, as we have shown on another page, the offices of minister and teacher were occasionally combined, and in country districts Knox apparently intended that this should be done. But by the date of the establishment by law of the parochial system, the profession of teaching had passed entirely into the hands of laymen. Many licentiates of the Church, however, who had failed to secure charges, or were waiting for a parish, gave themselves up to teaching, and thus excellent scholars, who had not the gift of preaching, or influential friends to present them to a living, were always to be found among the parish schoolmasters.

But the secularisation of teaching seriously affected its prestige. And the hard fate which the schools of Scotland suffered by the loss of their share of the ancient patrimony of the Church, and their consequent poverty, did not tend to restore it. The ministers of the Reformed Church adopted the title of Reverend, instead of the ancient "Sir" or "Master," and as a fair share of endowment was saved, or won back for their support, the title has carried with it the respect which culture and education—not to speak of other things—ought to secure for a profession. In England, at the Reformation, education was not so wholly cut adrift from the Church, and until recently it was necessary to be in clerical orders to gain any of the numerous prizes of the profession, or even a good mastership in a secondary school. Even to-day most of the headmasters of the great schools of England are, and must be, clergymen. This connection with the Church, along with the valuable endowments which belong to the old grammar and public schools, has maintained the prestige of the higher schoolmaster's calling. On the other hand, the teacher in the elementary and parish schools of England has never enjoyed the independence and consideration which for generations were the privilege of the Scottish parochial schoolmaster. Secularisation is at last making headway in England, also, and the proportion of ordinary masters in orders is yearly becoming less.

The teachers of both countries have been slow to awake to the necessity of strengthening their position and status by professional union. But the new connection of all grades of Scottish schools with the State, the growing recognition of the value and importance of the history, science, and art of education, the granting of professional diplomas, and not least, the formation of such organisations as the Educational Institute, and the Secondary Schoolmasters' Association, are all helping to raise the calling of the teacher in public respect and esteem. Every year large numbers of highly educated university men are now choosing education as their real sphere of labour, and not as a mere stepping stone to something else. They are equipping themselves thoroughly for their work, not merely in the way of acquiring a thorough knowledge of what they have to teach, but also by making themselves acquainted with the natures and minds which they will have to instruct and train, with the best methods of imparting instruction, and with the true aims of the teacher.

CHAPTER XII.

THE HIGHER EDUCATION AND FOREIGN SCHOOLS.

It has always been the fate of Scotland to be too narrow for the full development and employment of many of her ablest sons. In the sphere of education this has been specially noticeable. Even as early as the seventh century, the missionary enthusiasm of Columbanus and other Celtic monks prompted them to leave their homes in Ireland and Scotland, and found Christian monasteries, which became famous schools of learning, in France, Germany, and Switzerland. Again, when the invasions of the Danes and Norsemen made the monasteries on the shores of the Western islands unsafe homes for the student, many of the Christian scholars emigrated to the continent in search of the peaceful seclusion which Scotia could no longer afford them. John Scotus Erigena—a Scot of Ireland—in the ninth century proved himself a metaphysician of the first rank, and may be considered the father of scholastic philosophy. Wherever these monks went they founded monasteries. In all, seven were established in France, seventeen in Alsace and Lorraine, fifteen in Switzerland and the district east of the Rhine, and sixteen in Bavaria. A wonderful record for the "perfervidum ingenium Scotorum."

When, in the twelfth century, the demand for an education higher than that of the monasteries and cathedral schools was giving birth to the mediæval Universities of Paris and Oxford, and developing earlier institutions like Bologna, the stream of Scottish students again began to flow towards the great centres of learning.

From that time till the beginning of the fifteenth century, all Scotchmen who had a yearning for philosophic culture, or an ambition to fit themselves by a university training for the chief places in the Church, had to resort to foreign schools like Paris or Bologna, or to Oxford and Cambridge, the universities of the sister kingdom.

In these schools they made their mark, and from the earliest period vindicated the national claim to intellectual vigour and ability. The most famous of these students was perhaps the subtle Franciscan doctor, John Duns Scotus. Born in 1274, he became professor of theology in Oxford, and attracted thousands of scholars from all parts of Europe by his fame as a teacher. From Oxford he removed to Paris, where he lectured, disputed, and wrote commentaries in the scholastic fashion, till he died at the premature age of thirty-four.

From an early date in the history of the English university we find records of the presence of Scotchmen among the students. At first it is in connection with the frequent riots, which took place between representatives of different nations, that we find their names mentioned. When, in consequence of some disturbance in 1238, a number of students were cut off from university privileges, a representation was made to the papal legate for commutation of the sentence, on the ground that there were among them "many Scots and other foreigners who were likely to take a bitter revenge." In 1248 a Scottish student of good birth, named Gilbert of Dunfermline, was attacked by a mob of townsmen, and so seriously injured that he died shortly afterwards. We hear of fierce feuds during the following ten years, in which Scotsmen, Welshmen, and Southerners gathered under their respective banners within the precincts of the University, and fought so furiously that several young men were killed.

Shortly after this time, about the year 1260, Sir John de Balliol, the father of the claimant for the crown of Scotland, to atone for some breach of ecclesiastical discipline, set apart an endowment for the maintenance of some poor students at Oxford. In 1282 his widow, the Lady Devorguilla, gave a more definite shape to the famous college which perpetuates his name.

The Scottish students were so fond of asserting and upholding their nationality that, in the fighting times of Edward III., their presence in any numbers in an English university must have been a source of danger to the peace. The king, however, from time to time (as in 1357, 1363, and later years) issued letters of protection for all Scottish students who desired to study at Oxford or Cambridge, and, as occasion demanded, he also granted safe-conducts to distinguished scholars. In the year 1357, for example, he gave his royal permission to John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, to come to Oxford with three young students. Other famous Scottish Churchmen visited Oxford before the close of his reign.

In 1382, when England and Scotland were taking opposite sides in the papal schism, the authorities of the University of Oxford were ordered by the government to allow Scottish scholars to prosecute their studies unmolested, unless they supported the antipope. It was about this time that Bishop Wardlaw, the founder of St Andrews, was a student at the Southern university. The unpleasantness of a residence among men filled with feelings of hostility to Scotland may have strengthened the patriotic desire for a university in his own country. The bitterness of feeling between North and South became so intensified by religious and political differences that the word Scot became an offensive nickname, which irritated natives of Cumberland and Northumberland. In 1448 the principal of one of the halls in Oxford thought it necessary to prove that he was not a Scot, but a native of Kendal and a loyal Englishman. William Dunbar the poet seems to have spent some little time in this ancient university, for he has a poem "written at Oxinfurde," and addressed to the scholars there, entitled "Learning vain without guide Lyfe."

At Cambridge, about 1540, we find George Wishart continuing the work of teaching which he had begun at the grammar school of Montrose, and taking an active part in the movement for reform. To the same university, Andrew Simpson, the famous schoolmaster of Perth, sent his son to prosecute the study of Greek, about the time of the Reformation in Scotland. Even after the Scottish universities were founded (1410, 1450, 1496), many Scottish students still flocked to foreign universities, and the number of those who became professors and rectors is a striking proof of the excellence of the early training, as well as of the native ability and unwearied energy, of these Northern scholars. The appetite for learning seems to have been whetted by the course at St Andrews, Glasgow, or Aberdeen, and the completion of the curriculum in Scotland was often but the initiation to an academic career in the universities of the continent.

It was the University of Paris which especially attracted the studious youth of this country. From its foundation till the beginning of the sixteenth century it was the chief intellectual centre of Europe, and Scottish students were enrolled in the English or (as it was afterwards called) the German Nation. Many of the monks and canons regular, who were the pioneers of the monastic system of the Roman Church in Scotland, had been educated in the Paris schools and their off-shoots, and it was natural that the later generations of the more cultured clergy should go to the fountain head of scholastic and theological learning. Barbour, in his "Bruce," tells us that the slain Douglas has a son "that wes then bot a little page" who afterwards goes to Paris "for knowledge off many statis." Bishop David of Moray, by his pious generosity, greatly encouraged this natural tendency. Like others of the early bishops, he was distinguished as a friend and patron of learning, and, in order to facilitate the higher education of the students of his diocese, he bought some land near Paris to provide bursaries at the university. This endowment, which dates from 1325, was the foundation of the Scots College which was destined to educate so many famous Scotchmen. The benefits of this endowment were opened up to all Scotchmen, but the college was not large enough to hold all who came to the university. Those who, like George Buchanan, could secure bursaries, would connect themselves with the Scots College, but there were many students belonging to the wealthier classes who did not need assistance in their education, and who would probably exercise choice in selecting their college. The abbot in Lyndsay's "Three Estates" says:—

> "I send my sons to Pareis to the scuillis
> I traist in God that they sall be na fuillis."

In the thirteenth century we come across the names of men like Michael Scot who, in search of wisdom, visited the universities of England, France, Spain, and Italy, and not only distinguished himself in dialectics and theology, but by his scientific interest and research in a non-scientific age won for himself the title of magician; John de Sacrobosco (John of Holywood in Dumfriesshire), the greatest mathematician of the middle ages. His astronomical treatise, "De Sphaera," was the recognised text-book in European schools for centuries, and was used in the Scottish universities in the middle of the seventeenth century. He was professor of mathematics in the University of Paris. "The thirteen doctors of theology and eight doctors of decrees," who constituted the original teaching body of the University of St Andrews, must all have graduated in an English or foreign university about the close of the fourteenth century, and doubtless most of the leading churchmen of that time had studied abroad after receiving their preliminary education in the native schools.

In the fifteenth century, in spite of the foundation of our national universities, there seems to be little decrease in the number of Scotchmen at Paris, Louvain, and elsewhere. In 1432 John Lichton was rector of the University of Louvain, which gave a model for the constitution of Glasgow.

In 1460 Elphinstone,—afterwards the famous Bishop of Aberdeen,—on the completion of his course at Glasgow, proceeded to the continent to prosecute the study of law. He became a professor in the University of Paris, and afterwards lectured on law at Orleans. It was through his influence that the "studium generale" was founded at Aberdeen. A French printer claimed that "the founders and leaders of this university were almost all bred in the University of Paris," and when we remember that Hector Boece, "who regretted to leave the schools of Paris with its learned teachers," was the first principal, and that Arthur Boece and William Hay were among its first professors, we must admit the claim.

Montague College shared with the Scots College the honour of "training most of the eminent ecclesiastics, lawyers, university professors, and heads of colleges in Scotland down to the time of the Reformation."

Bishop Elphinstone and Hector Boece were educated there, and John Mair, George Lockhart, and William Gregory, all professors of philosophy in the University of Paris, were connected with it. The two Maitlands of Lethington, father and son, added the accomplishments of Paris to their native training. William Manderston, after being rector of Paris University, became rector of St Andrews.

Alexander Aless, a canon of St Andrews, on account of his advanced opinions left Scotland in 1532, and after spending some years in Cambridge as professor of theology, settled in Leipsic, as professor of divinity, about 1540. Another St Andrews man, John Fife, was rector of Leipsic in 1551, and still another, named John Macbee, who left the country in 1532, became a professor in the University of Copenhagen.

The names of George Buchanan and Andrew Melville swell the list of distinguished men who have made their mark on Scottish history, and who both studied and taught in Paris or other foreign schools. The name of Scot was rendered famous in the sixteenth century by these and other able scholars and thinkers in all parts of Europe where learning was fostered.

Even after the Reformation scholars still crowded to the great schools of the continent, where there was at once a learned society, greater freedom, and a wider field for their abilities. The lack or misappropriation of funds for the encouragement of the higher learning, and the political and ecclesiastical troubles of the country, kept able men away.

> "Our countrie clerkis beyond the seyis
> Wuld draw theme hame fro' all countries
> Of Ingland, France, and other partis
> Quhair they are scatteret in all airtis,
> Becaus at hame they will not give
> Sufficient quharon they may live."

"The whole fraternity of scholars," says Cosmo Innes, "was inconceivably restless, and successful teachers migrated from college to college, from

Paris to Louvain, from Orleans to Angers, from Padua to Bologna. The university feeling and the universal language of that day conduced somewhat to this effect. A graduate of one university was 'free' of all. His qualifications were on the surface and easily tested. A single conference settled a man's character, where ready Latin and subtle or vigorous disputation were the essential points."

Typical wandering scholars were John Cameron, who from Glasgow made his way to Bergerac, thence to Paris, thence took flight to Geneva, thence to Heidelberg, and rested at last at Montauban; and Thomas Dempster, who studied and taught at Paris, Tournay, Toulouse, and Bologna, and has left notices of many Scotch doctors and professors at these and other places. Erasmus has recorded that the Scots prided themselves on their dialectical skill, but they were not behind in the newly opened field of classical scholarship, for men like Florence Wilson, Henry Scrymger, the elder Barclay, Andrew Melville, and George Buchanan, were recognised as among the foremost scholars of Europe in its most learned age.

If the number of Scottish students among the professorial and other higher academic ranks was so great, it is evident that they represent a much larger number whose names have not come down to posterity.

PART III.

THE DAWN OF A NEW ERA.
THE RENAISSANCE AND NATIVE LITERATURE.
THE INFLUENCE OF EDUCATIONAL REFORMERS IN OTHER COUNTRIES.
THE STATE AND EDUCATION TILL THE REFORMATION.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE RENAISSANCE AND NATIVE LITERATURE.

THE Reformation marks the great line of cleavage between the mediæval and the modern world, but silent influences had long been preparing the way for the change.

Under the reign of mediæval scholasticism men's minds were active enough, but the thinkers, as a rule, were fettered like the prisoners in Plato's cave, and the light without sent ever the same shadows upon the blank wall towards which their eyes were turned. The past was closed, and the future had no opening prospect. When Cyriac of Ancona said, "I go to awake the dead," he would have been nearer the truth had he said, "I go to set imprisoned souls free: to let the light of history, and the vital air of an exuberant civilisation play upon vigorous intellects and bright imaginations that are stifled and dulled in their prison darkness." Some of the prisoners in their cave had been beginning dimly to realise that the truth they knew was not all truth; their pent-up energies had been struggling for free activity; their shrewd intellects were craving for, and in some cases finding, more practical issues with which to grapple. Thought was already swelling to the bursting of its bonds, when, in 1453, the influx of the Greeks from the East, owing to the taking of Constantinople, brought again to Europe the glory of Greece, and unfolded to the wondering eyes of young Italy the beauty and free grace of a past that had been almost dead and forgotten.

The Church had succeeded too well in establishing its authority over the nations. There was too much uniformity—the individuality of nations and men was being crushed and in danger of extinction. The unity of the Church and the supremacy of its laws weighed on believing Christendom "with the force of a law of nature." A reaction was inevitable. Scholastic speculation had, in the case of the bolder spirits, gone so far that only the spark was needed to kindle a fire of enthusiasm for a movement that asserted the enfranchisement of the intellect on the one hand, and spiritual freedom for the individual and the nation on the other. The spark was kindled at the slumbering embers of the old flame of Greek literature, which emigrants from the East brought with them to Italy. The very enthusiasm with which classical literature began to be studied shows the deep hunger which had been gnawing at the hearts of men. The spirit that breathes in Greek literature and history found a kindred spirit ready to be born in Italy and the rest of Europe. Hellas presided over the birth throes of the modern world. The ecclesiastical and feudal power had cast its spell over the faculties, and intellects, and wills of men; the slumber of many centuries was broken by the kiss of Greece. Men learned that there had been freedom in the past for thought and life, that there were vital interests beyond the Church, and joys other than the purely spiritual, which had been regarded as not unworthy of humanity. The laity received its consecration; and every form of intelligent and honest labour begins to claim dignity as a service to God. The recognition of this enfranchisement has been slowly extending ever since. Henceforth, side by side down the centuries, the two elements in society were to work for the common good. Out of the one great profession of the Church new professions were to be evolved as the social body became more fully organised.

Europe had been long travailing in numbness, if not in pain, and the new birth had come. The word Renaissance seems to have been originally applied to architecture. Then gradually it was extended both to the revival of learning through the study of the old classical literatures, and, in a wider sense still, to the whole quickening of vital energy in Europe, with its enlarged ideals, its wider scope, and its individualistic assertion of, and determination after, freedom. It was in Italy that the process began. Before the latter half of the fourteenth century was well on its way the movement was as far advanced in Italy as it was in the sixteenth century in Scotland, and, as Humanism, had obtained a more thorough hold than it perhaps ever has done in our Northern country. The Reformation and the counter Reformation had mingled their waves with the first wave of Humanism ere it broke upon our shores, so that, while our native literature gradually began to re-echo the sounds with which the air was full, it was with the crash and storm of theological strife, ecclesiastical reformation, and the attendant political turmoil, that the new era opened for Scotland. The years 1492-1500 saw the full secularisation of the papacy by

Alexander VI.; the inevitable Reformation found weapons both in the ancient world, and in the discovery of a new one—in the invention of printing and the extension of the use of paper—as well as in the fresh heart and courage which men had found when Greece crossed the Alps.

It was through the schools that the Renaissance made its way northward, quickening into new zeal the kindly devotion of the brethren of the common life. Through them it raised a new race of men destined to break the bonds which had become as iron, and to revivify the principles which had grown cold and dead through being crystallised in a great system.

The old ideas clung to the universities long after they had given way in the schools. The personal influence was more marked in the schools — scholastic ideas had secured a kind of vested interest in the universities, and tradition had a deeper hold within their walls. The new schools were not so intimately connected with, and subordinated to, the Church as the cloister schools or the universities, so that they were more easily stamped with the impress of the new era; and they in turn, through their pupils and their masters, instilled the fresh leaven into the universities. Erasmus, Reuchlin, Luther, and Melancthon were the children of the old system just when it had been impregnated with the new ideas—and of such children any school or any system might well be proud.

When Italy had found its lost treasure it was not slow to invite both its own people and strangers from other lands to come and share in its riches.

Chairs of rhetoric or culture were established, and "Literae Humaniores" began to struggle with the old established scheme of instruction for the supremacy. Scotland may not have so early or so directly drunk at the Italian springs from which flowed the new learning as did France, Germany, or even England, but she, too, in a certain measure came under the spell of the new learning. Her native literature shows that her sons early drank of the dew of Helicon, and walked with Virgil and the great Greeks: and even in her schools we find traces of the all pervading influence which the Renaissance exerted. It must have been some touch of the new spirit which prompted Gawin Douglas to translate the Æneid; and the breath of rising freedom inspired Dunbar and Lyndsay to speak out so boldly against crying abuses. But to Scotland, as to England and Germany, the chief gift of the Renaissance was not so much the ancient literature, or even the Greek ideal of life, as the strengthening of the spirit of self-reliance and the application of it to the sphere of thought and religion and politics. Freedom of conscience, rather than intellectual enfranchisement, was the boon which was most valued. The Reformation was the form which the Renaissance took in its larger aspect: Protestantism, rather than Humanism, was the tree which rose from the new seed. Some fruits of cheerfulness and brightness have perhaps been wanting in our Scottish civilisation, because the humanistic side did not take proper root in our soil, and some sides of life have long been undeveloped and stunted because of that. But these assert themselves in time, and our growth in the spheres of religion and politics, if slow, has been steady and sure. The change was perhaps the less violent, and the natural character has been consolidated, and is less apt to be unbalanced when, in these later years, the germs of Humanism are beginning to blossom and flourish. The shock of European change and upheaval is never violent on the shore of our social system. Our Northern climate and our remoteness save us from the revolutions and reactions which are to be seen in the history of some continental nations. We are only now coming to the full issue of the combined Renaissance and Reformation ideas. In Scotland, as in England, the struggle was for national independence and for a self-governed Church. The full intellectual freedom implied in Humanism was not realised at the Reformation. The Protestant Church wielded for generations a social power hardly less than that of the old ecclesiastical system which it ousted from its ancient seat. And humanism for long was not strong enough to assert the right of freedom of thought or of lay independence of action.

We shall now trace the growth of a broad human spirit in the native literature of Scotland, which, when strengthened by the influence of the classical revival, stirred up in all classes a yearning for intellectual independence and a consciousness of the value and need of a wider education. In later chapters we shall see how this affected the schools.

On the side of literature there was a gradual and natural growth, not a sudden awakening to new life or definite breach with the past. The struggles with English foes, and the other influences that gave shape to the national character, stamped their impress upon our poetry. What the revival of learning did for Italy and other continental nations, these rough experiences of our forefathers had begun to do for Scotland, even as early as the time of Barbour. For nations, as for individuals, the hard discipline of life is a valuable education. In fighting for national independence against the English, the people of Scotland learned the sweetness of liberty, and soon, through their poets, showed its fertilising power. Barbour, in the opening lines of his "Bruce," prays that he "may say nothing but soothfast thing," and declares that true stories told in "gud maner" should give double pleasure—

> "The first plesance is the carpyng,
> And the uther the suthfastnes
> That shawys the thing rycht as it was."

There is something of the best spirit of the Renaissance here—first, in the desire to return to fact; and secondly, in the recognition of style as a factor in the hearer's pleasure. The naturalistic side of the Renaissance, which gave its true place to the realities and joys of life, and the loves and passions of men and women, seems to have been present all along the course of our popular poetry. In the class of poems of which "Christ's Kirk on the Green" and "Peblis to the Play" are typical examples it distinctly asserts itself. Human nature was able to claim its place in literature in spite of the crust of orthodox asceticism and the sway of romantic unrealities.

Andrew of Wyntoun, like Barbour, is wonderfully rich in references to classic story, doubtless largely drawn from romances and other mediæval sources, but he mentions Homer, Virgil, Horace, Livy, and other classic authors. The "King's Quhair" of James I. exhibits a grace of diction, form, and sentiment not unworthy of the golden days of Greece. Robert Henryson not only translated some of the Fables of Æsop, and thus gave the fable a place in our popular literature, but enriched our poetry with the sweet pastoral "Robene and Makene." It is a striking coincidence that, just when the Renaissance was beginning to stir up the sleeping heart of Europe, the genius of Dunbar was attacking the weaknesses and vices of the Scottish clergy with the keen shafts of its biting wit; painting, with true eye and brush, the men and the life of his time; and in the "Lament for the Makkars" canonizing a new order of great teachers whom the mediæval world had not learned to value. The intense feeling of nationality, which had been gathering force from the time of Barbour, found its fit expression in this fiery, dissatisfied poet.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, *i.e.*, during the fifty years which preceded the Reformation, we find that even the classical side of the Renaissance was, in a quiet way, beginning to exert some influence in Scotland. Hector Boece, an old pupil of the grammar school of Dundee, brought back with him, from the continental schools to Aberdeen, an enthusiastic admiration for Erasmus. As Principal of the new university in the North, he had opportunities of fostering and encouraging in others his own love of scholarship and learning. And the circle of cultivated men who formed the first teaching staff there became a nucleus for the dissemination of Renaissance ideas and a more humanistic view of life.

John Mair, who taught Knox theology at Glasgow, and afterwards removed to St Andrews, is a notable example of a man of the old school partly influenced by the new ideas. He had the boldness to give expression to an enlightened criticism upon Church abuses and monastic shortcomings. Yet his reverence and culture enabled him to recognise and value all the good the Church and the monasteries had done. "His political and ecclesiastical opinions," says Dr Ross, "mark him out as a characteristic product of that transition period when the Renaissance was exercising a subtle and disintegrating influence on mediæval society."

There was at this time a growing demand for a better and more accurate knowledge of history, both ancient and modern, and this extended even to those who had not the advantage of a Latin education. Both Hector Boece and John Mair wrote Histories of Scotland. The former, however, was perhaps too anxious to imitate Livy to pay much attention to accuracy; the latter has left us a book which is not without considerable value. In 1530 John Bellenden, for the benefit of those who were not acquainted with Latin, translated Boece's history, and also the first five books of Livy.

The reviving interest in classical literature is perhaps first distinctly traced in Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld. Much of his poetry takes its colouring from romance, but it is also largely characterised by the scholarship of the Renaissance. He has steeped himself in the re-opened fountain of Hippocrene, and is redolent of the classic atmosphere. He had acquired some knowledge of Greek, and apparently knew Homer in the original. The prologue to his famous translation of the Æneid informs us that Lord Sinclair had urged him to the task—

> "Quhilk with grete instance divers tymes seir
> Prayit me translait Virgill or Omeir."

He had an almost reverent admiration for the classic writers, and as churchman he at times feels it almost necessary to apologise for his enthusiasm as scholar. Virgil, whom he was the first to translate, had been to the middle ages an "enchanter," to steal away men's thoughts at times from the dull round of monastic duty. But with reviving literary interest and appreciation, of which the Italian scholars were the pioneers, men's eyes were opened to behold his real charm and beauty, and his poetry became a new force in literature. There was evidently a demand in Scotland, among those who could not read him in Latin, for an opportunity of becoming acquainted with his magic story. But for a leading churchman to dare to lead the van of his translators, shows that the Renaissance had penetrated into the very heart of the old system. Gawin Douglas's own words tell us that Virgil was already a common text-book in the schools—

> "Thank me, ye maisters of grammar schules,
> As ye sit teachand on your stules."

And Ferrerius (about 1540) read not only the Æneid, but also the Bucolics and the Georgics with his pupils in the abbey of Kinloss. When we find books of Erasmus and Melancthon also mentioned among the text-books used by that enlightened teacher, it is evident that even within the strongholds of mediæval catholicism the new light had begun to shine.

Sir David Lyndsay (*b.* 1490), as tutor to James V., had given the young prince a broad and generous education. A man of influence and social standing, he is the chief literary exponent of the critical restlessness of the times and the widespread dissatisfaction with the condition of the Church and the country. His poetry is human, rather than humanistic. He had seen with clear eyes the wrongs of the poor, and the prevalence of ignorance and tyranny—and though at heart a true churchman, he represents almost more than the reformers the national demand for more light and more freedom.

The "Complaynt of Scotland" (1549) which is interesting as the earliest specimen of Scottish prose, exhibits very decidedly the influence of the new learning. The fact that the author, who was evidently a man of great learning, uses "domestic Scottish language, most intelligible for the vulgar people," to plead for the righting of wrongs, shows that he had absorbed the new spirit into a real Scottish nature. And the erudition, which he displays almost to pedantry, proves that he was acquainted not only with the lore of the schoolmen but with authors ancient and modern, whose names are bound up with the revival of learning. Juvenal, Persius, Cicero, Sallust, Plutarch, Thucydides, and Boccaccio are quoted or referred to. Further, such a sentence as the following has a distinctly modern flavour that could hardly be mistaken, "Everye craft is necessair for the public veil, ande he thet hes the gyft of traductione, compiling or teching, his faculte is as honest, as crafty, and as necessair as any other craft or sciens." Popular literature is seldom in favour of a strong ecclesiastical order. It is the usual vehicle of dissent and criticism. In a large degree this was true in Scotland before the Reformation. Renaissance influences seem, on the one hand, to have helped to relax the moral fibre of many of the clergy, and on the other, to have strengthened the demand for knowledge and the clamour for social and ecclesiastical reform, which is so loudly heard in the poetry of the first half of the sixteenth century.

We shall see elsewhere how Greek found its way into the school of Montrose in the year 1534, and gradually was introduced into other schools, and how Andrew Melville in 1579 secured for it a permanent place in the universities. The English Bible was introduced, and in other ways the subjects of instruction were widened and modernised. But there was no complete break with the past, and the full blending of the best elements of scholastic education with literary, modern, and scientific subjects has been a very slow and gradual process.

The Renaissance influence was felt in Scotland rather as a general intellectual and moral quickening, co-operating with the sturdy spirit of independence manifested in the native literature, than in its direct humanistic form. The "perfervidum ingenium Scotorum" was not a good soil for the growth of the type of character which the revival of learning produced in Italy. There was too much natural intensity and seriousness, too decided a metaphysical and religious bias in the Scottish temperament, and at the same time too many social and political problems to be practically solved, to foster the easy-going, good-humoured humanist. Both the national character and the national circumstances helped to turn the new influence into theological channels, and the Renaissance was swallowed up in the Reformation. There were many typical humanists of Scottish birth, but they recognised that their native country was not a congenial home for them, and kept themselves in the ampler ether of continental life. Buchanan and Melville were certainly scholars of European fame, but they got involved in the theological and political turmoil, and Drummond of Hawthornden felt himself planted in an uncongenial soil. Thus the direction of the national education was left in the hands of the sterner souls, who, under the leadership of the impetuous Knox, laid hold of the awakened energies and the religious earnestness of the people, and established another strong social theocracy which, for generations, wielded a power almost as supreme as that of the early Church. The new organisation was built upon a parochial basis, and contained in it the elements of national independence and popular control, and upon it the State in 1696 finally grafted its first national system of education.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE EDUCATIONAL REFORMERS OF OTHER COUNTRIES.

THE Reformation wave broke over Scotland only after it had swept over the other countries of Europe. The protestant leaders, therefore, had the experience and the precedents of Germany, Switzerland, and England before their eyes, and we should naturally expect to find that they were considerably influenced, in drawing up their schemes for the reorganisation of Church and school, by what had already been done in these lands. It will enable us to understand better the position of John Knox and the Scottish reformers, if we briefly trace the growth of the great educational revival which attended the religious and literary revolution of the sixteenth century.

For this revival the way had long been quietly preparing. Before the fifteenth century had dawned, some pious souls, eager to win the hearts of the young by educational influences of the most spiritual kind, had founded in Holland the brotherhood of the Hieronymians. Gerard Groote, their first originator (*b.* 1340), was inspired by the idea that the aim of education is the Christian life as it is pourtrayed in the New Testament, and that the Gospels should be the great subject of school study. Neglecting at first the ordinary course of instruction, the Hieronymians, or "Fratres Scholares," gave themselves up to the study and teaching of the Scriptures, but they found that, to do these things well, attention had also to be paid to other subjects.

If the Bible were to be the basis and chief organ of their education, it followed that their pupils must have Bibles to read and be able to read them. And this was only possible in any large degree if the Bible were rendered into the vernacular. To realise this, Gerard of Zutphen and other brethren of the common life devoted their utmost energy. It is said that no less than twenty-four editions of the German Bible had been published before Luther's time. These good brethren gradually spread over Germany, France, and Belgium, founding and maintaining excellent schools, which were not under the bonds of scholasticism or enslaved to old customs. They learned wisdom by experience, and became ever ready to widen their curriculum as occasion required. Their schools were the first to welcome the Latin and Greek authors when, on the wings of the Renaissance movement, they found their way into Northern Europe.

Thomas à Kempis, Agricola, Wessel, Hegius, Erasmus, are various types of the men they produced, and the enumeration of these names proves the wide scope of their influence.

With the revival of classical learning and the invention of printing there was awaking over Europe a healthy intellectual interest. The new activity in some cases turned to pedantry, in others to pagan immorality, but its general trend was towards civil freedom, the enfranchisement of thought, and spiritual independence.

Germany.

Of the great men who pioneered the reform of education we shall mention only a few notable names. JOHN WESSEL (*b.* 1420) was a man of lucid and scholarly mind with a native gift of teaching, who was himself acquainted with Latin, Greek, and even Hebrew, and did much to extend the aim and curriculum of the Hieronymians.

JOHN REUCHLIN (*b.* 1455—*d.* 1522) surprised Argyropulus at Rome by his admirable translation from Thucydides. When he returned to Germany, "bringing exiled Greece with him," he raised a storm by his determination that classical learning should find a home in the schools. The "Epistolae obscurorum virorum," to which he contributed, contained attacks upon the Dominicans as bitter and incisive as the satires of Dunbar, Lyndsay or Buchanan. He claimed to have been the first to "restore Greek to Germany, and to deliver to the Church the study of Hebrew."

ERASMUS (*b.* 1467) joined the school of Deventer in his ninth year. What he did for classical learning, for education, and for the general widening of the intellectual horizon of Europe, is too well known to need detailed mention.

Reuchlin's Hebrew Grammar and Erasmus' edition of the Greek Testament were epoch-making in theological study, and fatal to scholastic interpretation.

It is noticeable that the Germans of this period made scholarship the handmaid of theology. Classical study was valued, not for its intrinsic worth, but because of the light which the Latin and

Greek languages threw upon Christian records and doctrines.

The outstanding name among German reformers is that of MARTIN LUTHER. Without entering upon his work in the ecclesiastical and religious sphere, we shall find enough to interest us if we trace in some of his writings the active part which he took in the reform and reorganisation of national education. There is little doubt, as the following extracts will show, that, directly or indirectly, he exercised a considerable influence upon the educational scheme which Knox assisted in drawing up, and strove so earnestly to get the Scottish Parliament to accept.

Luther was born in 1483, some sixteen years later than Erasmus, and thirty after the fall of Constantinople. He was a child of the old educational system of the Church, just when it was being brought into collision with the new ideas. Educated first at the elementary church school at Mansfeld, at the age of fourteen he was removed to a Franciscan Latin school at Magdeburg, and shortly afterwards to a similar school at Eisenach. In 1501 he entered the University of Erfürt. If the ability and success of the pupil is any test of the excellence of a school, that of Eisenach must rank very high. And it is difficult to admit the entire justice of the strong invectives of Luther and others against the school system of the time, when we remember that many of the greatest men of the age received their education in schools fostered and upheld by the old Church.

The subject of education occupies a prominent place in his works and in the story of his life. His sermons, his letters, and his conversation are full of references to the needs of Germany in this respect;

and he used his great influence to stimulate the national interest in the subject, and to secure for the endowment of schools the confiscated funds of the monasteries.

In one of his sermons he expresses, in the highest terms, his respect for the teacher's calling: "I tell you that a diligent, devoted school-teacher, preceptor, or any person, no matter what is his title, who faithfully trains and teaches boys, can never receive an adequate reward, and no money is sufficient to pay the debt you owe him. For my part, if I were compelled to leave off preaching and to enter some other vocation, I know not an office that would please me better than that of schoolmaster or teacher of boys. For I am convinced that, next to preaching, this is the most useful in all the world, and, in fact, I am sometimes in doubt which is the most honorable." In his table talk he is disposed to make it necessary for every aspirant to the ministry to be a teacher for ten years or thereabouts. Matthew Arnold has pointed out that the teacher in Germany enjoys a fair share of public consideration; but Luther does not seem to have found it so, and his evidence is that "young men shrink from the toil of teaching." "The labor is great, and the reputation small."

In 1524 he published an "Address to the Councilmen of all the Towns of Germany, calling upon them to establish and sustain Christian Schools." From this document we shall quote at some length, for its stirring words apparently influenced both Calvin and Knox, but they were more successful in Germany than all the efforts of the Scottish reformers with the greedy nobles of our Scottish court.

"Beloved rulers, if we find it necessary to expend such large sums as we do yearly upon artillery, roads, bridges, dykes, and a thousand other things of the sort, in order that a city may be assured of continual order, peace, and tranquillity, ought we not to expend on the poor suffering youth therein at least enough to provide them with a schoolmaster or two?"

It was about one hundred years after this before Scotland had been led to give any real practical recognition of this national duty; the final establishment of parochial schools came still later in 1696; and it was only in 1833 that the first government grant was given, viz., £20,000, to assist in building schools.

After referring to the Divine command to teach, Luther goes on, "Why is it that we, the elder, are spared to the world, except to train up and instruct the young? It is impossible that the gay little folks should guide and teach themselves. If parents neglect, the responsibility rests with magistrates. Some parents have not piety enough to do it, and the majority are unfit. Parents must look to a special class, set apart for the purpose. Hence councilmen and magistrates must watch over youth with unremitting care and diligence. This is the best and richest increase, prosperity, and strength of a city, that it should contain a great number of polished, learned, intelligent, honorable, and well bred citizens. We can neither hew such citizens out of stones nor carve them out of wood; for God does not work miracles, so long as the ordinary gifts of his bounty are able to subserve the use of man. Hence we must use the appointed means, and with cost and care, rear up and mould our citizens."

"The magistrates are responsible if the young grow up wild." He elsewhere insists that it is the duty of magistrates to compel the attendance of children at school. In his "Letter to the German nobles," this passage occurs: "I hold it to be incumbent on those in authority to command their subjects to keep their children at school: for it is, beyond doubt, their duty to insure the permanence of the above named offices and positions, so that preachers, jurists, curates, scribes, physicians, schoolmasters, and the like may not fail from among us, for we cannot do without them. If they have the right to command their subjects, the able bodied among them in time of war to handle musket and pike, with how much the more reason ought they to compel the people to keep their children at school."

His estimate of the value of the classic languages points to the special needs of his own time. Where these languages flourish, the "power of the prince of darkness will be rent and torn." "The Gospel is enshrined in the classic tongues: they are the scabbard in which the sword of the Spirit is sheathed."

"The languages render useless all the glosses of the Fathers."

"Though the faith of the Gospel may be set forth in some measure by the unlettered preacher, yet such preaching is weak at the best."

He now strikes a note which is decidedly an advance of the mediæval view, and essentially modern and progressive in its ring. It sounds more decidedly in his mouth than it does in the "Book of Discipline," though the famous Act of 1496 is a slight anticipation of it.

"Even were there no soul, no heaven, nor hell, and were temporal affairs to be administered solely with a view to this world, these would stand in need of good schools and learned teachers much more even than do our spiritual interests." "Nor hitherto have the sophists interested themselves in this matter at all, but have adapted their schools to the spiritual order alone; so that it was said, 'You are of the world, for you have severed yourself from our order entirely.' As if the spiritual order alone were pleasing in the sight of God, while the temporal was given alone to the Devil and Antichrist."

"I blush for our Christians, and for our Germans above all. For they say, 'Of what use are schools, unless you intend to enter the service of the Church?' It would be sufficient reason for establishing in every place the best of schools, both for boys and girls, that the world, merely to maintain its outward prosperity, has need of shrewd and accomplished men and women—men to pilot state and people safely, and to good issues; women to train up well and to confirm in good courses both children and servants."

The most promising children who seem fitted in due time to become teachers, either male or female, or preachers, or to fill other offices in the world or the Church, these are to be left longer at the schools, or retained there altogether. "For this purpose were cloisters and monasteries first founded, but now they have been turned aside to subserve other and most unholy uses." "We must have men of another sort; men who shall dispense to us God's word and his ordinances. Such men, however, it will be in vain for us to look after, if we suffer our present schools to decay, without establishing other and Christian schools in their place."

As an educationist, Luther believed that school life should be as bright and joyous as possible. History, natural science, music, and gymnastic exercise all received his commendation, but though he pleads so eloquently for the study of the ancient languages, it is for their bearing on the knowledge and understanding of the Scriptures that he specially values them. Religious instruction is for him the fundamental thing. "Above all things let the Scriptures be the chief and the most frequently used reading book both in primary and in high schools." "When the high schools shall have become grounded in the Scriptures, we are not all of us to send our sons there, but we ought to admit only those who are best fitted, and who have previously been trained in the preparatory schools; to which matter princes or magistrates ought to pay special attention."

Luther himself drew up a Shorter Catechism for the use of schools and children in families, and other Catechisms were published about this time, which became a prominent feature of the new popular education.

Instruction in the elements of Scripture knowledge, as set forth in the Catechism, became universal in the churches wherever Protestantism secured a footing. The Creed and the Lord's Prayer and other prayers were added. The "Unterricht der Visitatoren an die Pfarrhen" laid it down, that in the Protestant churches of Germany, the ministers should, on Sunday afternoons, as the servants and young people came into the church, recite and explain the three principal heads for their special benefit.

The Leipsic Church Ordinances of 1538 enjoin that the sacristans of villages, in which there are no schools, shall, on Sunday at mid-day, gather together the children and youth, such as are fit for instruction, and read to them slowly and regularly the Shorter Catechism of Luther.

Again the General Articles of Saxony, 1557, insist that the village sacristan shall be obliged on Sundays at mid-day, and on some fixed day of the week, to teach the children the Catechism, and also German hymns, and afterwards hear and examine them therein.

As early as 1524—the year in which Tindale left London to join him—Luther wrote to Spalatin : " I send you my sketch of the school as it should be, that you may lay it before the elector." This sketch probably was the basis of Melancthon's famous "Manual of the Visitation of Schools" (1528), which contained his scheme for the complete reorganisation of education in the district which he visited.

John Bugenhagen (1485-1558) was similarly identified with schemes for the reorganisation of Church and school in Northern Germany. In the Brunswick Church Ordinances (1528), the superintendent was enjoined to see to the establishment of schools for boys and girls, in which all the pupils were to receive catechetical instruction and lessons in singing. In Hamburg classical schools were established in 1532; in Pomerania the ordinances appeared in 1535; in Denmark and Norway in 1537.

In Brunswick, the school system for girls, as well as boys, was extended (1542) to the country districts, where the sacristan was to act as schoolmaster, as was the case in other parts of Germany. Bugenhagen, like Knox, had to complain of the greed of the nobles, "who devoted to their own use the goods of the monasteries, which should go to churches, schools, and the poor."

PHILIP MELANCTHON (1497-1560) was justly called Praeceptor Germaniae. He entered the University of Heidelberg when only twelve years of age, and finding no better fare than "their babbling dialectics and meagre physics," he applied himself to the poets. He migrated to Tubingen, where the struggle between scholasticism and Renaissance methods was being fought out, and there devoted himself heartily to the pursuits of scholarship. In 1518 he was called to the professorship of Greek and Hebrew at Wittenberg, and attracted many students to his lectures. Early recognised as an educational authority, in 1527, at the command of the Elector, he visited the churches and schools of Thuringia, and in 1528 his report and recommendations for a new system were published.

This "Book of Visitation" was for Germany what the "Book of Discipline" was in Scotland, and as it received the Elector's sanction, it became the basis of the evangelical system of Church government and school organisation. In his school plan, Melancthon suggests that "preachers should exhort the people of their charge to send their children to school, that they may be trained up to teach sound doctrine in the Church, and to serve the state in a wise and able manner. Nor do we need able and skilful persons for the Church alone, but for the government of the world too: and God requires it at our hands." He classified children into groups, according to their proficiency, and suggested a curriculum to be followed in the schools. The rudimentary High School scheme which he drafted was developed on different lines by Trotzendorf and Sturm, and was widely accepted over Northern Europe. He further published Manuals of Latin and Greek Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Physics, and Ethics, which were almost universally used as text books. Both in his books, and on every available occasion, he insisted on language and grammar as the basis of a liberal education. His death took place in the year which saw the publication of the "First Book of Discipline."

JOHN STURM, the great rector of Strasburg Gymnasium, was not only a successful teacher, but a great organiser of higher education in Europe. His plan, contained in "The best mode of opening Institutions of Learning," was drawn up in 1538, and became known wherever education was a subject of interest. His ideas were incorporated in the School Code of Wurtemberg in 1559, and in that of Saxony in 1580. The Jesuits borrowed from him, and Calvin owed to his school the scheme for the College of Geneva. Doubtless the Scottish reformers were acquainted with the fame of his gymnasium, and with his educational ideas. We have stated that Sturm's ideas were incorporated in the Wurtemberg Code, which forms part of the ecclesiastical ordinances issued in 1559 by Duke Christopher, and accepted by the States in 1565. The preamble of this Code states the aim to be "to carry youth from the elements, through successive grades, to the degree of culture demanded for offices in the Church and in the state." In the little villages and hamlets, "Teutsch" schools were established, giving instruction to boys and girls in reading, writing, religion, and music. And the sacristan in such districts is to be set free from beadle and other similar service, that he may give his whole attention to the duties of the school. Further, in every city, and even in small towns, Latin schools were to be founded.

Duke Christopher was inspired by the wise desire to provide good spiritual teachers for the people. In order to secure a regular sequence of these, he used the endowments of the monasteries to found new cloister schools, and to provide higher education for those who aimed at serving the Church as ministers. The most promising pupils, from twelve to fourteen years of age, at the Latin schools were promoted by examination to these higher schools, and trained for the University of Tubingen free of charge.

France.

In the Reformed Churches of France we find similar provision being made by the ecclesiastical ordinances for the education, both of children of tender years and of students for the Christian ministry. "The churches are to doe their utmost endeavour to establish some schooles, and take order for the instruction of children." "They shall be admonished to choose some schollers already well grounded and advanced in good learning, and of great hope and expectation, and to maintain them in the universities, that they may be fashioned and more prepared for the employment in the ministerie, preferring the children of poore ministers that are apt and fit to study." "The fifth penny of the alms may be laid aside (if conveniently it can be done) for the said employment."

The Reformed Church in France, like the Reformed church of Geneva and Scotland, insists on the teachers being in full communion with her principles. "The moderatours, schoolemasters, and teachers shall sign the confession of faith."

Geneva.

John Knox came much into contact with CALVIN and the reformers at Geneva, and the influence of Calvin, which was so marked in the theological sphere, had doubtless some weight with the commissioners in drawing up the educational part of the "First Book of Discipline." In fact, the whole scheme of Church polity sketched out by the commissioners derives much of its form and colouring from the theocracy of Geneva.

The system of Church government established there assumed the supremacy of the Church in the State in social and political, as well as in religious matters, and made every individual amenable to ecclesiastical discipline. The right of exercising this discipline was vested in the ministers and elders. The Consistory, in addition to its other powers, performed the functions of an educational department. Both schools and teachers were under its control and supervision.

It was on May 1st, 1536, that the General Council of Geneva gave its definite adhesion to the new polity. The following passage bearing upon education occurs in the records of the proceedings of this assembly: "Ici est aussi esté proposé l'article des escholes et sur icelui par une mesme voix est resolu que l'on tasche avoir homme á cela faire savant, et qu'on le sallaire tellement qu'il puisse nourrir et enseigner les pauvres, sans leur rien demander de sallaire et aussi que chacun soit tenu d'envoyer ses enfans a l'eschole et de les faire apprendre et tous escholiers et aussi pedagogues soient tenus à faire residence à la grande eschole où sera le recteur et ses bacheliers."

On 18th January 1537, the reformers, in presenting to the Two Hundred their proposals, support them by a detailed manifesto. This document contains an interesting paragraph regarding the instruction of children: "L'ordre que nous avous advise de y mettre, c'est qu'il y ait une *somme* briefve et facile de la foy chrestienne, laquelle soit apprinse a tous les enfans et que certaines saisons de l'année ils viennent par devant les ministres pour etre interrogiés et recepvoir plus ample declaration selon qu'il sera besoing à la capacité d'ung chacun d'eux, jusques à ce qu'on les ait approuvés estre suffisament instruicts. Que vostre plaisir soit fere commandement aux parens de mettre payne et diligence que leurs enfans apprennent icelle somme et qu'ils se presentent aux ministres aux temps qu'il sera dict."

In Calvin's Ecclesiastical Ordinances (1541) teachers (docteurs) constitute one of the four offices for the government of the Church. The short article devoted to them contains in germ the scholastic projects which Calvin was able to realise only towards the close of his career. "Pource qu' on ne peut profiter en la lecture de la theologie que l'on ne soit bien instruict aux langues et sciences humaines et aussi est besoin de susciter de la semence pour le temps advenir, affin de ne laisser l'esglise deserte à nos enfans, il faudra dresser college pour instruire les enfants, affin de les preparer tant au ministere que au gouvernement civil."

The entire subordination of the school to the Church is clearly laid down in the ordinances : "Que tous ceux qui enseignent au college soient subjects à la discipline ecclesiastique comme les ministres. Que nul ne soit receu à enseigner au college s'il n'est approuvé par les ministres."

Calvin, however, while recognising the importance of education, did not show the same earnest zeal for its advancement as Luther did. His ideas were practically realised only in 1559, by the establishment of the college at Geneva. This institution, which was probably the model Knox had in view for the colleges to be set up in the principal towns, was itself based upon the model of Sturm's famous school at Strasburg.

Loyola and the Jesuits.

But there were many within the Catholic Church itself who, before the date of the Reformation in

Scotland, had begun to recognise the new value and importance of education. The institution of the Jesuit order is a great recognition of the influence which the teacher might wield. We find education bulking largely in all the new Church Ordinances in Germany, France, and Switzerland, and it now is adopted as a chief part of the fundamental plan of a great religious order. The provincial councils of the Church in Scotland, following the example of ecclesiastic leaders elsewhere, had passed decrees for the securing of a more thorough and general education both for clergy and people. But it was Ignatius von Loyola who, in the ancient Church, saw clearly, as Luther and Knox did among the reformers, that, as the twig was bent so would the tree be inclined, and that the future of Europe depended on the educators of the rising generation. And Loyola has this great fact to his credit, that, instead of being satisfied with stimulating others to create or endow schools, he entered himself into the arena, and by his own efforts and those of the earnest men whom he gathered round him and filled with his own spirit, established an educational system, which has done much for the moral and intellectual culture of Europe.

Loyola was born in 1491. In 1522 he goes forth from the monastery of Montserrat, to found a Society of Jesus. After difficulties and hindrances innumerable, his little society, in 1534, binds itself together by solemn oaths, and in 1540 receives the papal sanction. Each of the early members of the society was a man after his own heart; and the success of its future is partly due to the care with which every new member was trained, both as a student and as a teacher.

Loyola himself died in 1556, but his work lived on and developed. He checked the Reformation, and in many places made the Catholic Church stronger than it had been before. In a wonderfully short time the education of the upper classes and the leading minds of Europe, Catholic and Protestant alike, was entrusted to the Jesuit teachers. By the year 1626 they had 803 houses, 467 colleges, and 36 seminaries. Though Knox is not likely to have borrowed anything from them, it is highly probable that some knowledge of the work they were doing must have reached him.

Such earnestness and determination, combined with shrewdness and wisdom, were sure to win success; and their very success must have quickened the desire of the reformers for a worthy school system. The Jesuits were thorough, and insisted on fitness in the men who were to teach, and in producing such opposite minds as Descartes and Voltaire, they have proved that, however hostile critics may talk, their system does not necessarily cramp or stunt native genius.

England.

The political and ecclesiastical movements in England naturally had some considerable influence on the development of events in the Northern Kingdom. The severance of the connection between England and Rome gave confidence to those Scottish reformers who were anxious to extend national independence to the spiritual as well as the political sphere. The dissolution of the monasteries was watched with peculiar interest by the needy barons, and we fear that their zeal for reformation was more quickened by the enrichment of the English nobles from their share of the spoil. and the hope that they should enjoy similar good fortune, than by all they heard of the foundation of schools and colleges.

The Revival of Learning had begun to awaken an intellectual and literary interest in a considerable portion of the laity of the upper and middle classes of England by the beginning of the sixteenth century. The clergy there, as in Scotland, had not been progressing with the age, but some even of them came under the spell of the new enthusiasm. This was notably the case with JOHN COLET, Dean of St Paul's Cathedral. He had returned from Italy, fired by a strong desire for the encouragement and advancement of education. and in 1510, with rare generosity, he gave up a large part of his fortune to found and endow St Paul's School. His purpose was both to give a liberal classical education, and to further "increased knowledge and worshipping of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and good Christian life and manners in the children." On the master's chair he caused to be carved an image of the child Jesus with the inscription, "Hear ye Him."

This noble example of Dean Colet gave impetus to the movement for the foundation of grammar schools and colleges out of the confiscated monastic funds. A precedent had been set as early as 1441, when Eton and King's College, Cambridge, had been founded and endowed with the rents and properties of the alien priories.

In 1497 Jesus College, Cambridge, was founded with the endowments of a nunnery. In connection with this, Mr Bass-Mullinger remarks:—"Though Luther had not yet nailed his theses to the door of the church at Wittenberg, the wiser minds of England were already disposed to think less about Rome and the Roman pretensions, and to direct their efforts towards the promotion of a learning more likely to serve the true interests of the Church and the laity throughout the realm."

CARDINAL WOLSEY by his measures gave expression to the conviction of the wiser and more far-sighted clergy, that any real reform within the Church must be carried out by lifting the standard of clerical culture and character.

With a view to this he founded seven professorships at Oxford for theology, Greek, and other subjects, and succeeded in getting a papal bull for the conversion of St Frideswide's priory into a college. Another bull for the suppression of small monasteries with less than seven members enabled him to get funds for its proper endowment. The first steps towards the dissolution of the monastic system were thus taken under the sanction of the Pope—their complete suppression followed upon the destruction of papal supremacy in England. It was in 1532 that appeals to Rome were forbidden; and in 1536, in consequence of a report by commissioners appointed by Cromwell to visit the remaining monasteries and examine their condition, moral and financial, an Act was passed to suppress all religious houses with an annual income of less than £200 a year.

Three hundred and seventy-six monasteries fell under this Act, out of a total of about one thousand,

and their funds, representing about a million and a quarter of our money, were confiscated to the crown. The Pilgrimage of Grace, which took place at the end of the year, showed that the monasteries retained a considerable share of popular sympathy. But this did not save them, for within the next four years there was not a single monastery left throughout the country. The king secured for the crown a large share of their revenues, but Cranmer proposed that all the houses which were not of royal foundation should be turned into schools and colleges, or into hospitals for the sick, the aged, or the poor.

Trinity College, Cambridge, was founded in 1546 as "a college of literature, the sciences, philosophy, good arts, and sacred theology." "No academic institution," says Mr Bass-Mullinger, "furnishes a more striking example of the change from the mediæval to the modern, from the Catholic to the Protestant conception of education."

In 1547 an Act was passed for the suppression of various colleges, free chapels, chantries, and social and religious gilds. It proposed that their revenues should be turned to such "godly uses" among others as the erection of grammar schools and the better endowment of the universities. Out of the funds thus obtained were founded fifty-three King Edward's grammar schools, but a large share of the spoil was seized by greedy nobles and courtiers. The closing years of King Edward's reign (1552-3) are marked by further instances of their rapacious and heartless avarice. The necessities of what may be called party politics seem to have made leading reformers the accomplices of men who were using

Reformation as a cloak for robbery. The wealth which pious founders of old had devoted to religion, education, and the poor, was rudely plundered by grasping hypocrites. "The two wells of this realm," says a Protestant preacher, "Oxford and Cambridge, they are almost dried up." "The poor," says Latimer, "were spoiled, learning decayed." The parasites of the court alone were enriched. This is a similar tragedy to what was soon to be enacted in Scotland. Greedy eyes in the North were already gloating over the prospects of like plunder. But the cause of education was to fare even worse for a time in Scotland than it did in England.

With the reign of Henry the Seventh the tide of Renaissance influence began to flow upon the shore of English society, bringing with it a healthy desire for greater opportunities of learning. Twelve grammar schools date from his reign. The exciting times of Henry VIII. saw no less than forty-nine new foundations, including such important schools all over the country as those of Manchester, Taunton, and the cathedral schools of St Paul's, Bristol, Worcester, Ely, Durham, Canterbury, Chester, and Carlisle.

As we have already seen, a large number were erected in the time of Edward VI., of which may be named Norwich, Lichfield, Sherborne, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Birmingham, Giggleswick, and Christ's Hospital.

Under Mary we hear of twelve more, but Elizabeth's reign, among its other glories, can boast of adding no fewer than one hundred and fifteen to the now considerable roll of English grammar schools —and these were schools of no mean fame, as the names of Westminster (1560), Merchant Taylors (1561), Rugby (1567), and Uppingham (1584) will show. It has been said, indeed, that "the piety and charity of Protestants ran so fast in this channel that there wanted rather a regulation of grammar schools than an increase of them."

In these schools the scheme of education was set in operation, which the new love and knowledge of ancient literature had inspired, and a classical education of a type that is too narrow for modern requirements, but which has produced many able men as well as good scholars, became the fashion.

But provision also began to be made for the better moral and religious instruction of the young of all classes. As in Germany about the same time, and in Scotland later, reformed primers and catechisms played an important part in religious instruction. The first of these reformed primers appeared in 1534. In 1539 there was published by royal authority a school manual containing the alphabet, lists of syllables for spelling, and a short catechism. It seems to have been similar to the school editions of the Shorter Catechism which are in vogue in Scotland to this day—with the alphabet and syllabic system, and the multiplication table on the outside page.

CHAPTER XV.

THE STATE AND EDUCATION TILL THE REFORMATION.

WE have seen that David I. and his successors were generous founders of monasteries and supporters of the early Church in its work of civilising and educating the community. And in addition to the founding of churches and monasteries—which implied also the establishment of schools—we have evidence that the early kings of Scotland fostered education and encouraged schools and poor scholars.

We may take the entry for what it is worth in this connection, but it is at least deserving of notice, that in 1329 there is entered by the treasurer in the chamberlain's rolls a sum of twenty shillings paid by Robert the Bruce to David of Montrose, "in auxilium ad scholas." On this slender foundation the tradition grew up that it was the Bruce who established the afterwards famous school there.

Sums of money appear in the royal accounts between 1383 and 1385 as being paid for the education and board of James Stewart, the son of Robert II., when studying at St Andrews. And the expenses of another young man, Gilbert de Haia, were also paid at the same time out of the royal exchequer. This youth was probably, as Grant suggests, the companion of the young prince.

In 1329 a gift was made by the king to Master Gilbert of Bermachtyn to assist in his education, and in 1364 a sum of £54 was paid by the treasurer to support a poor scholar who was related to the king.

The cost of the board and education of poor scholars at the school of Haddington was defrayed by royal funds in 1378 and 1384, and there are other similar cases.

Even the higher education at foreign universities was apparently encouraged by royal munificence, for in 1388 the chamberlain paid £4 to Sir John de Corntoun, who was going abroad to study, and in 1392 the sum of £8 was paid to a young scholar while a student at the University of Paris.

Devorgilla, the wife of John Baliol, completed the foundation of the famous college at Oxford, which even to the present day may be considered the coping stone of the higher education of Scotland.

James I. was born in 1394, taken captive in 1405, and, after being retained as a prisoner in England for nineteen years, was released and returned to his kingdom in 1424. It was a cruel, lawless country to which he returned. The feudal lords were supreme in their own domains, and if they lived in outlying districts they cared little for Acts of Parliament and the duties therein laid down. There was no power in the country which could force a Campbell or a Douglas to obey an obnoxious law. Their position of arrogant independence and unlimited power was almost unequalled in any European country. In their castles, among their clansmen and dependents, they could almost defy the crown, and but for the influence of the Church the country would have been at the mercy of men who were little better than bandits.

James had been trained in all the accomplishments of a knight, and was skilled in such manly exercises as wrestling and archery. He could sing and play on various instruments, and was devoted to literature and poetry. Not only does his "Kingis Quhair" mark a new era in our national poetry, but his personal influence and example distinctly influenced and quickened the national interest in culture and education and the schools in which men were taught.

But Scotland needed more than a cultured man and a poet for its king, and it found in James a shrewd, wise, and firm statesman, who not only saw what his country needed, but set about securing it. "Let God but grant me life," said he, "and there shall not be a spot in my dominions where the key shall not keep the castle, and the bracken bush the cow, though I myself should lead the life of a dog to accomplish it."

He held one Parliament after another, and got many just and beneficent laws passed affecting the leading interests of the nation.

He recognised that the Church could lend him great assistance in checking and controlling the power of the barons, but he saw that their standard of education needed to be greatly raised. In order to effect this, he gave instructions to the governors of all schools (praefecti gymnasiorum), and of the university recently founded, to make known to him any youths who excelled in virtue and learning, that he might bestow upon them ecclesiastical preferments.

As a further stimulus to excellence, he "marked out certain degrees of studies," that it might be known who are fit to obtain certain offices.

Just a hundred years afterwards, Sir David Lyndsay, in the "Testament and Complaint of the Papingo," sketches a similar scheme of reform as still being needed—

"War I ane man worthy to wear ane crowne, . . .
I suld dispone all offices pastorallis
Tyll Doctouris of Devynitie, or Jure;
And cause Dame Vertew pull up her sailis,
Quhen cunnyng men had in the Kirk maist cure;
Gar Lordis send thair sonnes, I yow assure
To seik science, and famous scuilis frequent,
Syne thame promove that wer moste sapient.
Gret plesour wer to heir ane Byschope preche
One Abbote quhilk could weill his convent teche."

George Buchanan ("History," I., p. 420), thus speaks of his wise policy of encouraging and fostering education when, by the year 1430, he had reduced his kingdom to some better order.

"The other parts of his kingdom being thus purged and amended, he next turned his thoughts to the reforming of the ecclesiastical state; but the priests could not be corrected by the civil magistrate. . . . Hence it was resolved to prevent their tyranny the best and only way he was able; for seeing it was not in his power to amend what was past, nor to turn out unworthy men from those preferments which they once were possessed of, he thought to provide the best he could for the future; which was to set up publick schools of learning, and liberally to endow them; because these would be seminaries for all orders of men;

and whatever was excellent or noble in any commonwealth, took from thence its origin as from a fountain. Thus he drew learned men to him by reward; nay, he himself would be sometimes present at their disputations; and when he had any vacation from civil affairs, he delighted to hear the conferences of the learned; endeavouring by that means to eradicate the false opinion which many nobles had imbibed, viz., that learning drew men off from action to sloth and idleness, and softened military spirits, or that the study of letters was only fit for monks who were immured as it were in a prison and good for no other use."

The University of St Andrews had been founded during the king's imprisonment, but with his good wishes. Its beneficent influence must have been greatly strengthened by such a firm and enlightened policy. "The revolution in national literature," says Dr Ross, "was as great as the revolution in the national policy." Scotland now begins to progress with the rest of civilised Europe. But it held fast to the leading traits of the national character, and maintained and asserted its sturdy individuality.

James II., in 1450, at the suggestion of Bishop Turnbull, requested the Pope to grant a bull to establish a University in Glasgow—where "the air was salubrious and provisions were plentiful." This prince, in pressing his desire upon the pope, points out that, though he himself might erect a University within his realm, he could not confer the privilege by which the right of teaching in any "studium generale" in Christendom was conferred by an academical degree.

In the same way James IV., prompted by the advice of the good Bishop Elphinstone, expressed to Pope Alexander VI. his earnest desire that the condition of the people in the northern part of his kingdom might be improved, and in 1494 obtained a bull for the foundation of Aberdeen University. Many places in this part of Scotland were (according to the preamble to this bull) separated from the rest of the country by arms of the sea, and mountains. "There dwell rude men, ignorant of learning, and semi-barbarous, who, from their distance from the universities, have no opportunities of learning. They are so ignorant of letters, that fit men cannot be found to preach the Word of God and administer the sacraments."

The words of the papal bull hardly do justice to the work already done by the Church. The cathedrals of Aberdeen, Elgin, and Brechin had been centres of Christian influence and civilisation, and while much was left to be done, and the university was needed, the country was hardly so barren of learning and enlightenment as the above statement implies.

James IV. was a far-sighted and vigorous ruler, who had strength to govern his kingdom, and wisdom to recognise the advantages which his people would reap from a good education. From the beginning of his reign in 1488 he had the inestimable advantage of having for a friend and guide a man of the highest knowledge and ability, who was a zealous promoter of every good and noble cause. Sir Alexander Grant says that "it is no stretch of legitimate conjecture to suppose that Elphinstone's influence may have procured those two enlightened measures for which the reign of James IV. is famous." Both of these Acts are of the greatest importance in the History of Scottish Education.

The Act of Parliament of 1496 is the first introduction of the State—as distinct from the Crown—into the domain of educational legislation. Nearly four hundred years have elapsed from the time when the State, through its Parliament, made attendance at the grammar schools compulsory for a certain class of the citizens, and the recent Act (1892), by which a sum of £60,000 from the Equivalent Grant is set aside for the encouragement of secondary education. Who could have believed that it would take so many generations to bridge the gulf? In 1496 we seem to be at the threshold of a new era for higher education, in 1893 we are still waiting for the benefits which are to flow from the first money grant given by the state.

The Act of 1496 was born before its time, and though the country was hardly ripe for it, and it therefore was not very fruitful of results, it stands in the roll of our laws, a striking monument to the far-sighted wisdom of the prince in whose reign it was passed, and a prophetic anticipation of the future development of our national education.

As the Act is so important, both in its uniqueness at so early a period, and as the first Act of Parliament relating to education, we shall quote it in full:—

"It is statute and ordained throw all the Realme, that all *Barronnes and Free-holders* that ar of substance, put their *Eldest Sonnes and aires* to the Schules, fra they be six or nine years of age, and till remaine at the *Grammar-schules* quhill they be competentlie founded and have perfite Latine. And thereafter to remaine three years at the *Schules of Art and jure*, so that they may have knowledge and understanding of the Lawes: Throw the quhilks justice may remane universally throw all the Realme: so that they that ar Schireffs or Judges Ordinares, under the King's Hienesse, may have knawledge to doe justice that the puir people sulde have no neede to seek our Soveraine Lordis principal Auditour for ilk small injurie: and quhat Barroune or Free-holder of substance that haldis not his sonne at the schules, as said is, havand na lauchfull essonsie but failzies herein, fra knowledge may be gotten thereof, he sall pay to the King the summe of twentie pound."

In this Act we have the first note of compulsion sounded in the History of Scottish Education. We hear it again in the "First Book of Discipline," and the Act of 1872, which created School Boards, finally established compulsory elementary education, and led up to its free provision.

The Constitution of Ancient Sparta recognised it as a principle that children belonged to the state as well as to their parents. Plato, in educating the young in his ideal State, would take the responsibility from the parents and place it in the hands of the wise rulers. Aristotle seems to favour a similar arrangement.

Compulsion is, of course, a word of many possible meanings in an educative connection. In one sense it must always be enforced, unless we adopt the kindergarten idea and let children grow up like flowers. The compelling power may be the parent, who insists on the child being educated; the teacher, who, by personal influence or otherwise forces the child to learn; the school managers, who fix upon a curriculum of studies which, in the ordinary course, must be pursued; or the community which, either by its public opinion as a Society, or by definite enactment as a State, demands a certain modicum of education of a particular kind. And compulsion itself may be, (1) Compulsion to learn, (2) Compulsion to attend school, (3) Compulsion to a particular course of study, and (4) Compulsion to prosecute studies in a particular direction if the necessary ability or fitness is present. The educational provisions of the "First Book of Discipline" make it necessary that this fourth kind of compulsion should be added to the others.

Thus there is a large measure of compulsion present where it is not always recognised. All curricula which take the choice of subjects from the pupil or the parent are forms of compulsion, as also are the Lehrplan in Germany, the State Regulations of France, and the Codes of England and Scotland.

The first law regarding education passed for Scotland is, then, compulsory in its nature. It is peculiar that the compulsion is brought to bear upon "barons and free-holders," *i.e.*, the better class of the community; that they are enjoined to send their children to the grammar schools, and afterwards for three years to the schools of arts and law, *i.e.*, the universities, so that it is compulsion extending even to the higher branches of education. The terms of the Act leave it doubtful whether the schools which the children were to attend between the ages of six and nine were different from the grammar schools. If this was the case, then the compulsion extends over no less than three grades of schools. The very attempt to coerce the barons by an Act of this kind shows that Scotland had been making great progress in political organisation. At the beginning of the century the idea would have been absurd. The anarchy of feudalism was being reduced to order. The purpose of the Act may have been merely hortatory, as Burton suggests, but at any rate we find that, either as a result of its operation, or because of the growing desire for education, there were in the grammar school of Perth, in the early part of the sixteenth century, as many as three hundred boys, many of them the sons of noble parents.

The Act is further noticeable because of the end which it professes to seek, viz., that there may be sufficient knowledge among those likely to be judges and sheriffs to enable them to dispense justice : and that so the poor may not have to appeal, for the righting of every slight wrong, to the highest courts.

It is possible that Elphinstone, who had lectured on law at Paris and Orleans, may have been influenced by his love for legal studies to promote this enactment, which rendered some knowledge of law compulsory for future landowners. But the Act is so unique that we cannot help fancying that in it we see one of the early influences of the reviving study of Greek, and that Plato's plans for the training of the young ruler, and the realisation of justice in the state, gave form to this statute, which was intended at once to promote education, and to improve and facilitate the administration of justice in our country.

The statute lays down, as the aim of education, something quite different from the end which the Church had in view, and is one of the signs which by this time were becoming frequent, that the secularisation of education was at hand, and it must have helped to shatter the old idea in the popular mind, that only monks and priests needed to be educated.

James IV. himself was a man of the highest culture and refinement, a patron and friend of scholars and poets. He is described by the Spanish ambassador in 1498 as speaking Latin, French, German, Flemish, Italian, and Spanish. During his reign, trade and commerce increased, and there was generally a decided advance in the material prosperity of Scotland. In addition to the assistance which he gave Bishop Elphinstone in securing full privileges for Aberdeen University, he granted an endowment for a medical lecturer, and so planted the first seed of the now flourishing medical faculties in our universities, and in other ways furthered the cause of education in the country. Not the least of these was the royal patent which he granted in 1507 to Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar for setting up a printing press in Edinburgh.

Hitherto, one of the greatest obstacles in the way of spreading the benefits of education must have been the difficulty of producing books, and their consequent scarcity. "But after all," says Cosmo Innes, "that difficulty was not greater on the eve of the grand invention of printing than it had been in all ages of the world before. It did not press more heavily upon the Scotchmen of the fourteenth century than it did on the Italian contemporaries of Petrarch and Boccaccio, than it did on the people who appreciated the verse of Sophocles, and the rhetoric of Demosthenes, and the philosophy of Plato." It was through men rather than through books that education was given; the spoken, not the written, word quickened the intellect. The teacher was more than the text-book. "The famous teacher," says Principal Fairbairn, "was even more to the then world than the appearance of a great book is to ours." "On his students the teacher acted as a creative force." "The fittest of his disciples emerged as new masters, new centres to new men."

In 1450 Germany issued the first printed volume—a Bible. About 1474 Caxton set up his press in England.

The first book printed in Scotland, by the press of Chepman and Millar in 1508, contains poems of Dunbar and Chaucer, tales of romance, and old ballads—a proof that there was already a demand for a vernacular literature. In 1509 an interdict was obtained by these printers to prevent other persons from infringing their rights by importing and selling "mess bukes, manuallis, portuiss, matin, Donatis and Ulric in personas, and divers uther bukis printed by the said Walter Chepman." From which it is evident that Church service books and religious manuals, with grammar and law books for the schools and universities, were among the first printed books in the hands of our forefathers. The royal patent refers especially to "legendis of Scottis sanctis" collected by Bishop Elphinstone—and these are found in the Aberdeen Breviary, which was printed in 1510.

For about twenty years after this date, however, books by Scottish authors were still printed abroad. Nevertheless, by the patent of 1507, the first step was taken which has led to such a wealth of literature.

Through printing, the intellectual treasures of the few become the property of the people. The wider spread of knowledge breaks down the barrier between the clergy and the laity. New ideas, which formerly would have died at their birth, or taken generations to make their way to popular acceptance, now quickly extended their influence to all classes of society. The thoughts of vigorous minds had at last found wings, and a new intellectual bond was formed between the nations. Soon the books and pamphlets of the German reformers found their way into Scotland. Scottish merchants and sailors trading with Holland brought them back with their goods.

An Act of Parliament of 1525, "anent the damnable opinions of heresy," expressly forbade that any person, arriving with his ship at this realm, should bring any books or works of Luther or his followers, or rehearse his errors, unless it be to the confusion thereof by "clerkis in the schulis," under the penalty of loss of ships and goods, and imprisonment. This Act was renewed in 1538, when it was further decreed that "none should have, use, keep, or conceal any books of the said heretics, or countenance their doctrine or opinions."

But "the new generation, the rising men, the men of wit and spirit and learning, who could use their tongues and pens with effect upon the people, were eager for change. The popular minstrelsy, sacred and profane, was on the side of the reformers." "Treatises, squibs, plays, and satirical songs issued thickly from the printing press like barbed arrows." It is indeed remarkable how much freedom of speech was allowed to the popular satirists, whose batteries of wit became a strong, though impalpable, ally of the Reformation.

In 1541 James V. and his queen, attended by their suite of courtiers, made a royal progress to the North of Scotland, and for more than a fortnight were hospitably entertained in the college buildings at Aberdeen. Bishop Leslie, who was himself among the company, tells in his history that the visitors were welcomed "with diverse triumphs and plays maid be the toun, and be the universitie and sculis thereof, and remainit thair the space of fiftein dayes, weill entertenit by the bishop; quhair ther was exercise and disputationes in all kind of sciences in the college and sculis, with diverse oratiouns maid in Greke, Latine, and uther languages, quhilk was mickell commendit be the King and Quene and all thair company."

Henry VIII. had by this time succeeded in having many of the monasteries suppressed, and had enormously enriched the Crown by the confiscation of their revenues, and he was anxious that his policy should also be adopted by James in Scotland. The Scottish king was poor, and the Scottish monasteries were rich, so that the temptation must have been great. And though James had ever a warm side to the Church, we find that Henry's suggestions were fermenting in his mind, and seemed likely to lead to action, for, in May 1536, he informed the English monarch that "he had sent to Rome to get impetrations for reformation of some enormities, and especially anent the ordering of great and many possessions and temporal lands, given to the Kirk by our noble predecessors."

In 1539 Sir Ralph Sadler arrived at the Scottish court, and, as the representative of the sister kingdom, began to have a considerable influence in Scottish politics. His private instructions were, among other points, to persuade James to a breach with the papacy, and to seize upon the property of the monasteries and other religious institutions. "Methinks," replied the king to the tempting words of Sadler, "it is against reason and God's laws to put down these abbeys and religious houses, which have stood so long, and maintained God's service." "There is not an abbey in Scotland at this hour, but, if I asked anything, would give it." "A few of the monks might be bad, but it were a pity that, for the sake of these, all should be destroyed." And so James put Henry's suggestions aside and refused to adopt his policy of confiscation, and allowed the old abbeys to remain for a short time longer. Yet his eyes were not shut to the corruptions which had crept into the Church, and to the need for reform among the clergy, both as to their morals, their education, and their faithfulness to their religious duties. In 1541, along with some oppressive Acts for the suppression of heresy, he had an Act passed to promote this reform, in which it is stated, *inter alia*, that "the unhonesty and misrule of kirkmen, both in wit, knowledge, and manners is the matter and cause that the Kirk and kirkmen are lightly spoken of and contemned." All classes of the clergy, therefore, are called upon to reform themselves "in habit and manners both to God and man." In another way, also, he showed that he was anxious to have abuses exposed and remedied, for he gave countenance and encouragement to the satirists of the time, who were certainly not sparing in their attacks on the ignorance and arrogance, the sins and short-comings, of monk and prelate. It was by his command that Lyndsay's "Satire of the Three Estates" was acted before the court at Linlithgow in 1540. No more vehement and bitter attack could have been made upon the Church, and doubtless the king intended that its performance with his sanction should hasten reformation, by showing the clergy to themselves as others saw them, and prepare the way for stringent legislation. For practical reforms are undoubtedly suggested in such lines as—

"Let spirituall matters pass to spirituall
And temporal matters to temporalitie."

The dignitaries of the Church were too much taken up with politics and diplomacy to attend to their duties, and the growing feeling in the matter is expressed more than once by Lyndsay, as, for example—

"Ane bishop's office is for to be ane prechour
And of the law of God ane public techour."

The necessity of greater education among the clergy is emphatically asserted again and again, both in the sneering confession put into one of their lips,—

> "I red never the New Testament, nor Auld;
> Nor even thinks to so, Sir, be the Rude;
> I heir Freiris say, that reiding does na gude,"—

and also in statements like the following—

> "Na benefice beis giffin, in tyme cumming,
> But to men of good eruditioun
> And qualifeit richt prudentlie to preich
> Or ellis, in famous scuillis, for to teich."
>
> "Our court has made ane provisioun,
> That na Bischops mak teichours in tyme cumming,
> Except men of gude eruditioun,
> And for priestheid qualifiet and cunning."
>
> "Ilk Bischop, in his diosie sall remaine,
> And everilk Persoun in his parochoun,
> Teiching thair folk, from vices to refraine."

In 1542 the king died, and the further development of the Reformation passed into the hands of the nobles.

Similar temptations were laid before them as had been dangled in the eyes of James. The influence of Henry helped to pass the Act of 1543, which sanctioned the reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue. The Earl of Arran had been appointed governor, and had, for the time at least, adopted the cause of the reformers. He was advised by Lord Lisle to disseminate among the people the Old and New Testaments in English, and, as there were no translations yet to be had in the country, he promised to protect any Englishmen who should be sent to Scotland to sell copies. There appears by this time to have been a growing demand for the Bible and other religious books in the native tongue.

Suffolk advised the Privy Council to accept Arran's offer and supply the demand of the Scottish people. And Arran further asked Sir Ralph Sadler to procure copies of the Bible, and of the English king's statutes for the reformation of the clergy. The leaven of Henry's suggestions was working.

Lyndsay, in "Ane Dialog betwix Experience and ane Courteour," has an address to the reader, touching the "wrytting of vulgare and maternall language," which seems to give expression to the feeling prevalent among the Scottish people at this time. The following extracts will show that there was evidently a growing demand for books, and especially the Bible, in the vernacular—

"Thocht every Commoun may nocht be one clerk,
Nor has no leid exceipt their toung maternall,
Quhy suld of God the marvellous hevinly werk
Be hid from thame?"

That there are scholarly men who,

"In thare youth, be diligent laubour,
Hes leirnit Latyne, Greik, and old Hebrew,"

is no reason for debarring others less fortunate from the privilege of reading in their own language—

"That I am nocht of that sorte; sore I rew
Quharefore I wald all bukis necessare
For our faith were in tyll our toung vulgare."

It seems to him absurd that

"Childreying and ladyis of honouris,
Prayis in Latyne, to thame ane uncuth leid."

And he pithily remarks—

"Had Sanct Jerome bene borne in tyll Argyle,
Into Irische toung his bukis had done compyle."

And so he sums the whole matter up as follows:—

"I wold Prelattis and Doctouris of the Law
With us lawid people were not discontent,
Thocht we in to our vulgare toung did knaw
Of Christ Jesu the lyfe and Testament,
And quhow that we sulde keip commandiment;
But in our language let us pray and reid
Our Pater Noster, Ave, and our Creid.

"Let Doctoris wrytt there curious questionis,
And argumentes sawin full of sophistrye,
Thare Logick, and thare hych opinionis
Latt Poetis schaw thare glorious ingyne,
As ever thay pleis, in Greik or in Latyne,
But let us haif the Bukis necessare
To commoun weill and our Salvatioun
Justlye translatit in our toung vulgare."

It is worth noticing here that Boece's "Chronicles of Scotland" are said to have been translated into the vernacular in 1536 for the king's use, because he was not able to read them in the original Latin.

As early as 1513 Gawin Douglas had translated the Æneid of Virgil into the Scottish dialect. Bellenden, the translator of Boece's "Chronicles," had also written a translation of the first five books of Livy for the benefit of those who had "missed their Latin."

Gawin Douglas, like Chaucer and Lydgate, thought it necessary to apologise for writing in the vulgar tongue; and the author of the "Complaynt of Scotland" (1548), although he gives an account of a considerable native literature, does the same. But the need for apology was over, the people were anxious now to read and understand for themselves. No class hereafter was to have a monopoly of thinking for the nation. Lyndsay insists that the laws of the land should be in the Scottish language; and on the 15th March 1560-1, in the Register of Burgesses, Edinburgh, it was resolved: "That all actes in this book be written in our awin maternall toung."

It was in 1543 that the Three Estates, assembled in Parliament, took the step—as important in the history of education as in the history of the Church—of authorising the reading of the Bible in the common tongue. On the proposal of Lord Maxwell, it was decreed that the Old and New Testaments might be used "among all the lieges of this realm, in our vulgar tongue, of a good, true, and just translation, because there was no law shown nor produced to the contrary; and that none of our sovereign's lieges incur any crime for having or reading of the same in form as said is; nor shall be accused therefore in time coming."

The Archbishop of Glasgow protested against its being made law until it had been considered by all the clergy in a provincial council, but the protest did not prevent the Bill from being accepted by Parliament.

"Then," says Knox, "might have been seen the Bible lying almost upon every gentleman's table. The New Testament was borne about in many men's hands." It may be mentioned in this connection that in 1575 the Privy Council, on the suggestion of the bishops, superintendents, and visitators of the Reformed Church, issued a charge that five pounds should be contributed and collected in every parish for the purchase of a Bible, and an Act of Parliament was passed four years later (1579), providing that gentlemen householders and others worth three hundred merks of yearly rent should have Bibles and psalm books for the good of their families. The book, which was to become an influence for the intellectual and spiritual uplifting of the bulk of the Scottish people, thus gradually, by its own charm and the assistance of statutory enactment, won its way into almost every home and school in the country.

Perhaps in no country in Europe has the Bible been so great an educational influence since that day as in Scotland. For three centuries it was the chief reading book. There are some who would attribute the proverbial "canniness" of the Scottish character to the fact that many generations of Scotchmen in all parts of the country were "brought up on the Book of Proverbs." The psalms were committed to heart; and the books of the Old and New Testaments, with their epics, their love songs, their biographies, their histories, and their laws, became a national literature. This, supplemented by the native ballad and romantic poetry, and the traditions of the struggle for national freedom, fired the imagination, purified the thoughts, and strengthened the intellect—in a word, became the intellectual, moral, and spiritual upbuilding of the Scottish national character.

Henry kept pressing upon Arran and other nobles the desirability of initiating in Scotland the policy which he himself had adopted towards the monasteries. The chief nobles were to meet and decide what share they would expect from the lands of the confiscated abbeys. The bishops were to be bribed to assent by promises of the lands attached to their sees and some of the spoils of the religious houses. Certain abbeys were to be transferred to the secular clergy, and their funds were to be used partly in keeping poor students at the universities.

Arran, however, seems at this time to have come under the spell of Beaton's influence, for he returned to the old faith.

But the opposition to the monasteries was already beginning to take a practical form. Attacks were being made on religious houses in Dundee, Arbroath, and Edinburgh. As early as 1543, the spoiling of the Church is said to have begun. Towards the close of 1545, the Earl of Hertford entered Scotland at the head of a great army, and spread havoc as he advanced. Many of the monasteries and hospitals, including Kelso, Melrose, and Dryburgh, were laid in ruins. An English foe began the work of devastation which the zeal of reform, encouraged by the selfish aims of the nobles, finally completed fifteen years later. With the murder of Beaton in 1546, the strongest supporter of the old system was removed. The old order had now to give place to the new. The completion of the Reformation was thereafter a matter of time. It needed but the return of a strong leader like John Knox to bring down the ancient fabric, which had done so much for the civilisation of Scotland, but into which so much weakness and corruption had entered in those later days that its foundations were undermined; and in the face of the growing intelligence and independence of the people, no reform from within could either save it or meet the popular demands. The monastic institutions had long outlived their usefulness. The pity is that such splendid endowments, which had been set apart for religion, for education, and for the poor, should have, in the rush and turmoil of the ecclesiastical revolution, been to such an extent lost to the nation. The coffers of the greedy nobles were filled to bursting, and for hundreds of years the schools of Scotland and the cause of education had to starve.

But even before the State allowed the endowments to be so largely lost to the nation the people in their enthusiasm completed the wreck of the beautiful monastic buildings, where culture in earlier days had found a home, and from which many of the best influences had steadily poured upon rude, untutored Scotland.

In 1559 Knox returned from Geneva, and fired the wild zeal of the common people wherever he preached. From the churches, where his glowing earnestness roused them to action, they rushed forth, and seizing torch and crowbar they burned or levelled to the ground churches and abbeys. Beginning with the Blackfriars, the Greyfriars, and the Carthusian Monasteries at Perth, the devastating impulse spread all over the country. St Andrews' stately cathedral and its monasteries, the abbeys of Scone, Cambuskenneth, Paisley, Kilwinning, and Dunfermline were soon in ruins. No reverence for their past, no love for their beauty, saved them. The frequent scandals, the insolent wealth, and the luxurious sloth of later days had blinded men's eyes in the hour of their excitement both to the good that had been done in their earlier and better years, and to the good that might still be done in the future under new conditions, for the cause of religion, education, and civilisation. What beautiful churches, what splendid schools and colleges, might have been made out of these costly fabrics! especially if their endowments had been preserved and used to carry on in new lines, adapted to new requirements, the beneficent work for which they were founded.

Monachism had long been dying: the collegiate churches which had been established all over the country were a proof, among others, that the Church itself recognised the fact. It was dying partly from a surfeit of wealth and the diseases which attend thereon, partly because the new ideas called into play by the Renaissance were destroying the beliefs upon which it was established.

The Reformation was its death blow as a vital force in Europe, but that vital force was already well nigh spent. Every system does its work and has its day, but new conditions are ever being evolved by the march of progress. "The old order changeth, giving place to the new, and God fulfils himself in many ways, lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

It was in 1561 that the work of devastation was completed. Hertford and his English troops had razed the border monasteries to the ground, the excited populace had burned and destroyed others, and now the Privy Council, in response to a petition of the second General Assembly, gave a legal sanction to the demolition of all that were still left. The Earls of Arran, Argyll, and Glencairn superintended the destruction of the "monuments of idolatry" in the West, and the Lord James in the North. And, instead of an inheritance of stately colleges and ancient schools, Scotland possessed some ruined walls, within which for centuries the owl made its home and cattle took shelter, till returning reverence for the past and its ivy-clad relics taught the nation the necessity of preserving the crumbling fabrics.

But the ancient and valuable endowments were not destroyed with the burning or destruction of the monasteries. It remains for us to tell the shameful story of the way in which these were so largely lost to the nation for educational purposes. The new Church was left ill provided, but its fate was good fortune compared with the condition in which education was left.

On the 1st of August 1560 Parliament met, and, among other business, discussed a petition laid before it by "the barons, gentlemen, burgesses, and other true subjects of this realm," that, with other reforms, the endowments of the old Church should hereafter be applied to the maintenance of a true ministry, the founding of schools, and the support of the poor. Making allowance for the difference of opinion as to what constituted a true ministry, this petition simply and really requested that the patrimony of the Church should, in the future, be used for the national objects meant to be benefited by the pious founders.

The question of the endowments was, however, postponed, probably by the diplomacy of Maitland of Lethington, and the petitioners were commissioned to draw up a summary of the points of doctrine which they maintained, and desired to see established as the national Confession of Faith. The task was completed in the short period of four days, and the Calvinistic system of doctrine thus drawn up was accepted by Parliament with few dissenting voices.

A week after, the Three Estates again met, and abolished the jurisdiction of the Pope. Thus, by the 24th of August 1560, Scotland became, by deliberate Acts of Parliament, a Protestant country. A new Church, a new educational system, and a new social organisation had to be raised on the ruins of the old.

In order to lay a basis for a new superstructure, Knox and other leading reformers had already been entrusted with the task of drawing up a scheme of Church polity. "The plan of the temple they designed to rear" is contained in the famous "First Book of Discipline." The Commission of the Privy Council had been issued on the 29th of April, and the Preface of "Book of Discipline" is dated 20th May. Its proposals regarding the patrimony of the Church which was now being superseded are as follows: All mortuary dues and Easter offerings were to be remitted. The other property and revenues of the various bishoprics, parishes, and monasteries were to become the possession of the Protestant Church, and to be applied in maintaining ministers, in establishing and maintaining schools and colleges, and in supporting the poor. The sons of the clergy were to be maintained at school and college if they had a turn for learning; their daughters were to be carefully brought up and honestly dowered. The special provisions for the establishment of an educational system, reaching from the parish school to the university, will be considered afterwards.

It was, perhaps, too much to expect the nobles to agree to a scheme which appropriated such enormous wealth to national purposes. Their avarice had been thirsting for plunder ever since Henry VIII. had shown them a way to enrich themselves.

Arran was shrewd enough to understand, as far back as 1543, that the "sin of covetousness" would have a good deal of weight in precipitating the Reformation. The religious enthusiasm of many "gaunt and hungry" nobles in Scotland was both quickened and alloyed by the immediate prospect of personal enrichment and aggrandisement. Hence the Privy Council resisted all the pressure of Knox and his friends, and refused to sanction the "Book of Discipline." Some of the barons had already begun to seize the rents and lands of the churches; so that, when Lord Erskine refused to subscribe, Knox had not far to seek for a reason. "No wonder, for if the poor, the schools, and the ministry of the Kirk had their own, his kitchen would lack two-thirds and more of what he now unjustly possesseth."

On the 15th January 1561 a convention of the Estates was held, at which the "Book of Discipline" was practically rejected. But in the same month some thirty-three barons and reforming bishops attached their signatures in their individual capacities, and promised to use their influence to get it made law. But the financial arrangements which it proposed were so unacceptable that, chiefly on that account, it never became law. In December

1561 an attempt was made to get the young queen to sign it. But Maitland, who had called the scheme a "devout imagination," let it be distinctly understood that the signatures already affixed meant little, and that the scheme, so far as Parliament was concerned, would never be realised. "Stand content that book will not be obtained." Had education received a third of the annual revenues of the old Church, it would have enjoyed an endowment of £80,000 a year. With such a sum to start with, the schools and universities of Scotland would not have had so long to wait to be put on a satisfactory footing. The Reformed Church fought nobly for the nation's patrimony, but the forces against it were too strong, and in various ways the bulk of the wealth, left for religious and educational purposes, passed into the hands of the nobles, and only a mere pittance was saved here and there out of the spoil for educational purposes.

In February 1572, when Church and State were still trying to build up some good working ecclesiastical system for the country, a joint committee of the General Assembly and the Privy Council drew up an agreement in which, among other articles, it was arranged that "all provostries, prebends, collegiate churches, and chaplainries should be bestowed by their respective patrons upon bursars or students in grammar, arts, theology, law, or medicine." But this led to no practical results.

Finally, the Church lands which had not already been seized or alienated were formally secularised by the Act of Parliament of 1587, which annexed to the crown the revenues of all benefices. But the nobles and courtiers secured most of the spoil, and the crown was little the richer.

Some light is thrown upon the prevalent opinions among the clergy and the nobles regarding the appropriation of these national revenues, by a satirical poem, issued anonymously from Lekpreuik's press in 1573, but said to be the work of John Davidson. It is entitled, "A Dialogue between a Clerk and a Courtier concerning Four Parishes to one Minister." The Reformed Church was for some time but poorly supplied with ministers, and a representative of the court and of the clergy discuss the reasons and the cure.

The courtier apparently does not like the criticisms of the scholar, for he utters sneering words whose echo may still be heard even in our more enlightened times—

"Mony men speikis without all law
And dois condempne befoir they knaw,
And chiefly the young men in scuilis,
Thinking all uthers to be fuilis."

The clerk, after replying that too long time was spent in the schools, if they learnt nothing but babbling, goes on to assert that if proper provision were made, educated men would soon be forthcoming. Not only would the universities at home provide a number,. but the Scottish students abroad would be tempted to return. He also suggests that, to increase the supply of educated ministers, the colleges should, if necessary be better endowed—

"And gif that thay fundationis auld
Wantis rentes sufficient to uphauld
Ane gude number of sic studentis
As (that thay want) let eik their rentis.

"For quhy the scuillis suld mother be,
To mak our preichouris multiplie,
And quhen the scuillis are not prouydit,
How can the Kirk be but misgydit?"

The courtier is indignant at the suggestion, and breaks out—

"I heir nathing bot prouyde,
And get now that, and get now this;
Your talk is all of expensis,
Gif leuingis heir, and found sum thair;
Ye big gay castellis in the air
Quhair is that geir to be had?"

The clerk is ready with his answer—

"Schir, luk ye and se
Gif that the teindis of this countrie
May not do all that we have tauld,
And als the pure and scuillis uphauld;
Quhilk teindis dois justly appertene
To sic thingis as hes talkit bene."

In answer to the courtier's query, "What wald ye then bestow on us?" the clerk replies, "the surplus," after the country's needs are supplied. And the courtier brusquely closes the dialogue—

"The teindis will not cum to their nevis
Sa lang as ony of us levis."

The State and University Reform.

Although Parliament refused to sanction the scheme of the reformers embodied in the "First

Book of Discipline," attempts were made by the State, along with the Church, to have the universities set upon a better footing. They had all been suffering more or less by the unsettlement of the country before and at the time of the Reformation, and it was not an easy matter to adapt them to the new condition of things. Glasgow was almost ruined, Aberdeen had been declining in efficiency, and St Andrews, though more in sympathy with Protestantism than the others, seemed content to go on in the old scholastic routine.

In 1563 a commission was appointed to inquire into the affairs and arrangements of St Andrew's University, on the ground that certain endowments were being wasted, and that "few sciences and speciallie thay that ar maist necessaire, that is to say, the toungis and humanitie, are in ane part not teicheit within the said citie to the greit detriment of the haill liegis of this realme." Both Maitland and Buchanan sat on this commission, but nothing seems to have come of their investigations.

In 1579 another commission was appointed, which drew up a scheme, characterised by considerable variety in the way of subjects, and obtained for it the sanction of Parliament.

The University of Aberdeen held out sturdily against the reformers. Its teachers were before the General Assembly of January 1561, and Knox had a disputation with the sub-principal. "In 1569 the regent and the council joined with the superintendent, and those in commission with him, and effectually purged that nursery of learning."

Alexander Arbuthnot, a man of exceptional culture, was appointed Principal, and, with the co-operation of Andrew Melville, drew up a new foundation charter for King's College, which set the university upon modern lines. This system met with considerable opposition, but, according to M'Crie, "was acted upon for many years," and was ratified (subject to revision) by Act of Parliament in 1597.

In 1566-7 Queen Mary transferred to the Town Council of Glasgow the lands and properties belonging to the monasteries of the district—and these were handed over in 1573 to the College of Glasgow. Four years later (1577), James VI. granted a charter, called the Erectio Regia, in which he states that he has set his mind on collecting the remains of the university, which was languishing and almost extinguished by poverty. This charter considerably increased the endowments of the college, and practically established a great teaching institution in the place of the old-fashioned university.

"It gave the model," says Sir Alexander Grant, "after which the other universities of Scotland were transformed and lost their grandiose mediæval character." "From the Reformation onwards, in St Andrews, Aberdeen, and Glasgow, the colleges took the place of the ancient universities, and the University of Edinburgh was formed from the outset in the form of a college."

Schools benefited by Confiscated Funds.

But though the greedy nobles managed to lay violent hands on the property of the monasteries and churches—the valuable endowments in which schools and education largely shared before the Reformation—something was saved here and there for the advancement of education throughout the country. But what was set apart for that purpose was but a pitiful fraction of the sums due to education. As a result, we hear that for a considerable time schools were in a very crippled condition, and the whole education of Scotland, especially in its higher departments in the grammar schools and universities, has suffered in consequence of the policy of plunder until this day. Now that the State has come to recognise its duty, and to admit a greater responsibility in the way of fostering higher education, things are just on the eve of improvement.

In 1579 an Act was passed in Parliament to promote the instruction of the young in music and singing; and the provosts, bailies, and communities of the most special burghs, and the patrons and provosts of colleges, were enjoined to see that sang schools were set up in their districts. And the king set apart, in several cases, some of the endowments which had formerly belonged to churches or religious houses, to assist and encourage the magistrates in carrying out the Act.

We are informed by Chalmers in his "Caledonia" that some of the endowments which belonged to the Greyfriars Monastery in Dumfries were handed over to the common good of the town, and probably are the source of the town's contribution to the upkeep of Dumfries Academy.

In 1566 Queen Mary made a gift to the Town Council of the patronages and endowments in Edinburgh belonging to the Dominican and

Franciscan Monasteries, including that of the grammar school.

In 1576 James VI. granted a charter to the Magistrates and Town Council of Paisley for the repair and endowment of the grammar school, which up till that date was doubtless connected with the abbey. By this charter were conveyed to the community, "All and whole the altarages of the chapels, the lands and manse after-mentioned, farms, annual rents, profits and duties of the same, pittances, obit silver and common duties under specified, lying in the burgh, parish, and liberty of Paisley, viz.: The altarages of St Mirren and Columba, &c., the chapel of St Rock and the seven roods of land or thereby of the said chapel belonging to the same, together with the other pittances of obit silver or common, which formerly the monks of Paisley were in use to levy and receive, with powers to the bailies, council, and community, and their successors and their collectors, to receive the lot pits, conveyed in the same way as any prebendiarys or chaplains could formerly, for the repair and support of a grammar school, and support of a preceptor." The school thus endowed was built in 1586 upon the site of the manse of the chaplain of St Ninian's altar. Through lapse of time the revenue from these lands has got confounded with the burgh property, and the endowments have been in a great measure lost sight of for educational purposes.

The old grammar school of Leith was endowed with funds which came into the possession of the kirk session of South Leith probably in a similar way.

At Peebles the cloister of the Church of the Holy Cross was converted into houses for the schoolmaster and public schools, and was used for these purposes till the beginning of the eighteenth century. The other ecclesiastical endowments, which should have been used for the support of the school after the Reformation, disappeared, and there was great difficulty in Peebles as elsewhere in maintaining the buildings.

In 1562 the burgh of Irvine received a perpetual grant of all the revenues and property which had belonged to the Church, for the purpose of establishing a public school at Irvine. These revenues consisted "of all and singular, the lands, houses, buildings, churches, chaplainaries, orchyards, gardens, crofts, annual rents, trusts, rents, profits, emoluments, arms, alms, anniversaries, altarages, and prebendaries within any church, chaplainary, or college founded by any patrons of the same within the liberties of the burgh of Irvine; as also, six bolls of multure belonging to the Carmelites' orders, all united into one tenement to be called in time coming the king's foundation of the school of Irvyne."

This seems to be a fairly liberal endowment if the church within the burgh was at all wealthy. The school to be raised by these funds does not seem, however, to have been proceeded with at once, for there is a charter of ten years later, including all the subjects enumerated in the above grant. It does not appear that "the king's foundation of the school of Irvyne" was ever matured by the authorities. No notice is taken of a schoolmaster in the Burgh Records, till 1686, when we hear of the schoolmaster of Beith receiving two hundred merks for serving as "scholemaster for the space of ane yeir." What became of all the funds?

At Banff there was a grammar school in 1544. In 1585 certain bishops' teinds were mortified in favour of the school, but the power of the greedy barons of the neighbourhood so overawed the town council, that their rights were not claimed in time, and the school never came into its own.

At Kirkwall the change at the Reformation was not so violent as on the mainland. The Episcopal form of government continued with short periods of intermission down to the final establishment of Presbyterianism. The fortunes of the school rose and fell with the fortunes of the bishop. The school funds were paid (with interruptions) to the schoolmaster till after the Revolution. When provision was made for the clergy from the lands in their parishes, they lapsed to the crown, in whose hands they have remained. About £280 a year would be their present value.

PART IV.

THE REFORMATION.

THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF THE OLD CHURCH.
THE SCHEME OF THE REFORMERS.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE APPROACH OF THE REFORMATION.

The Old Church and Education.

THE battle of the Reformation had been fought and won in Germany and in England before the sound of strife was heard in Scotland, except in the poems of the satirists.

The leaders of the Church were wise enough to see that the movement which had been convulsing the rest of European society would not leave Scotland untouched. They set themselves to prepare for it by putting their house in order. An attempt was made, both in the councils of the Church and in some of the monasteries, to provide a better educated clergy, to dispel the mists of popular ignorance, and to re-establish the ancient discipline in the conventual houses.

Lutheran pamphlets and books must have been introduced into the country at least as early as 1525, for in that year Parliament passed a statute forbidding their importation into the kingdom, and the dissemination of the heretical doctrines which they contained. It is probable that Patrick Hamilton was personally acquainted with Luther and Melancthon, and he must have known of the great interest in education which they were arousing.

The enlightened members of the clergy must also have heard of the important educational revival which was being initiated and energetically carried out by Ignatius Loyola, whose order received the papal sanction in 1540. Loyola had the genius and insight to see the supreme importance of education, and even before the Reformation wave had reached Scotland, the Jesuits had, through the schools which their order established, and the earnestness and ability which they everywhere displayed, done much to restore the old Church in many places on the Continent to some of its former influence. Before his death in 1556, Loyola had firmly founded an educational system which has done much, not only for the Church of Rome, but for the culture of Europe.

Henry VIII., as we have seen elsewhere, was about the same time bringing pressure to bear on the Scottish court to promote a scheme of reform, and to abolish the monasteries and confiscate their endowments. Schools were being established all over England with funds which had belonged to monastic establishments.

The demand for a higher educational standard, both for the clergy and the people, and for increased educational opportunities was growing stronger. The knowledge that a similar demand in Germany and England had secured its object made the clamouring voices in Scotland louder; and there were not a few good and wise men in the Church who recognised that it was necessary to remedy the condition into which the Church had fallen, and who set themselves to promote measures for reforming the Church from within.

The need for reform was undoubtedly urgent.

The Church had, speaking generally, been long neglecting its duty. The machinery for an excellent educational system was there, but the spirit and energy were wanting. It had ceased to demand an educated clergy, and was neglecting the instruction of the people. Or, perhaps, it would be more accurate to say that the conception of what was implied in education had been rapidly widening, but the Church had been too busy with other matters to bestir itself to keep pace with the growing enlightenment. Its secular duties as a powerful and wealthy corporation had been absorbing all its energies, and the selfish struggle for personal aggrandisement had blinded the eyes of its individual members to their duty. "The Kirk," says Lindsay, "had spoused with Dame Property," and so the clergy "soune forgot to studye, praye, and preche,

> "They grew so subject to Dame Sensuall,
> And thocht bot paine pure pepyll for to teche."

The satirist is not always a reliable authority for a true picture of his age. But the Statutes of the Provincial Councils, and the evidence of the Church's own historians, prove that Sir David Lyndsay had too much ground for his denunciations. Of a large section of the clergy it was true that—

> "Als they did nocht instruct the ignorant
> Provocand thame to penitence, be preicheing:
> But servit wardlie Prencis insolent,
> And war promovit be thair fenyeit fleicheing,
> Nocht for their science, wysedome, nor teicheing.
> Be symonie, was thair promotioun
> More for deneiris, nor for devotioun."

That it could be said with truth that "the curate his creed he could not read," and that "a carle who was never at the scule" should be advanced to a position of influence in the Church, where, in theory at least, his duty was to teach others, was coming to be recognised on all sides as a glaring absurdity. The growth of general enlightenment was awakening a wider and higher appreciation of education, and making some measure of culture necessary if the clergy were to be held in respect. Before the invention of printing, very slight intellectual and literary attainments—even the mere ability to read and write—were sufficient to give the clergy a consciousness of superiority over the laity. But the growth of a popular literature in the vernacular, and its dissemination through the art of printing among an increasing circle of readers, had quickened intellectual interest very rapidly. Printing multiplied books, and the poems and satires in the native tongue naturally whetted the public appetite for learning to read. The Church herself had taken the lead in establishing schools and encouraging education when the nobles and the State had no interest in the matter. She had taught a rude society the need and desirability of education, secular as well as religious. Now that society had been stimulated and trained to some recognition of its national importance, she was herself found lagging behind.

In the schools and universities which she had founded, a great deal of good work was being done, —judging it, of course, by the standard of the time. But the Church, as a whole, either because she acknowledged the responsibility less, now that she had awakened the sense of responsibility in others, or because the canker of worldly ambition and selfish enjoyment had touched her constitution in a vital part, was long deaf to the needs and demands of the new generation, in which the quickening breath of the Renaissance was raising an ardent desire for light, and knowledge, and freedom.

It was, however, rather the religious than the literary side of education which was being neglected. Dr Bellesheim, the Catholic historian, says, "It is impossible to doubt that the knowledge which the people at large possessed of the doctrines of their religion was insufficient to enable them to cope successfully with the coming storm." And Bishop Leslie, writing shortly after the Reformation, bears evidence to the same effect: "The source and origin of the evil was, that the people, neglected by the clergy and uninstructed in the Catechism in their tender years, had no sure and certain belief."

It is specially for their neglect of preaching and religious teaching, and for a too common ignorance, which really put such duties beyond their power, that Lyndsay attacks the clergy. Some of the priests "did think the New Testament to have been composed by Martin Luther," and many of the monks were sprung from the humblest classes of society, and had themselves enjoyed only the very slight education which was given in the monastery schools when the tone and discipline had fallen very low. It is hardly true, however, that at the period immediately before the Reformation, "the people sat in darkness, while spiritual and intellectual stupor settled upon the Church." The very clamour of public opinion, and the reiterated attacks of the satirists, show that this ignorance of a portion of the clergy and the monks was becoming rather startling to the growing culture and intelligence of an increasing proportion of the people.

There was a wonderful wealth of poetical literature in the vernacular, and the growth of popular poetry written for, and read by, the people, was so marked, that a canon was framed, giving orders for instituting a search for books of rhymes and ballads against the Church. Some of these were written even by men in humble position, for Knox tells us that a servant of the Bishop of Dunkeld wrote "a despiteful railing ballad against the governor and the preachers," and an Act was passed in the fifth Parliament of Mary against the printing of "books concerning the faith, ballads, songs, blasphemations, rhymes, &c."

There were schools in every district, and poets like Dunbar and Lyndsay, scholars like Buchanan and Melville, and even Knox himself, had been, in part at least, educated in native institutions. These schools, aided by the popular and romance literature, together with the books imported from England, were steadily raising the intellectual standard of the people, for even those who could not read were influenced by the popular songs and stories, which wandering minstrels at rural and village gatherings made a common possession. The influx of light was really too great for the old conditions: the new wine had to burst the ancient bottles. The rush of the people into the new light was destined to overthrow the barriers and bring down the stately pile in which they had been reared. "The monasteries, as nurseries of learning and of the arts, of statesmen and jurists, of poets and historians, had accomplished the object for which they were instituted." The end was at hand; fresh weapons were being forged for the further shaping of civilisation.

But the quickening of spiritual and intellectual life, which manifested itself in the first half of the century, had not, as we shall see, left the monasteries entirely untouched. Here and there, wise, earnest, and far-sighted abbots were trying to restore the ancient discipline, and to rear up a new race of cultured and pious monks. And the Church, when it was too late for its own salvation, began to show in its Councils a clear desire and determination to wipe out the disgrace attaching to it, by insisting on a higher standard of religious and secular education for its clergy, and providing for the more thorough instruction of the masses of the people in religious truth. The Provincial Council, held first in Linlithgow, and afterwards in Edinburgh, in 1549, enacted some important Statutes regarding education. The first of these (Stat. Conc. Scot. 189), is entitled *De magistro grammatices*, but it deals also with the subject of religious instruction in various classes of schools. Among those who attended this Council were Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, Quintin Kennedy, John Winram, and John Mair—names all representative of piety and culture.

STATUTE OF PROVINCIAL COUNCIL (NO. 189).

Concerning the Master of Grammar.

"Churches whose annual incomes are small, and in which the number of clergy and people is insufficient to allow the teaching (lectio) of theology, it be carried on in them to advantage, must at least have a master appointed by the bishop, with the advice of his chapter, to teach the clergy and other poor scholars the art of grammar free of charge, so that in due course, God willing, they may be able to proceed to the study of the Sacred Scriptures." For this teacher of grammar proper provision is to be made.

In monastic institutions, also, wherever it can conveniently be done, instruction in the Sacred Scriptures is to be given. And if any abbots neglect their duty in this respect, the bishop of the diocese, is to insist on this duty being performed.

In the convents of other regular orders in which study can be prosecuted, similar instruction in the Scriptures is to be given. And the duty of giving this instruction is to be assigned to "more worthy masters."

"In public schools (gymnasia), also, where this instruction, at once so honourable and supremely necessary, has not yet been established, it is to be forthwith established by the piety and charity of nobles and municipalities (principum ac Rerum publicarum), for the defence and increase of the Catholic faith, and the preservation and extension of sound doctrine; and where it has already been established, but has fallen into neglect, it is to be restored."

The same Council further decreed, that in every cathedral church there should be appointed a lecturer on theology and professor of canon law; likewise, that in every monastery a lecturer on theology (theologus) should be appointed, who should be bound to give instruction every day in the sacred writings, and should also preach in the churches attached to the convents (Nos. 196, 197). It was also provided that a number of monks should be chosen annually from the leading monasteries—young men showing intellectual ability and aptness for learning—and sent for four years to one or other of the universities, to study theology and the Scriptures (No. 198).

The Church was apparently anxious to draw closer the universities and the monasteries, and in order doubtless to encourage the teaching of Latin and grammar in the schools, and separate school from university subjects, a special Statute was enacted dealing with the proper order of studies (201). Its terms are, that the rector of each university should see that none were admitted to the faculties (scholas) of dialectic or arts except those who could speak Latin correctly: also that those wishing to study dialectic should be examined before admission to that art, and that only those found fit, by strict examination, should be allowed to pass to the bachelor's or master's degree; those who failed were to be put into a lower class.

The Archdeacon of St Andrews, in this connection, was to provide for a grammar schoolmaster in the city, to train boys and backward students in the rudiments of grammar.

The Council also insists on religious instruction being given from the pulpit in the form of expository and catechetical preaching.

The important clerical duty of preaching had largely fallen into disuse in the Church. But the great spiritual revival which began in Germany had brought it again into prominence there, and that in the Catholic Church as well as among the reformers. The leaders of the Gallican school in Germany, says Professor Mitchell, had taken up catechetical preaching with vigour. Some of them delivered expository sermons, others drew up catechetical manuals for the assistance of the clergy in the discharge of this long neglected duty. Hermann von Wied, Archbishop of Cologne from 1515-1546, had an Enchiridion Christianae Institutionis prepared for that purpose. A Catechismus Catholicus was published in 1544 by the Bishop of Vienna, and an Institutio ad Pietatem in 1549 by Michael von Helding of Mainz.

These books were in the hands of leading Scottish churchmen, who took part in the deliberations of the Provincial Councils, and Professor Mitchell traces their influence in the Scottish Catechism which was published in 1552.

Mr Law, in the introduction to his edition of this Catechism, asserts that the old Church of Scotland was singularly deficient in popular works of religion and devotion. "We meet with no Scottish Primers," he says, "or Folks' Mass Books, or Mirrours of Our Lady in the vernacular." This statement is at variance with the fact that "grace-bukes and prymars" were used in the schools of Edinburgh about 1519. None of these may now be extant, but that they existed seems proved by the decree of the magistrates allowing them to be taught. Notwithstanding the Act of Parliament permitting the use of the Scriptures in the vernacular, there was no portion of the Bible printed in Scotland, and no attempt to provide for the people a version in their own dialect. Tyndale's Bibles and, doubtless, other religious books were, however, imported at an early date.

But the Church was at last awaking to the necessity of something being done in this direction. The Statutes of the Provincial Council which met in 1552 show that it was being carried forward on the crest of the educational wave. "Having regard to the fact that many of the clergy are not sufficiently learned properly to instruct the people in the faith, or to convert those in error, the Council decrees that a Catechism is to be issued for the instruction of the clergy as well as of their flocks—written in the Scottish tongue, and drawn up by the most learned prelates and theologians of the Scottish Church. It is to be printed and published in the name of the Primate and the Provincial Council now sitting, and is to contain a brief, clear, and Catholic explanation of the Ten Commandments, the articles of faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, as well as an exposition of the Lord's prayer and the angelic salutation. Copies are not to be given indiscriminately, but only to such grave, well-disposed, and discreet persons as the bishop may approve, and who desire instruction rather than the gratification of mere curiosity. The clergy are further directed every Sunday and holy day, before High Mass, to read to the people out of the Catechism in a clear, distinct, and articulate manner for the space of half-an-hour, without adding, changing, or omitting anything whatever. They are enjoined, however, not to mount the pulpit unprepared, but frequently to rehearse beforehand what they are going to read, so that they may not, by stammering and stuttering, become a laughing stock to their hearers." It was accordingly printed in August 1552 by command and at the expense of Archbishop Hamilton, by whose name it is generally known, though its authorship is sometimes ascribed to John Winram. It is not a catechism in the modern sense, but an expository treatise on the doctrines and faith of the Church. It is interesting as being almost the only record of the doctrinal and devotional language of Scotland before the Reformation, and one of the earliest specimens of Scottish prose.

Archbishop Hamilton, in the preface to this famous Catechism, makes some remarks which further illustrate the full reawakening of the Church to a recognition of the necessity of education and her duty in the matter.

Addressing the priests into whose hands the Catechism was to be placed, he says, "Theirfor it is to you expedient to use this present Catechism, first to your awin instruction, remembering quhat is written: 'Ignorantia mater cunctorum errorum maxime in sacerdotibus vitanda est, qui officium docendi in populo susceperunt.' Ignorance, the mother of al errours, suld maist of al be eschewit in preistis, quhilk hes ressavit the office of teching among the Christian pepil. Secundly, according to the decreit maid in our Provincial Counsale, our will is that ye reid the samyn Catechisme diligently, distinctly, and plainly, ilk ane of you to your awin parochianaris, for thair common instructioun and spiritual edificatioun in the Word of God, necessarie of thame to be knowin. For as ane scholar quhilk is to leir ony special science man first leir the beginning or rudimentes of that science, and swa procede or ascend to the mair perfit understanding of the samyn science. Sa we have thocht it expedient to teche the Christen pepil committit to our cure, the begynning or rudimentes of our Christen doctrine, contenit schortly, trewly and plainly in this present buke, that thai being sufficiently instruckit in the samyn, may mair esely cum to the understanding of hiear doctrine contenit in the Evangels and Epistles usit to be proponit and declarit to thame be precheouris of the Word of God."

The preface concludes: "And to be schort and plaine with you all that ar spiritual curattis under us, our hail intentioun is (as God we tak to our witnes) to help als mekil as lyis in us the Christen people your parochionaris out of blind and dangerous ignorance, and to bring thame to knowledge of thai things that belangis to thair salvatioun. And therefor everilk Sonday and principal halydaie, quhen their comes na precheour to thame to schew thame the Word of God, to have this Catechisme usit and reid to thame insteid of preching, quhil God of his gudnes provide ane sufficient nowmer of Catholyk and abil prechouris, quhilk sal be within few yeiris as we traist in God."

Again, in the Statutes of the Council of 1559, we find it decreed that the parochial clergy, if too young, or otherwise incompetent for the duty of preaching, must forthwith make themselves fit by study in the schools, providing substitutes meanwhile to preach for them. Besides the regular sermons, religious instruction was to be given, and the Catechism was to be read on Sundays and holidays. This was the last of the Councils—and these extracts from their decrees furnish evidence beyond suspicion, both of the need of education among clergy and people, and also, we are glad to say, of the determination of the Church to insist upon immediate improvement.

Although it is beyond dispute that the early discipline of most of the monasteries had relaxed, we have indisputable evidence to show that, in some of them at least, an earnest attempt was made to renew their ancient tone, and to advance the cause of education within their walls.

We are fortunate in having the record of an enthusiastic and scholarly teacher, who laboured for many years in the abbey of Kinloss.

JOHN FERRERIUS, a native of Piedmont, was pursuing his studies at the University of Paris when he made the acquaintance and friendship of Robert Reid, who was then on his way to Scotland to be Abbot of Kinloss. The two men seem to have been so attracted by each other's society, that Ferrerius, in 1528, accompanied Reid to Scotland, and, greatly to the advantage of Kinloss, settled down beside his friend in the Northern abbey.

There he lived for the next five years, studying and writing commentaries, and instructing the monks in the monastery. In 1537, when he was looking forward to a return to Italy, he wrote down an account of his lectures, with a list of the authors on whom he prelected; and in 1540, he wrote out another list. Some of his lectures were delivered publicly in the chapter house, others in his own apartment; and a number of authors were read in private with one of the monks named John Person, who afterwards became instructor of the novices at

Beauly. These lists, which are summarised on page 299, represent a formidable amount of work, and it is evident that under his tutelage a keen devotion for study characterised the brethren of this monastery. His excellent friend, Abbot Reid, was promoted to the bishopric of Orkney, and in 1540 Ferrerius accompanied him to the seat of his bishopric. On his return, he brought with him, from the Ross-shire monastery of Beauly, five young monks to be instructed; and they remained under his care for a period of three years.

Ferrerius also wrote the lives of some of the abbots of his monastery; and these short biographies by a scholarly man, who had every opportunity of knowing the facts, are valuable sources of information on the interest which was taken in education within his own and other religious houses.

When Thomas Crystall became Abbot of Kinloss in 1505 he gave up his natural liking for a life of study to pay due attention to the business of the monastery. But he did not neglect the education of the monks, "For first he sent Sir James Pont, as a man inclined to learning, to the school of the Blackfriars in Aberdeen, which at that time enjoyed the instructions of John Adamson, a famous doctor of the Dominical order, noted for his piety and knowledge of scholastic theology. The abbot, on hearing of Pont's progress, soon sent Walter Hethon, another monk, who was also imbued with the love of study, to be instructed by the same master. After a time they were recalled to Kinloss, where Pont taught the younger brethren in scholastic questions, and Hethon was appointed to the office of cantor."

A library was also established in the monastery, and more than one of the abbots added to the number of its books. The volumes are said to have been set apart "in usum studentium in monasterio." Among the books added were the Old and New Testaments, Epistles of Jerome, Works of Ambrosius, Chrysostom, Gregory, Bernard, Augustine, the Summary and Commentaries of Aquinas, Commentaries on the Sentences of Scotus, the Sentences of Joannes Major, &c.

If many of the monasteries had shown the same interest in learning and theology, the popular feeling against them would hardly have gathered such force. But it is at any rate evident, that here and there among the monastic houses there was a desire to return to the old discipline, and an earnest endeavour to advance with the age in culture and learning.

We are fortunate, also, in having preserved to us a letter (dated 1522) from ALEXANDER MYLN, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, afterwards first president of the College of Justice, to the Abbot of the Monastery of St Victor at Paris. It is worthy of being quoted, as it throws a good deal of light on the position of education in well-conducted monasteries of that date, and on ideas regarding it held by eminent churchmen. Like other institutions, Cambuskenneth had apparently fallen from the high standard of earlier times; but Myln's predecessor had intended to introduce some stringent measures of reform, with a view, if possible, to restore the ancient discipline, and something of the old zeal for learning. This abbot had not succeeded in carrying out his plans, and Myln was apparently determined to go on with the scheme, which had fallen through. With a view to this, he is anxious to have some of his novices educated at Paris, and writes as follows—

"Through the carelessness of others, many things pertaining to the religious rites and ornament of our monastery have fallen into desuetude, so the study of literature, which in an especial manner is the province of us ecclesiastics, has been quite forgotten, and unless it be promoted, will cease to exist. For which nothing is more wanting than a number of learned men—a class which, although at one time abounding among us, is now almost extinct and cannot readily be called into existence, unless we send forth some of our novices of the most promising parts to universities where the prosecution of literature is most active. Nor do we think that we should have made sufficient provision in the matter were they to devote themselves merely to secular studies. Hence it is that we desire that some of our novices should be educated in your college, that they may be imbued with the morals and observances of your most perfect rule, and may derive a familiar knowledge of sacred literature: and having attained to proficiency therein may show to others the light, and a good example to be followed in the strictest observance of religion.

"Wherefore be so good as to inform us by this messenger what your sentiments on the subject are, and what may be required for the maintenance and clothing and other expenses of an ecclesiastic *per annum*, that we may repay you the same at certain terms."

Apparently an arrangement was come to between the two abbots, for shortly after some Scottish novices were sent to Paris to be educated.

Regarding this letter, Sir Alexander Grant makes the following remarks: "The terms of this document throw a strange light upon the relations, or rather want of relations, subsisting between the Regular clergy of Scotland and the universities in the sixteenth century. For the means of reforming and educating his fraternity, Myln turns, not to the Scotch universities, but to Paris; and yet Pope Alexander VI., in his bull of 1500, had constituted the Abbot of Cambuskenneth one of the protectors of the University of Aberdeen: and in his indulgence had encouraged the members of all the religious orders (except the Mendicants) to go and study at that university. Evidently the Augustinian of Cambuskenneth had not acted upon this encouragement. Myln's letter shows an attitude of standing aloof from the Scotch universities which is not creditable to a prelate otherwise so able and enlightened."

NINIAN WINZET was one of "the more worthy masters" whose appointment the Church in its Provincial Council of 1549 thought necessary in the cause of education and religion.

This distinguished schoolmaster, who dared to enter the lists even against the redoubtable Knox, was born at Renfrew in the year 1518. He took the orders of priesthood, and was in time appointed master of the grammar school of Linlithgow, which was then a town of considerable importance. It had a flourishing collegiate church, and in its palace the court often took up its residence. He evidently threw his whole heart into his work as a teacher, like a man who had found his true calling. His learning and culture he devoted to the highest ends, and realising the importance and responsibility of his work, he aimed at educating his pupils not only in grammar but in virtue and the fear of God. The "maist flurissant part" of his life was spent in Linlithgow grammar school, and by the influence of his earnest personality and the thoroughness of his work he won great favour among the people of the town, and was promoted to the provostship of the collegiate church.

After he had taught with success for some ten years the Reformation conflict arose, and being a staunch upholder of the old faith and the ancient Church, he was, in 1561, "expellet and schott out of that my kindly toun," because he refused to sign the Confession of Faith.

In the theological war which ended in the establishment of Protestantism, Winzet took an active part, and brought his experience as a schoolmaster to aid him in the ecclesiastical arena. He had drawn up the main questions at issue between the supporters of the old Church and the reformers into a set of scholastic exercises, which he gave to his pupils for daily themes. The boys were, to use his own words, "humane childer of happy ingynis, mair apt to leir than I was to teche, to quhom I usit to propone almaist daily some theme, argument, or sentence of the quhilk I wald haif them intending to mak orisone or epistle in Latin tong, and I thocht this matter of seditioun a convenient theme." The Book of Four Scoir Three Questions was therefore a handbook of dogmatics originally compiled as a text-book for his scholars.

Like Luther, Loyola, and Knox, he recognised the salutary importance of the education of the young both to the Church and State. "I jugeit the teching of the youthhead in virtue and science next after the authority of the ministers of justice, and the angelical office of godly pastors, to obtain the third place maist commodious and necessary to the Kirk of God. Yea, so necessary thocht I it, that the due charge and office of the prince and prelate without it is to them after my judgment, wondrous pynefull and almaist importable, and yet little commodious to the commonwealth till unfeigned obedience and true godliness when the people is rude and ignorant: and contrary by the help of it to the youthhead, the office of all potentates is light to them and pleasant to the subjects."

He laments that grammar schools have been so little encouraged in the past. "The singular utility (of education) to the commonwealth caused me to marvel greatly how in times passed amang sa great liberality and rich donations made in Scotland of sundry foundations to religion and science, that sa little respect has ever been had to the grammar schools (quhairin commonly the most happy and first seeds of the same commonwealth are sown): that in many towns there is not so muckle provided thereto as a common house; and in none almost of all a sufficient life to a teacher."

Some three hundred years afterwards, in 1867, a commissioner, appointed by her Majesty to report on the grammar schools of Scotland, says, "The most striking feature of these schools is their lack of endowments"!

The importance of the question of education at such a critical time as that in which he lived, was fully realised by Winzet, and like other reformers—both within and without the Church—he gave clear expression to his feeling on the subject. He saw that there was a danger of ignorance vaulting into the seat of knowledge—of men claiming the right of private judgment, without taking the trouble of qualifying themselves by education to exercise that right. He was grieved to find that "at this time, when men presses to reform all cause of ignorance and abuse, that so few children were holden at the study of science and specially of grammar. The contempt herefore I conjectured to be a great portent and foretaking of ignorance and many confused errors likely to come—viz., since now all men will be theologians and curious searchers of the high mysteries of God."

But in his depression at the outlook "being dreary and dolorous for the division in God's Kirk," he called to mind "that he had been privileged to teach humane children of happy ingynis." And "as having affection to my kind disciples and glad and godly exercise sometime with them, began I almost for pastime and some mitigation of my displeasure to write these declamations (viz., the Third Tractate), that is a form of ditement for cause of exercise and private study as uses to be in schools."

Winzet, as a schoolmaster, evidently taught his pupils to think on the important questions of the time, as well as to know grammar and the elements of Latin.

Expelled from his position at Linlithgow by the zeal of the reformers, he fled to Louvain in

September 1562, and was specially recommended to the general of the Jesuit order as worthy of a scholastic appointment. We hear of him reading Ascham's Scholemaster in 1567 along with the good Bishop Leslie. Finally, he was appointed to the important position of Abbot of Ratisbon, and in that office he did much good service for the Scotch colleges on the Continent. His death took place in 1592.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SCHEME OF THE REFORMERS.

The "First Book of Discipline."

THE scheme which at first promised to be the Magna Charta of Scottish education never received Parliamentary sanction. It is contained in the chapter of the "First Book of Discipline" devoted to schools. To carry out its provisions, a large sum of money was needed, and the reformers proposed to appropriate for that purpose a share of the ancient patrimony of the Church. But the nobles, as we have seen, had determined that they themselves should enjoy the revenues of the old Church, and had already begun to seize the spoil. The appropriation clauses were, therefore, in themselves quite sufficient to prevent the "Book of Discipline" from being ratified. But there were other striking features of the new scheme of Church polity which also militated against its acceptance. "Some approved it," writes Knox himself in his History, "others, perceiving their carnal liberty and worldly commodity to be impaired thereby, grudged insomuch that the name of the 'Book of Discipline' became odious unto them."

Knox, in many respects, was influenced by Calvin, and wished to establish in Scotland a theocratic system of government similar to that already established in Geneva. The old system which had just fallen was a theocracy subordinated to the papal court of Rome; one of the reasons for its fall was, that the people of Scotland could no longer put up with an *imperium in imperio.* The system proposed in the scheme of the commissioners was also a theocracy — differing from Catholicism in being autonomous. Temporal, as well as spiritual power was to be given to the new Church, and its laws would have interfered with the supremacy of Parliament. With the wealth and power which the "Book of Discipline" would have conferred, a new ecclesiastical tyranny would have been set up, and society would have been at the mercy of the ministers and the General Assembly. The very spirit that led to the Reformation made this feature of the book intolerable. It was perhaps well for the cause of freedom and progress that the scheme, as a whole, did not become law. Maitland of Lethington — the shrewdest and most influential statesman of his time—who had been touched by the free, secular spirit of the Renaissance, was determined that ecclesiastical bonds should never again weigh so heavily upon the nation. He saw that the proposals of Knox meant "a domestic inquisition and a social censorship," the "revival of the classical republic or the oriental theocracy," and were incompatible with the sacredness of individual rights, and the freedom of the individual conscience, which the Renaissance and the Reformation had taught men in some measure to recognise and value. It was not difficult for him, with the greed of the nobles to assist his policy, to secure that the scheme should fall through, even though supported by all the enthusiasm and influence of Knox. And perhaps, after all, it was better to have Scotland free than Scotland endowed and educated. The misfortune for the schools and colleges, was, that their interests should have been so closely mixed up with the more objectionable parts of Knox's scheme that its failure meant their lasting loss.

In Germany, Switzerland, and England, the reformers had succeeded in appropriating a large share of the revenues of churches and monasteries to establish and endow schools and colleges.

An excellent and comprehensive, if not faultless, scheme of national education was drawn up in the "Book of Discipline," and it is a pity that Maitland and other statesmen did not seize upon its main ideas, and use their influence to establish a national system on the lines there suggested. But the State was not yet prepared to do the traditional work of the Church, and it was left for the Church still to battle for the cause of education, and to struggle to realise some small part of Knox's scheme. The clergy had still to educate municipalities and parliaments to fully appreciate the necessity of schools, and for a long time after the Reformation they alone had much interest in their welfare. "Here, then," says Dr Cunningham, speaking of the "First Book of Discipline," "we have a parochial system of education chalked out, a system whose foundations were laid amid such humble literature as the peasantry could receive, but whose pinnacles reached to the highest regions of learning; a system starting from the village school and ending with the university. It was the foreshadow of the system which was afterwards realised in our country, but the shadow was more perfect than the reality. While we may not approve of its every detail, in all its leading outlines it discovers a genius for policy, worthy of the greatest statesman."

It was on the 29th of April 1560 that the Privy Council of Scotland appointed prominent reformers to prepare the "Book of Discipline" for the new Church:—

John Winram, Sub-prior of St Andrews; John Spottiswood, John Willock, John Douglas, Rector of St Andrews; John Rowe, and John Knox.

The *Preface* to this famous book gives a brief history of its origin and scope. It is addressed to the "Great Counsell of Scotland, now admitted to the Regiment by the Providence of God, and by the Common Consent of the Estaittis thereof," and is dated from Edinburgh, the 20th May 1560.

"From your Honouris we receaved a charge requiring and commanding us in the name of God to commit to writing, and in a Buke to deliver unto your wisdomes our judgmentes touching the Reformation of Religion quhilk heirtofore in this realme (as in utheris) has been utterlie corrupted. Upone the recept quhairof, sa mony of us as were in this toune, did convene, and in unitie of mind do offer unto your wisdomes, these Headis subsequent for common ordour and uniformitie to be observed in this realme, concernyng Doctrine, administratione of Sacramentis, election of Ministers, Provision for their sustentation, Ecclesiastical Discipline, and Policy of the Kirk, &c."

It is with the chapter devoted to schools that we are chiefly concerned, and to it we shall confine our attention.

Arrangements, more or less similar to those of the "Book of Discipline," for the establishment and regulation of schools are to be found in the ecclesiastical ordinances of Germany, France, and Geneva, and to these we have referred in an earlier chapter. Spottiswood says that the scheme of the "Book of Discipline" had been formed by Knox, partly in imitation of the Reformed Churches of Germany, partly of what he had seen in Geneva. We shall here give the main provisions for the system which Knox wished to establish in Scotland, with such explanations as may be necessary to illustrate the bearing of each paragraph on the earlier and later history of education, and more especially the position and standpoint of the reformers.

The Preamble.

"Seeing that the office and dewtie of the godlie magistrat is nocht only to purge the Churche of God from all superstitioun, and to set it at libertie from bondage of tyrranis; but also to provide, to the uttermost of his power, how it may abide in the same puretie to the posterities following; we cannot but frelie communicat our judgmenteis with your Honouris in this behalf."

"Seing that God hath determined that his Churche heir in earth shall be taught not be angellis but by men; and seing that men ar born ignorant of all godlynes; and seeing, also, now God cessaith to illuminat men miraculuslie, suddenlie changing thame, as that he did his Apostlis and utheris in the Primitive Churche; off necessitie it is that your Honouris be most cairful for the virtuous education, and godlie upbringing of the youth of this realme, yf eathir ye now thirst unfeanedlie for the advancement of Christis glorie, or yet desire the continewance of his benefits to the generation following. For as the youth must succeed till us, so aucht we to be cairfull that thai have the knowledge and eruditione to profit and comfort that whiche auchte to be most deare to us, to wit, the Churche and spouse of the Lord Jesus."

The reference to the duties of the godly magistrate reminds us of Luther's appeal (1525) to the burgomasters of the towns of Germany, urging them to establish and maintain schools. This appeal was so widely disseminated that there can be little doubt the reformers were acquainted with it.

The preamble here takes it for granted that the magistrate not only has a right, but that it is even his "office and duty," (1) to purge the Church from error and tyranny, and (2) to provide for its permanent purity. The assumption is a large one for the time, and one that many, even to-day, will not admit. Without discussing the relation of the magistrate or the State to the Church, we are glad to welcome this definite recognition of the duty of the State towards education. "Of necessity it is that your Honours be most careful for the virtuous education and godly upbringing of the youth of this realm." The Act of 1496 had already asserted that the State claimed the right to foster education, by compelling the sons of landowners to attend the grammar schools and universities; and the Reformed Church is apparently now both willing to admit this right of the State, and anxious to insist upon it. This is the more remarkable, as the claims put forth by the reformers, and by the "Book of Discipline" itself, on behalf of the supremacy of the Church in social and educational matters, as well as in the purely ecclesiastical sphere, are very strong. Underneath their claims there lies the consciousness that the citizens, in their political capacity, must now have an influence in social and educational arrangements which they could never claim while the old Church reigned in the land.

The devolution of functions had begun — the secularisation of law, literature, and education was making progress—the definite sphere of the Church was beginning to be differentiated. But the Church was still to be closely and honourably connected with national education for many generations, and did not indeed surrender its work, as the chief encourager and supervisor of schools, until the State, in 1872, took the responsibility out of its hands.

The expression, "The duty of the godly magistrate," may suggest the classic dream of philosophic kings or the anointed judge of the Hebrew theocracy, but it foreshadows the wisdom of the modern State which, while it conserves as far as possible, the limits of individual liberty, concerns itself with the intellectual and moral well-being of its sons.

When it is laid down that the duty of the magistrate is to "purge the Church of God from superstition, and set it free from bondage of tyrants, and provide how it may abide in the same puritie," it seems to be implied that the Church and the State are but one—the divine and human sides of the same great institution. The culture that comes from education, the freedom of spiritual independence, and the permanence of what is good in the social order, are aims for the wise statesman today, as they were for the "godly magistrate" of Reformation days.

Knox's range of vision was necessarily limited, but in some respects it had the breadth of the widespread Reformation movement, which saw clearly that the deadliest enemy of superstition, and the surest liberator from every kind of tyranny is education.

"Educate your masters" is the policy recommended to society, in face of the new democratic conditions of the present day. The tyranny of an ignorant mob would be worse than the tyranny of a Church. The State has been wise enough to recognise the wisdom of the advice, and is slowly, but surely, extending and enlarging the range of education to meet the case; for a little knowledge only shifts the basis of superstition, and forges sharp-edged tools for the tyrants. It must be thorough to be successful. The rush-light only reveals the darkness, the clear day shows things as they are.

The reformers saw, also, that education was necessary, that the "Church might abide in purity." True education tends to give permanence to what is good in social arrangements, whether connected with Church or State. It shows, by precedents from history, that there must have been something of positive good in whatever has secured a footing for itself in the social structure, but that changing conditions require elasticity and adaptability in creeds and forms. Progress and permanence may thus be secured.

"God hath determined that his Church shall be taught not be angellis but by men," and "now cessaith to illuminat men miraculuslie." There is a flavour of quaint humour about these statements, from which time has not stolen the salt and savour. Any one who is acquainted with the story of Scottish education till the State began to take it in hand, and especially of the position of most teachers in regard to income and consideration, must recognise not only the pith of the humour, but also a touch of prophetic insight in these old phrases. The schoolmaster in Scotland—both in the parish and in the burgh—has needed an angelic power of self-denial. Small share of the good things of this world has been his. Beggarly incomes, hard work, lack of social consideration, and liability to untrained criticism have made the profession in the past, one which few capable men cared to follow, except as a stepping-stone to something better. Even to-day, parents, school managers, and school examiners need to be reminded of the old caution of Knox, that children are taught, "not by angels but by men," and that miracles of intellectual illumination are the exception and not the rule. The higher work, especially in secondary schools, demands teachers of great ability, culture, and energy, but the payment usually offered for their services is quite out of proportion to their standing as educated men, and the results expected of them.

It is noticeable, even from the words of the preamble, that the end of education which the reformers had in view was not the low one of commercial and worldly success for the individual or the nation, but the highest weal of the community, "the virtuous education and godlie upbringing of the youth of this realm," "to profit and comfort the Church and spouse of the Lord Jesus."

The phraseology has nothing in it that suggests the influence of the Renaissance; the point of view seems the same as had prevailed for many centuries. But the Church was now the nation—Scotland as an organised community of moral and spiritual beings. It is impossible at the present day to use the same language, for the State has now taken upon itself many duties which formerly devolved upon the Church, and the Church is so broken up that it is difficult for the ordinary mind to think of it otherwise than as something apart from the State. But making allowance for Knox's point of view, we can recognise his aim to be (1) the moral culture of the child, (2) the highest good of the community.

There is a danger at the present day, when the struggle for existence is intense, and the useful and the practical are loudly demanded, that these higher aims should be lost sight of. True education is an end in itself, as well as a means to an end. To be something is, after all, better than to get something. The higher and all real education is in danger when subjects and methods of teaching are valued only in proportion to their relation to the earning of bread. The scales in which usefulness and worth are to be weighed are not those of the money-changer.

The Proposals for Establishing Schools.

"Off necessitie thairfore we judge it, that everie severall churche have a scholmaister appointed, suche a one as is able, at least, to teache grammer and the Latine toung, yf the toun be of any reputatioun. Yf it be Upaland, whaire the people convene to doctrine bot once in the weeke, then must eathir the reidar or the minister thair appointed, take cayre over the children and youth of the parishe, to instruct them in their first rudimentis, and especiallie in the Catechisme, as we have it now translaited in the Booke of our Common Ordour, callit the Order of Geneva. And, farther, we think it expedient, that in everie notable toun, and especiallie in the toun of the superintendent, there be erected a colledge, in which the artis, at least logick and rethorick, together with the tongues, be read be sufficient maisters, for whom honest stipendis must be appointed; as also provisioun for those that be poore, and be nocht able by them selfis, nor by their friendis, to be sustened at letteris, especiallie such as come from Landwart."

We have here a three-fold arrangement for the supply of education throughout the country.

1st. In country districts the reader or minister of the parish is to be responsible for the instruction of the young in the rudiments of education, and especially in the elements of religious instruction.

2nd. Every church in towns of any importance is to have a schoolmaster appointed, capable of teaching grammar and the Latin tongue.

3rd. Every important town, especially the ten towns which were named as the seats of the Protestant superintendents or bishops, was to be the seat of a college or high school, in which the languages and the arts of logic and rhetoric were to be taught.

There was to be a sufficient staff of masters, paid with "honest" stipends. Provision was also to be made for the poor, that they might be able to send their capable children to these high schools, more especially for the poor of country districts which were remote from such centres.

Had this scheme been carried out in its entirety, and allowed its natural development, we should have had in Scotland long ago a well-organised system of elementary, secondary, and university education. The wealth of the endowments, supplemented by private benefactions, would have spread the advantages of education to every corner of the land, and would doubtless have secured, long before this, professional training and standing for the teacher.

The connection of the schools with the universities by means of an entrance examination, which was, we shall see, one of the other provisions, would have raised the standard of scholarship and learning, both in the schools and in the universities.

But it must be carefully borne in mind, that the ratification of the scheme contained in the "Book of Discipline" would not have meant the establishment in Scotland of various grades of schools which had never previously existed. There were schools, as well as universities, before the days of Knox. It is a popular error, supported by the "Book of

Discipline" itself, to give to Knox the whole credit for the establishment of parochial schools. As a matter of fact, though the Reformed Church did its utmost, in the face of great difficulties, to give effect to this part of the "Book of Discipline," it was not till 1616 that an Act of the Privy Council was passed, appointing a school in every parish. But as this and the later Statutes of 1633 and 1646 were not very successful in effecting the desired end, it may be said that the Act for Settling of Schools of 1696 was the real basis of the national parochial system for which Scotland was famous. This system came to an end only in 1872, when popularly elected School Boards were instituted by the Education Act of Lord Young.

We have already seen that, at the time of the Reformation, parochial schools had been in existence for centuries; that grammar schools had arisen, in connection with the cathedrals, the monasteries, and the collegiate churches, in all towns of any importance, and were gradually passing from the control and patronage of the Church into the hands of the Town Councils; and that sang schools had also been established, especially in towns where there were cathedral and collegiate churches.

What the "Book of Discipline" really attempted to do, was first to obtain parliamentary sanction and powers for the organisation of these schools, next to set apart for their use a fair proportion of the endowments of the monasteries and the temporalities of the churches, and to connect the schools with the universities by an entrance examination.

In one sense the success of the scheme would have been a backward movement, for the grammar schools had been freeing themselves from the control of the Church and passing into the management of the municipal authorities. But Knox proposed that the Church should not only have the responsibility and control of the parish schools in country districts, but should also have the patronage and control of the grammar schoolmasters in the smaller towns, and probably also of the masters of the colleges or high schools in the more important centres. Considering how well known some of the grammar schools were at the time of the Reformation, it is somewhat surprising to find that the framers of the "Book of Discipline" speak as if the whole work of establishing schools of every kind had to be undertaken from the very beginning, and make only the slightest reference to the institutions which had already educated many generations of Scotchmen, and which, sixty years before, had been recognised in a compulsory Act of Parliament.

We welcome in the "Book of Discipline" the desire for parliamentary powers and suitable endowments. The parish school of the past had depended too much upon the energy of the individual bishop and the zeal of the individual priest, and when indolence and corruption had eaten into the heart of the early Church, the parish school was doubtless often neglected. And the grammar schools, though in some cases flourishing and successful institutions, certainly needed a share of some national endowment, both to provide them with suitable buildings and to provide fair stipends for the masters. Ninian Winzet laments that "in many towns there is not so muckle provided thereto as a common house, and in none almost of all a sufficient life to a teacher." The Reformed Church reached forth her hands to the State for assistance in putting these schools on a sounder basis; there was an excellent opportunity to grant her request, but the national rulers were not yet ripe by fully three centuries for the recognition of the nation's duty to the nation's schools.

The provision to be made for education in country parishes is worthy of special attention, for there "the reader or minister" is to be required to "take care over the children and youth, to instruct them in their first rudiments, and especially in the Catechism." The parish minister, in other words, is also to be the parish schoolmaster. This, we have already seen, was the custom from an early period in Scotland—and though the duties were often neglected, it continued to exist up to the time of the Reformation and even for a generation after it. It was a custom that prevailed in other countries also. Probably Knox and his coadjutors were quite familiar with the practice in their own early years.

The chief thing insisted on for these country schools is a knowledge of religious doctrine.

The Advantages to be expected from the System.

"The frute and commoditie heirof shall suddenlie appear.

"For, *first*, the youtheid and tender children sall be nurischit and brocht up in virtue, in presence of thair freindis; by whose good attendance many inconvenientis may be avoided, in the which the youth commonlie fallis, eather by too muche libertie, whiche thai have in strange and unknawin placis, whill they cannot rule them selfis; or ellis for lacke of gude attendence, and of such necessiteis as thair tender aige requireth."

"*Secoundarlie.*—The exercise of the children in everie churche shall be great instructioun to the aigeit."

"*Last.* — The great schollis callit universiteis, shall be replenischit with those that be apt to learnyng."

The first advantage mentioned, from the spread of suitable schools all over the country, is that the education of the children shall not necessitate separation from parents and the influence of the family circle. It has been often urged, in recent times, that the operation of the Education Act of 1872 has tended in the opposite direction. The parochial system, as finally established in Scotland in 1696, had given parents the opportunity of securing an education in higher subjects for their children without sending them away from the care and comforts of home. But the Act which abolished the system practically abolished also all higher education from the country schools. And hence, in many small towns and villages, parents of the higher artisan and middle classes could no longer give their children a fair education, and at the same time keep them under the influence of the parental roof. The home influences, which educate the emotions, and sink deeper into the heart than any others, had to give place to the influences of strangers. The shaping of the life was taken too soon out of the parents' hands. The moral training suffered for the sake of the intellectual.

Fortunately this complaint of the people in country towns and rural districts is likely soon to be removed, for the recent Act (1892) will provide a higher education sufficient for the ordinary needs of life within the reach of all.

What the law of the land made necessary for one class, the law of fashion seems to have made as necessary for another.

Centralisation is a characteristic of the modern education of the better classes. Boys, and even girls, of tender years are sent away from home just when their characters are most impressible—in the very moulding time of their lives, — and their whole education, as well as instruction, is handed over to strangers. Education is much more than instruction—it covers the whole training for wise conduct in life. And nature, religion, and politics all recognise it as a principle that the parent should be for a considerable time the chief educator of his child. The boarding-school relieves the parent of a large share of his responsibility, and undertakes both to instruct, and to give the discipline and training of education. Dr Arnold was the first to popularise the public boarding-school as an instrument for "realising the higher aspirations of Christian civilisation," and many parents in Scotland now prefer to transfer their responsibilities to the schoolmaster, and let their children face the battle of life at an early age.

With this, Knox and the reformers were not in sympathy. In the days before the Reformation scholars had often to wander far for their education. Some received it from the monks in a monastery, some in the grammar schools, but for their higher education many still went abroad to Paris or some other famous school. Knox must have known of the wandering teachers and scholars of Germany—the Bacchants and A B C shooters. The former journeyed from place to place, earning a precarious livelihood with teaching, and the boys who went with them, in return for the little education they received, had to forage for victuals — begging, borrowing, or stealing the necessaries of life. In some cities there are said to have been some thousands of these Bacchants and their scholars all together at one time.

The "First Book of Discipline" recognises the value of the parental influence in education. The moral dangers which threaten the young, when they are cast adrift among strangers before their characters are formed, would be avoided by the establishment of good schools at convenient distances from the children's homes. And the physical dangers, arising from the lack of proper care and attention at a tender age would not need to be faced, if the children were thus able to remain under the care of their parents.

The commissioners who lately reported on the schools of Germany are in accord with Knox's position in this matter. For they recommend that the school should be more closely allied with the family in the work of education than it has yet been —the intellectual influences of the school blending with the moral influences of the home, in such a way as to develop the whole nature and character of the child. Teacher and parent should thus be co-operating for one common end.

The *second* good result mentioned is that "the exercise of the children in every church shall be great instruction to the aged."

The primary meaning of this seems to be that the public instruction and catechising of the children in the doctrines of religion within the church, and as part of the church service, would have also a valuable educational influence on their parents and seniors. It is admitted on all hands, that for some time prior to the Reformation, religious instruction had fallen to a very low ebb. The satirists on this account were ever attacking the clergy—

"That callit ar preistes, and can nocht preche,
Nor Christis law to the pepill teche."

Lyndsay makes Kitty say in her confession—

"He teichit me nocht for till traist
The comfort of the Haly Ghaist,
To lufe my nichtbour as mysell
Of this na thing he culd me tell.
But gave me pennance, ilk ane day
Ane Ave Maria for to say."

Bishop Leslie himself says that "the people, neglected by the clergy, and uninstructed in the Catechism in their tender years, had no sure and certain belief." And the Statutes of the various Provincial Councils, which enjoined the clergy to take active steps for the better instruction of their flocks, put the fact beyond question.

The reformers recognised the necessity of thoroughly grounding the people in the doctrines and principles of their faith, and were quite aware that the older as well as the younger members of the community needed to be enlightened. We have seen that the ordinances of the Reformed Churches of Germany fixed certain times for giving religious instruction to the young, which were so arranged that the older people might also benefit.

So we find that, possibly acting on this suggestion of Knox, the Reformed Church of Scotland made the instruction of the children a means of teaching the senior members of the congregation. James Melville tells us that the minister of Montrose, Mr Thomas Anderson, "desired me ever to rehearse a part of Calvin's Catechism on the Sabbaths at afternoon." In 1604 the Kirk Session of Aberdeen arranged, for the edification of the "common people and servants," that every Sunday two scholars of the English school should stand up in front of the pulpit and question each other, in hearing of the people, upon the Catechism, &c., that by frequent repetition the people might acquire a thorough knowledge of its doctrines.

And we find that the schoolmaster of Dunfermline was expected to have his pupils ready to go through the same exercise, that the "people might hear and learn, it *being used in other kirks*."

We can see, also, that the education of the child has a moral value to the parent. It maintains a feeling of responsibility, keeps alive an intellectual interest and energy, which the labours of life might otherwise destroy; and it renews and enlarges the parents' own knowledge, for the young generation is always receiving some fresh light which was denied to the old.

The *third* and last advantage is, that the great schools or universities shall be replenished with those that be apt to learning. A succession of capable and well prepared men would pass from the schools to the universities; and, as there was to be an entrance examination instituted, the mere desire for a university education would not admit a man unless he had reached the necessary standard. The passing of such a provision as this would undoubtedly have improved the whole education of the country—both in school and college—and the standard of Scottish scholarship and culture would have been raised to a higher level than it has yet been able to reach.

It was, apparently, the desire of Knox and his colleagues that all capable scholars of whatever estate should be sent on to the universities, to prosecute the higher learning there. Their socialistic idea was that intellectual gifts belonged not to the individual or his parents but to the community. Such gifts, when discovered by the Church's inspectors, were to be fully developed, that the Church and the commonwealth might reap the advantage of them. And *vice versâ*, those without the natural parts and aptitude for learning were to turn their attention to some sphere of duty which they were fitted for.

"The round man for the round hole" was their excellent, if Utopian, policy. It was Platonic, alike in its wisdom and its impracticability. It assumed that individual ambitions would always be commensurate with individual talents, and would submit to be limited by the guidance and control of the Church.

It is doubtless desirable that wisdom should be at the helm, and that men should devote themselves to duties which their endowments qualify them to perform; but the dream of a State in which perfect justice reigns is not yet realised. The philosopher is not yet raised to the throne. Modern society must progress to its goal through the free play of individual powers and energies, and will allow its liberty to be restrained only by its own action in Parliament.

The history of the "replenishing" of the university classes for more than three hundred years is the best proof that the plan of the commissioners was for the time but a dream.

It was a dream, however, capable of a large fulfilment. And strange to say, this very year of grace (1892-1893) has been fated to see the realisation of two leading points in the scheme—a national endowment for secondary education, and the institution of an entrance examination into the universities.

The Compulsory Clause.

"For this must be cairfullie provideit, that no fader, of what estait or conditioun that ever he be, use his children at his awin fantasie, especiallie in thair youthheade; but all must be compelled to bring up thair children in learnyng and virtue. The riche and potent may not be permitted to suffer thair children to spend thair youth in vane idleness, as heirtofore thei have done. But they must be exhorted, and by the censure of the Church compelled to dedicat their sones by good exercise to the profit of the Churche and to the commonwealthe; and that thei must do of thair awin expenses, becaus thei are able. The children of the poore must be supported and sustenit on the charge of the Churche, till tryell be tackin, whether the spirit of docilitie be fund in them or not. Yf thei be fund apt to letteris and learning, then may thei not (we meane neathir the sonis of the riche, nor yit the sonis of the poore), be permittit to reject learnyng; but must be chargeit to continew their studie, sa that the commonwealthe may have some comfort by them.

"And for this purpose must discreit, learned, and grave men be appointed to visit schollis for the tryell of their exercise, proffit and continewance."

Sparta had furnished an example of a State assuming to itself the right to control the entire life of the citizen, and educate him according to its own system. Up to the age of seven the child was entrusted to the care of its mother; but the State, by the regulation of marriage and the preservation of only healthy infants, had even earlier asserted its interest in the boy. But after that age the public education began, and was considered necessary for the enjoyment of the full rights of free citizens.

Plato, both in the Republic and in the Laws, had evidently an idealised Sparta in his mind.

His city-state was a foreshadowing of the modern Church in the zenith of its influence and power. But in his ideal Republic, Church and State were one. He desired his State to be the embodiment of the highest revealed and discovered good, with authority to use all necessary means of suasion and coercion to educate and build up a people inspired by its principles.

The wise rulers of Plato's Republic correspond to the "godly ministers" of the reformers, and the utmost care was to be taken in choosing and educating them. In the Laws (Jowett, vii. p. 732) Plato makes the following statement as to the relation of parents to their children: "They (the scholars) shall come (to the schools), not only if their parents please, but if they do not please, and if their education be neglected, there shall be compulsory education, of all and sundry, as the saying is, so far as this is possible; and the pupils shall be regarded as belonging to the State rather than to their parents."

Aristotle would give the State similar powers in education, and practically regulate man's life from the cradle to the grave. Education, he held, must be both public and compulsory. "No man ought to think that he is his own, but all that they are the State's." To those old philosophers the moral and spiritual life of the community seem fit subjects for the State's control and guidance. They believed that society needs a spiritual authority; and the rise of the Christian Church within the State is a proof that, at least in the earlier stages of social development, their belief was well founded. The trend of progress towards the "moralising of politics and the socialising of morals" shows that the ideas of the Church have permeated society, given a higher tone to public life, and widened the political horizon. The Church has educated the State to perform many of her functions, and so narrowed her own power as a separate organisation by the very success of her influence.

Calvin had established in Geneva a theocratic polity, in which the ecclesiastical had usurped all the powers of the civil estate. There "the Church became the State, breach of ecclesiastical discipline was crime, innovation in dogma was treason."

And the reformers in Scotland were anxious, not indeed to assume the whole civil authority, but to persuade the State, through its Parliament, to hand over to the Church complete control over the individual citizen in all matters religious and moral, and especially in the education of the young.

The powers were large, but they were to be delegated powers. The Church was not to be the State as in Geneva, but was to be the State department for promoting the religious, moral, and educational interests of the people, and for providing for the poor of the country.

It was provided, then, in this clause of the reformers' scheme that no father — rich or poor — should be allowed absolute discretion in the upbringing of his children: all classes of society were to be compelled to bring up the young in learning and virtue according to this scheme. The Church, by its exhortation and censure, was to have in its hands the power of compulsion. Under the Act of 1496 it was the State which had this power, and fines were to be imposed on those who did not obey the law.

The profit of the Church and the good of the community are the objects which were to be kept in view in training the children. To the furtherance of these objects they were to be "dedicated."

The rich and powerful were to educate and train their children at their own expense—the poor were to have provision made for them out of the funds at the disposal of the Church. Apparently something more than free education for the poor was to be supplied—their "children were to be supported and sustained" until it was discovered whether they had sufficient intellectual ability to make it desirable that they should prosecute the higher learning. Inspectors were to be appointed by the Church—partly, no doubt, to supervise the work of the schools; but principally to test the progress of pupils of all classes, and to decide which boys should be encouraged and, if necessary, compelled to devote their lives and their superior parts to the service of the Church and the higher work of the community. The board of inspectors was to be composed of "the ministers and elders, with the best learned in every town, who were every quarter to take examination how the youth had profited."

The sons, "neither of the rich nor of the poor," were to be allowed to reject learning, but were to be charged to continue their studies, if the inspectors found them "apt to letters."

It was in this way that our reformers would provide a regular succession of men for the higher offices and positions, that so (to use the words of Luther) "preachers, jurists, physicians, schoolmasters, and the like might not fail from among us." This Luther held to be incumbent on those in authority, and it was a duty which Knox was desirous that the Church should undertake with the sanction of Parliament. "If God shall move your hearts to establish and execute this order, and put these things in practice, your whole realm (we doubt not) within few years shall serve itself with true preachers and other officers necessary for your commonwealth."

Curriculum and Subjects.

The curriculum of the schools is sketched only in the broadest outline. "A certain time must be appointed to reading and to learning of the Catechism; a certain time to the grammar and to the Latin tongue; a certain time to the arts, philosophie, and to the (other) tongues, and a certain time to that study in which they intend chiefly to travel for the profit of the commonwealth. Which time being expired, we mean in every course, the children must either proceed to farther knowledge, or else they must be sent to some handicraft or to some other profitable exercise, provided always that first they have the form of knowledge of Christian religion—to wit, the knowledge of God's law and Commandments; the use and office of the same; the chief articles of our belief; the right form of prayer unto God; the number, use, and effect of the sacraments; the true knowledge of Christ Jesus, of his office and nature, and such other points as without the knowledge whereof neither ought any to be admitted to the participation of the Lord's table. And therefore these principles ought and must be learned in the youthhead."

The following paragraph gives more definite information regarding the length of time which was to be devoted to each subject—

"Two years we think more than sufficient to learn to read perfectly, to answer to the Catechism, and to have some little acquaintance with the first rudiments of grammar: to the full accomplishment whereof—we mean of the grammar—we think other three or four years at most sufficient.

"To the arts—to wit, logic and rhetoric, and to the Greek tongue, four years.

"And the rest till the age of twenty-four years to be spent in that study wherein the learner would profit the Church or commonwealth, be it the laws or physic or divinity.

"Which time of twenty-four years being spent in the schools, the learner must be removed to serve the Church or commonwealth, unless he be found a necessary reader (*i.e.*, professor or lecturer) in the same college or university."

THE COMMISSIONERS' PLANS FOR THE ERECTION OF UNIVERSITIES.

The expression used in the "Book of Discipline" would lead one to expect that new universities were to be founded in addition to those already in existence; but the word "erection" seems to have meant no more than reorganisation.

"The grammar schools and of the tongues being erected as we have said, next we think it necessary there be three universities in this whole realm, established in the towns accustomed. The first in St Andrews, the second in Glasgow, and the third in Aberdeen."

The idea of historical continuity in Church, school, or university was alien to the spirit of the reformers. They were so inspired by a belief in the hopeless badness of all that the Catholic Church had done, that they considered it necessary not to develop, but to make anew the old foundations. A fresh beginning had to be made in religion and education—true religion and real education were to start *de novo*. The past was only dark, and could give no guidance. Hence the scanty reference to the earlier schools and university constitutions. Sir Alexander Grant, in his "History of the University of Edinburgh" (I. p. 59), writes of the university scheme of the "Book of Discipline" as follows:—"Guided by experience of the past, and a knowledge of foreign schools, the commissioners evidently threw aside the mediæval notion that liberty of teaching, privileges to the incorporated teachers and students, and offices with high-sounding titles, would be sufficient to ensure the prosperity of a university. They saw that it was necessary to have a nucleus of adequately paid professors of fixed subjects. And they proposed to make these professors, or, as they called them, 'readers,' not university but college officers. The teaching requisite for the curriculum of a faculty was to be organised within a separate college."

At St Andrews, which is called the principal university, there were to be three colleges.

In the first college, which "is the entry of the university," there were to be four classes, viz., dialectic, mathematics, physics, and medicine. In the second college, two classes—moral philosophy and the laws. In the third, two classes—the first in the languages of Greek and Hebrew, the second in divinity.

A degree in philosophy was to be given by examination, to those who, after a three years' course in the first college, should be found sufficiently instructed in the sciences of dialectic, mathematics, and natural philosophy. After graduation in arts, the student had to choose one or other of the three professions — law, medicine, divinity—and prosecute his studies in the faculty or college which would equip him for its pursuit.

A five years' course at the second college was to be necessary for graduation in law, one year to be devoted to ethics, economics, and political philosophy, the other four to municipal and Roman law.

Degrees in divinity were to be given after a full course at the third college, which included a year of Greek and Hebrew and five years of divinity. The reader or professor of Greek was to take up a book of Plato, along with some part of the New Testament.

In Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities there were to be only two colleges. The first was to be devoted entirely to philosophy, the second was to include the necessary classes for graduation in law and divinity. Medicine was to be confined to St Andrews.

With regard to the privileges of the universities the "Book of Discipline" prescribes that "seeing we desire that innocence shall defend us rather than privilege, every person is to answer before the provost and bailies for all crimes of which he may be accused," but the rector is to be assessor in cases where members of the university are concerned. "The rector and inferior members are to be exempted from all taxations," or charges that may take them away from their proper duties, so that they may, "without trouble, wait upon the upbringing of youth" and "bestow their time only in the most necessary exercition."

The ideal of the reformers was that the university should be the coping stone of their graded and organised scheme of national education. It was to be the higher school, whose classes should be open only to those who, by previous training and proved ability, were able to benefit by them. The earlier university of the mediæval type, which their own foundations were to supersede, found it necessary to provide instruction in lower as well as higher subjects, and supplied the deficiency of school education by undertaking what would now be called the work of secondary schools. The scheme of the commissioners would have made such lower work unnecessary. The class lectures would be given in Latin, but every student would have acquired at the grammar school and high school all that was needed to enable him to profit by them. The school career of every candidate for admission to the university would imply that he had enjoyed some two years of primary and religious instruction, three years of Latin and grammar, and four years of Greek, logic, and rhetoric. The system of inspection would have secured that only capable boys, with nine or ten years of this school education, would present themselves at the door of the university. And there they would have to present a testimonial from the master of their school and the minister of their parish, who would represent the Church's local inspectors. But the university authorities were also to test their fitness by an entrance examination. It does not seem clear, however, whether the testimonial from the schoolmaster and minister might not secure admission by itself, and the university examination was merely to test the student's knowledge of dialectic, with a view to his immediate promotion to the second class and the reduction of his course in arts to a period of two years. The clauses dealing with entrance examinations are as follows—

Entrance Examinations.

"We think expedient that none be admitted into the first college, and to be supposts of the university, unless he have from the master of the school and the minister of the town where he was instructed in the tongues, a testimonial of his learning, docility, age, and parentage; and likewise trial to be taken by certain examiners deputed by the rector and principals of the same, and if he be found sufficiently instructed in dialectic, he shall incontinent that same year, be promoted to the class of mathematics."

"That none be admitted to the class of medicine but he that shall have his testimonial of his time well spent in dialectic, mathematics, and physics, and of his docility in the last."

"That none be admitted into the class of the laws, but he that shall have sufficient testimonials of his time well spent in dialectic, mathematics, physics, ethics, economics, and politics, and of his docility in the last."

"That none be admitted into the class of divinity but he that shall have sufficient testimonials of his time well spent in dialectics, mathematics, physics, ethics, economics, moral philosophy, and the Hebrew tongue, and of his docility in moral philosophy and Hebrew."

Thus, both for entrance into the university and for admission to the professional faculties within its halls, it was required that the student should give proofs both of industry and capacity.

It is interesting to notice that one of the changes brought about in Cambridge by Reformation ideas was the introduction in some of the colleges of an entrance examination. Thus, in St John's (1545) and Trinity, which was founded in 1546, it was ordained that pensioners were to show by examination such a knowlege of Latin and polite learning, as would enable them to pass the examination in the hall, and take part in the college disputations.

It is only at the present time that this scheme for securing the "replenishing" of the university classes with students properly equipped to take advantage of higher education is being practically realised. The session 1892-3 marks the beginning of the new era. For the first time in the history of the Scottish universities an entrance examination is made compulsory on all who intend to proceed to graduation. And, by a strange coincidence, the secondary education of the country is just receiving from the State that organisation and endowment which were necessary to make the road to the university open to all who are fit to travel in it. From this year (1893) we shall have in Scotland a graded system of education such as the reformers dreamed of; elementary education, free and good, leading up to secondary education, which will be within the reach of all who are fit to profit by it; and an entrance examination, admitting to the higher instruction to which the universities may now be expected to devote their attention. The Leaving Certificate, which represents no mean standard of equipment, is accepted as equivalent to this university test.

The idea of an entrance examination was not altogether new in Scotland. A Provincial Council of the Church in 1549 passed a Statute regarding the order to be observed in the study of grammar and dialectic at the universities. By this Statute it is provided that the rector of each university shall see that none be admitted to the schools of dialectic or arts except those who speak "Latiné et grammaticé," and that those who desire to study the art of dialectic shall be examined before admission. Further, that none are to be admitted to the degree of bachelor or master until they have proved their fitness by examination.

As the University of Glasgow had the honour of first widening its curriculum after the Reformation under Andrew Melville, so it was the first to adopt an entrance examination in more recent times. The University Commissioners have made such an examination necessary for all who desire to graduate in any of the Scottish universities, but their ordinance on this subject had already been anticipated by the authorities of Glasgow.

Professor Ramsay, of that university, after some trials, instituted an entrance examination for his own class in the session 1878-9. On the results of that examination, he divided all first year students into two classes—those who passed what was considered a sufficient university standard being put into the middle class; those who failed into the junior. The middle class was thus not retarded in its work by the presence of students not up to its standard; and the junior class, which was largely composed of students who had come up to the university rather late in life, and without sufficient preparation, received the instruction they really needed and were able to profit by. The system developed gradually, and in time no student was allowed to pass from the junior class *per saltum* into the senior, unless he could pass a qualifying examination at the beginning of the session.

In the year 1882-3 a similar system of entrance examinations was applied to all students under seventeen years of age in Greek and mathematics as well as Latin. No student under that age who failed, could attend any class qualifying for the degree, but he might attend a junior class as a private student.

By the institution of these examinations both school and college benefited. Students, on entering the university, were set to work which they were able to undertake. The classes were no longer miscellaneous, and subjects of study were properly graded. Boys at school knew that a certain standard had to be reached, and exerted themselves accordingly, and students of the junior class were put on their mettle, and worked hard to fit themselves for the senior class the following session.

The utterly incompetent had to face the truth at the outset, and turn their thoughts to some sphere in which intellectual ability was not insisted upon.

The establishment of Leaving Certificate examinations for schools has likewise had a most stimulating effect; and, now that a high standard of attainment is absolutely necessary for entrance to a university career, the level of Scottish education, both in the schools and universities, must soon reach high-water mark.

PART V.

SUBJECTS AND METHODS OF INSTRUCTION.
ARTISTIC, INDUSTRIAL, AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SUBJECTS OF INSTRUCTION IN SCOTTISH SCHOOLS.

THE great subject which the Celtic Church had to teach was Christianity. Its mission teachers had, in the sixth century, to deal with fierce and barbarous peoples quite unprepared for the developed literature of Greece and Rome. Their own lives were their chief lesson books. The self-denial, and the patient labour of the pious monk was an education: the monastery, with its religious zeal and untiring energy methodically devoted to manual labour, writing, and study, was in every district a centre of moral stimulus and spiritual quickening.

Moral and religious truth, and the idea of an organised society wider than the tribe, were gradually but surely instilled into the people. The organisation and labours of the Church prepared the way for civil unity and civil freedom. The lesson of the early Church was the transcendental one, "in the world, and yet not of it." In the Southern countries of Europe the Church had to struggle against paganism, and hold up the ascetic side of Christianity as the ideal against the sensuous culture of Greece which had penetrated the Roman world. The Church in early Scotland, on the other hand, had rude and fierce barbarians to convert, and it was by setting up the ideal of monastic asceticism, industrious toil, and pious contemplation that it secured for Christianity a permanent victory.

Like the Greek state, it had a system of life for its members. The true education for the Church therefore, implied not the imparting of ideas likely to unfit the mind for the full acceptance of that system, but the moulding of the life of the community in accordance with its ascetic ideal. The ritual and observance of the Church's ordinances in the matter of fasts and festivals, and the personal influence and example of the clergy, were the main agencies through which this was to be effected; literature or science and intellectual culture were merely secondary in importance.

We may criticise the aim, and the means by which the Church strove to attain it, as being narrow and one-sided, but we must remember that true education must ever be the development of a life or a type of character. The type may be higher or lower, may be fixed or capable of variety and expansion; and the means for developing the type may be good or bad.

But mere instruction is not education—it is only one of the means to that end. Courses of literature, or science, or technical handicraft can never usurp the throne of real education, which is the training and development of a type of character. After all, it is more important to produce good men (in the widest sense), than men who are merely learned or clever.

As the English public schools have for centuries aimed at producing the self-reliant gentleman, so the early Church strove to produce the devoted Christian. Its training was for the world to come, and for the advancement of Christ's Kingdom—the Church—upon earth. We have in later times widened the ideal, and made it less the expression of dogmas in life than a free development on natural lines. But we have to give the Church's system the credit of raising a rude people from barbarism, and laying a broad foundation of common thoughts and morals, and so preparing the way for citizenship and political unity, and for that common social culture and morality which distinguish the Western nations of Europe and their colonies from the rest of the world.

But the Celtic Church was by no means neglectful of literature as an instrument of education. The books which were chiefly used were naturally portions of the sacred writings. Columba himself, and the scribes of his monasteries, spent a great deal of time in copying these on parchment. The psalms and other religious hymns were learned by heart, and Latin, as well as Gaelic, was familiar to many of the pupils. Some two hundred manuscripts dating before A.D. 1000 still survive. They are nearly all in Latin except three or four in Greek, and as many which are partly in Gaelic. At an early period there were versions in Gaelic of the story of Troy, the Æneid, and the Thebaid, and through their influence something of classic reference is to be found in much of the native poetry before the Reformation. Greek, therefore, was not unknown, and there is evidence of some slight acquaintance with Hebrew. Men like Columbanus, Adamnan, and Cummian prove that it was possible to attain to a high degree of classical culture, and to a considerable knowledge of theology and Church history. The ability to write accurately and well on parchment or other material was held in great esteem, and, therefore, the Ferscribinn was an official of importance in the early monastery. The specimens of early manuscripts which have come down to us in the Books of Kells and Deer, &c., show that the art of writing was carried to the highest perfection.

Some knowledge of grammar must also have been imparted, and we find traces of the Latin grammars which had been used by Scotic monks. In the monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland, which was founded by Columbanus, there has been discovered a manuscript of Priscian with marginal notes in Gaelic, and another copy was found at Carlsrühe. The catalogue of the St Gall Library, dating from the ninth century, contains also the names of Virgil, Juvencus, and Prosper, and of a book of Bede's on Prosody. Altogether there are thirty-two volumes "Scotticé scripti." Iona for a long time was in touch with the monasteries of Ireland, and the influence of Irish culture, which in those days was equal to the highest in Europe, must have, in some degree, affected the Scottish monasteries also.

Strange to say, about one third of the collection of Gaelic MSS. in the Advocates' Library, dating from about 1450-1600, is devoted to medical and allied subjects. The men who wrote these manuscripts prove themselves to have been well abreast of the scientific literature of their time, such as it was. The physicians were hereditary like the bards, father handing on to son whatever of his own science and skill he could impart. The M'Leans of Skye, and the Bethunes of Mull were specially distinguished in this important profession. One member of the latter family, Fergus Bethune, cured Robert II. of a painful disease when the court physicians had failed. A charter still exists by which the king, to mark his gratitude, conveyed to this successful doctor a number of small islands on the West of Scotland. Though the office was hereditary, there was apparently a real scientific interest in their profession shown by these men, and the manuscripts are said to prove that they tried to extend their native knowledge by diligent perusal of the literature of early medicine.

Lindisfarne was the first centre and source of monastic influence on the South-Eastern part of Scotland, as far as the ancient kingdom of Northumbria extended.

The educational writings of the Venerable Bede must have been known and used in many other schools of Northumbria besides his own at Jarrow. This famous historian and teacher was born in the year 672, and at the age of seven entered the newly established monastery at Wearmouth, from which he was transferred when he was ten years old to the sister monastery of Jarrow. Aldhelm, in the South, had already written the first book for children, a treatise on Latin prosody, in the form of a dialogue between pupil and teacher, and also a collection of riddles and other puzzles in Latin verse, intended to interest the child, while it sharpened his wit and added a little instruction. Bede had doubtless heard of Aldhelm's educational work; at any rate, he set himself to provide for the pupils of the large monastic schools, in which he laboured for fully half a century, a series of digests of all the various branches of knowledge of his day. All the learning of the West was within his reach: Scotland, Rome, Canterbury met in the Northumbrian monasteries, and brought to Bede the treasures of their knowledge. He was not only a laborious student, but also a great teacher. He seems to have had his pupils in his mind throughout all his reading, and their needs led him to summarise and set down in clear arrangement and lucid Latin the results of his own study. Now he is drawing up for the boys a set of questions on a book of the Old Testament, now compiling a primitive dictionary, again writing an introduction to Natural Philosophy as it was known in his time—the "De Naturâ rerum." The last, in the original Latin and in an abridged form in Anglo-Saxon, is said to have been a standard book. Commentaries on Scripture, treatises on grammar founded upon Donatus, on arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, rhetoric, history, as represented by the lives of saints, theoretical and practical music, and elementary philosophy are accredited to his industrious pen and pedagogic enthusiasm. The cultured Abbot Benedict of Wearmouth, who often travelled abroad in search of books, and who first introduced foreign masons and glaziers to assist with monastic buildings, would doubtless keep him supplied with the best writings of the time. The fame of Bede and his works spread throughout Christendom, and there is no reason to doubt that within the kingdom of Northumbria, and probably in other parts of

Scotland, his books must have been known and used for the education of the young in the monasteries. Some of his writings are mentioned in the catalogue of the Scottish monastery of St Gall in the ninth century, and later, among the books belonging to the cathedral church of Glasgow.

We find that works, both of Aldhelm and Bede, were in the library of York where Alcuin laid the foundations of his fame as a teacher. It is indeed from one of his poems that we learn the names of the books contained in that famous school. As the influence of York was considerable all over Northumbria it may be well to mention some other authors whose books were in use there. Among the rest were Jerome, Augustine, Athanasius, Orosius, Basil, Chrysostom, Boethius; and of classical writers, Pliny, Aristotle, Virgil, Lucan, Statius, and Cicero. The grammars of Priscian and Donatus were also used.

Alcuin was born in 735, and in 782 entered the service of Charlemagne as tutor to the young princes, and educational adviser to the great emperor himself.

The assimilation of the native Church of Scotland with the Church of Rome, which began early in the eighth century and was completed by Queen Margaret and her sons about four hundred years afterwards, enables us to form a fairly accurate idea of the course of instruction generally followed, even though positive information may be very scanty. The desire for unity over the Christian Church, which characterised the policy of Rome, led to uniformity not only in dogma, discipline, and ceremonial, but also necessarily to a great extent in the text-books and courses of study in the schools. "The smallest school," says Green, "was European and not local."

Throughout Western Christendom from an early date the Trivium and the Quadrivium were the courses of instruction universally followed. It was on their lines that education was conducted in the schools of Charlemagne. When the universities began to attract to them ardent lovers of knowledge their curricula led the student, by the gateway of grammar, through the other subjects included in the Trivium and the Quadrivium up to theology, law, or medicine.

The subjects of the first or Trivial course were (1) grammar; (2) rhetoric; and (3) logic: of the second or Quadrivial course, (1) arithmetic or the science of numbers; (2) geometry, which included geography as taught in ancient authors; (3) music; (4) astronomy.

But circumstances, doubtless, modified this curriculum in both schools and universities. There were, at any rate, comparatively few who took the full course in the monastic and cathedral schools of Scotland. A little acquaintance with Latin grammar and the Latin language, some elementary arithmetic, and a practical knowledge of music, sufficient for the performance of the simpler services of the Church, probably constituted all the education which a large proportion of even the clergy received. Outside the ranks of the clergy the number who received even this very rudimentary instruction must have been very limited.

The barons and nobles despised literary culture as tending to effeminacy. The children of the common people, unless they were intended for the monastic or clerical life, had to face very early the hard work of earning their bread, so that they had no opportunity or encouragement to acquire anything but the barest rudiments of education. But it must be remembered that for the children of the poor the Church was the one way to rise in life. If a boy showed any disposition to learn, or was gifted with a musical voice, he might rise to the highest position in the land. What Langland, the author of "Piers Ploughman," said in 1392 regarding England was no less applicable to Scotland. "The child of a cobbler or beggar has but to learn his book. He will become a bishop and sit among the peers of the realm." The ambitious parent had therefore strong temptation to encourage his child in the study of grammar in the monastery school.

As the introduction to a mediæval education, and the basis of all the rest, Latin grammar was the chief subject of instruction in nearly all kinds of schools. Latin was the language of the school and of literature, and without it no progress could be made.

The great text-books were Priscian and Donatus, especially the latter. They were used not only in Scotland, but also in the schools and universities of England and the Continent.

Aelius Donatus, a Roman grammarian of the fourth century, wrote a book which seems to have been the foundation of the education of Europe in the middle ages. The name "Donat" came to be almost synonymous with grammar. In "Piers Ploughman" we have it referred to in the words, "my Donet for to learne." Andrew of Wyntoun was acquainted with it, and in his Chronicle informs us of the position which the book occupied in the schools of his day—

> "*Donate* then was in his state,
> That now bairnes uses to lere
> At thaire begynnyng of gramere."

An edition of Donatus seems to have been one of the first books printed by blocks in Holland, and it is said that when printing with types was introduced, there was such a large and continuous demand for copies of this school grammar, that fully fifty editions were issued before the beginning of the sixteenth century. "Donats" are mentioned among the books which, in 1507, Chepman and Myllar, the first Scottish printers, received the sole licence to print and publish, so that they must have been popular school-books in Edinburgh and other parts of Scotland at this time. In 1519 the Magistrates of Edinburgh limit the teaching which may be given outside of the principal grammar school, to "grace buke, prymer, and plain donat."

The versified grammar of Alexander de Villa Dei, which was in general use in England and the Continent at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was also known in Scotland, for John Vaus of Aberdeen published a commentary on it in 1522. Vaus, in the introduction, speaks of the trouble and difficulty of teaching and learning, arising specially from the poor supply of books, and the carelessness and lack of experience of the students writing down his "dictata."

As a proof of the extraordinary hold which the study of Latin grammar had taken upon our national education, it may be mentioned, that after the Reformation complaints were so frequently made about the number of different grammars in use, that Parliament appointed a committee of four distinguished scholars, under the presidency of George Buchanan, to find a remedy. This committee decided to draw up a new grammar to take the place of all others in use, and be, in fact, the national Latin grammar.

To understand the importance attached to Latin grammar in mediæval times, it must be remembered that Latin was not so much regarded, in the modern light, as the most logical of languages, and for that and other reasons a valuable instrument of intellectual training, but it was[1] the living language of the Church and the guild of educated men. By its means the cultured men of one country could hold intercourse with their cultured brethren all over Europe; all lectures at the universities were delivered in Latin; all books on theology, law, or medicine, were in Latin; all charters and Acts of Parliament were in Latin. To be ignorant of Latin was to be beyond the pale of culture and out of touch with the thoughts and movements of Christendom.

Before the invention of printing, books of all kinds were rare and expensive. Apart from the labour of their production, the very material—vellum and parchment—cost so much, that children in many cases must have been taught by the ear, and from the copies of the books kept in the school, church, or monastery. It was not till the middle of the fourteenth century that paper began to take the place of parchment, and its use did not become general till a much later date. A complete copy of the Bible is said to have cost as much as four hundred pounds of our money.

The industry of the monks, however, and other clerical scribes produced copies of the Missals, Breviaries, and Psalters; and then Church service books in Scotland as elsewhere became the lesson-books in the schools. As far back as the date of Charlemagne it was the custom in Christian schools to write out the alphabet on tablets made of some cheap material, with groups of syllabic sounds appended. When these were mastered, the pupil read and learned by heart some Latin prayers and psalms, which in many cases must have been committed to memory without being understood. A simple primer was gradually developed in Scotland, by which the young, while learning to read, were at the same time learning some short prayers and psalms. In 1507, "mess books, manuallis, portuiss, and matin" were among the books which the first publishers were licenced to print, and, like the "donats" already referred to, some of them were doubtless intended for the use of the young in schools. The "grace-book and prymar" were taught even in unlicensed schools in Edinburgh before 1519, and were, in some form, still in use at the close of the Reformation struggle, for James Melville had "the grace buke" put into his hands when he was five years old.

In England, and probably also in Scotland, there was an early alphabet in use called the Crisscross-row, and from this came the Hornbook, the first mark on which was also the sign of the cross. On the hornbooks and other primers were written or printed the letters in one or more forms, and a syllabarium, followed by one or more prayers according to the size of the primer. One of the rudest of the early books printed in Holland was an Abecedarium; and other elementary books for boys were published at the same time. In some early primers there were given the In Nomine, the Ave Maria, Credo, Paternoster, Commandments, Graces and Responses for Mass, and Hours and Psalms. It was a great step forward when these little books began to be published in English. In 1534, what appears to be the first English version of the primer was printed by John Byddell, "cum privilegio Regali." It is entitled, "A prymer in Englyshe, with certeyn prayers and godly meditations very necessary for all people that understonde not the Latyne tongue." There is annexed to it an exposition of the 51st Psalm and some short treatises. In 1537 the Salisbury primer was printed both in English and Latin, "with divers expedient wholesome exhortations of Christian living;" "the Matins, Pryme and Hours, the VII. Psalms, the Litany, the Psalms of the Passion," and a general confession. It contained also an alphabet with a cross prefixed.

An A B C Primer was printed by Thomas Petyt in 1538, in which the Creed, Paternoster, and Ave Maria appear in Latin and English. The Commandments were in verse. The Graces, which held an important place in elementary and religious education in England and Scotland, were sometimes long pieces of verse. They were considerably shortened in the reformed alphabet book published in 1547, which printed the Commandments in full and contained also a little Catechism. A later edition (1553) carried Reformation ideas still further by omitting the Ave Maria and old Catholic graces, and giving Protestant forms in their place, along with the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Commandments. When the cheapness of paper, compared with parchment, began to be realised, it was naturally used, as Morley tells us, "by the copyists of cheap alphabets, primers, Aves, Creeds, and Paternosters for common use." Copies of these, doubtless, found their way into Scotland, both from England and the Continent, and were used in the schools of the country. The idea was retained by the reformers, and even till recent times the Shorter Catechism, which has played such an important part in the later history of Scottish Education, had generally on one of its pages an alphabet and arrangement of syllables, with the Lord's Prayer and one or two Graces.

The elementary books, therefore, were intended as much for the religious instruction of the young as for their initiation to literature, and the majority got no further than the primer in their literary education. But when it is remembered that before the Reformation some two hundred monasteries of various orders had been founded, and that to most of these there were schools of one kind or another attached, it will be evident that out of these there must have been a considerable number of students to prosecute the higher learning as it was known in these days.

Before the foundation of the universities, and even afterwards, a fairly full course of the Trivial and Quadrivial subjects could doubtless be taken in many of the monasteries, and scholastic theology and the canon law certainly received a great deal of attention.

Unfortunately, when the monasteries were destroyed many invaluable records perished with them, and our information is but scanty regarding the higher educational work of the early and vigorous period of their existence. From one or two lists of books contained in ancient Church libraries, and from other sources, we may get some idea of the range of subjects taken up in the higher schools of the Church.

The theological controversies which, about the end of the eleventh century, began to be rife between different leaders of thought like Lanfranc and Berengarius, Anselm and Roscellinus, drew the world of students towards the study of logic as the great weapon of discussion. Dialectic became of the utmost importance in the eyes of the schoolmen, because it came to be believed that "the intelligent apprehension of spiritual truth depended on a correct use of the traditional methods of argumentation." And so, from the time when William of Champeaux gave his first lectures on the subject at Paris, it became one of the chief subjects of study in all Christian schools.

An imperfect knowledge of Aristotle at first helped to give the study of dialectic a wrong direction, but towards the close of the thirteenth century the whole of his works became known in the West through Latin translations. The strong logical bias of the twelfth century, also, found expression in a book which became one of the leading text-books of the middle ages, and a fruitful source of theological discussion and commentary—viz., the Sentences of Peter Lombard. This famous book, whose influence extended even beyond the range of theology, was a compilation in a logical form of the principal sententiae (*i.e.*, opinions) or doctrinal tenets of the fathers and doctors of the Church. It seems to have given rise to endless theological discussion and many commentaries, for in the lists of libraries which have come down to us, we find not only the Sentences of Peter Lombard, but many books on them by other theologians. In the list of books in the Glasgow library there are mentioned several copies of the Sententiae of Thomas Aquinas, the Sententiae of John Duns, and those of Gregory.

The "Four Scoir Three Questions" of Ninian Winzet, which were drawn up for the use of his pupils in Linlithgow, seem to be constructed on a similar principle, and the idea was doubtless borrowed from "The Sentences."

Among the books in the catalogue of the cathedral church of Glasgow, which must have been in use about the beginning of the fifteenth century or earlier, various volumes devoted to civil and canon law occupy a prominent place. A knowledge of these subjects was of great value in securing promotion in the Church, and, therefore, great attention was paid to them in the higher schools and universities of all countries. From two notes in the catalogue, to the effect that certain books constituted a complete course in these subjects, we infer that lectures had been delivered on them by some of the learned officials of the cathedral. When St Andrews University was founded, the Abbot of Scone lectured on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, and other churchmen—doctors of decrees—prelected on the canon and civil law. And it is probable that they had previously been doing the same thing in connection with their respective churches or monasteries. Ferrerius (1537) gave lectures on the Sentences in the Abbey of Kinloss. In the convent of Observantines, founded in Edinburgh about 1446, scholastic divinity and philosophy were constantly taught till its demolition in 1559. The Provincial Councils from 1549-59 passed a number of Statutes to encourage the teaching of theology and the canon law in the cathedrals and abbeys.

"Monkish ambition," says Dalyell, in his "Cursory Remarks," "terminated in acquiring skill in scholastic disputation." The logic of the syllogism threw its arms over the whole range of higher education in Scotland as in the great foreign schools. The dialectical method trained the scholar to turn everything he studied into a form suitable for syllogistic reasoning. Every subject was reduced to a number of "quaestiones," and with a stock of these, the student was ready for the school disputations. Grammar, rhetoric, theology, law, were all dealt with in the same way. "The comparing of opinions," says Innes, "the disputations, the excitement of fellow students, the emulation made up for the want of books." Shortly after the University of Glasgow was founded, its library was enriched by a number of books presented by the bishop and some canons of the cathedral. Among them we find several volumes in which the philosophy of Aristotle had been summed up into this convenient dialectical form, *e.g.*, "Quaestiones Logicales" "Quaestiones Physicales," "Quaestiones Metaphysicales." The authors and subjects represented in the list of these books are all essentially scholastic. One complete

Bible in parchment is the only book which suggests any influence beyond Aristotle and the schoolmen.

In the cathedral church of Aberdeen provision was made for teaching logic as well as grammar. In the grammar school, disputations were held in the evening, and the Statutes decree that "none of the class of grammarians shall have dealings with a dialectician."

James I. is said to have encouraged the higher learning by his presence at the discussions and disputations in the schools; and James V., when he visited Aberdeen in 1540, was entertained by the university with "disputations in all kind of sciences." We find even John Knox, in his defence before the Bishop of Durham (1550), laying down and defending two syllogisms in the dialectical fashion of the schools, and Quintin Kennedy, in an oration dated 1561, answers them in the same style. Even after the Reformation, scholasticism held its ground for some time in the universities. Speaking of St Andrews, James Melville tells us that "regents and schollars carit nathing for divinity; and for languages, arts, and philosophy they had na thing for all, but a few buiks of Aristotle, quhilk they learned pertinaciously to battle and flyt upon, without right understanding or use thairof."

The Catalogue of the Library in the Priory of Lochleven (A.D. 1150) contains the names of seventeen volumes. Some of these are books for the service of the Church, some are detached parts of the Bible, but there is no classic author, either Greek or Latin, and no book on philosophy or literature. There are, however, some books on theology, including Origen and certain Libri Sententiarum, including those of St Bernard of Clairvaux, who was probably still living at that time.

The Cartulary of Glasgow contains a list of one hundred and sixty-five books belonging to the cathedral church. This catalogue was taken down in the year 1432 by some canons of the cathedral, who, judging from the way they have done the work, were not very well acquainted with Latin or the books which they describe. These books have been classified as follows—

(1) Church Service Books, including Missals (some with, others without, the music), Breviaries, Psalters, &c.

(2) Bibles, both entire and in separate books, and a concordance.

(3) Legends and Lives of Saints.

(4) Books on Civil and Canon Law. The collection covered a complete course in these subjects.

(5) Theological Works by St Augustine, Jerome, Bede, St Bernard, &c. Various Libri Sententiarum appear on the list.

(6) The Philosophical books deal with Ethics, Metaphysics, and a little Natural Philosophy. Aristotle's name occurs several times.

(7) A few classical books, including Valerius, Maximus, Ovid's Metamorphoses, Sallust, Boethius, and the Epistles of Seneca.

There was also a copy of the Catholicon, the great Latin Dictionary compiled by Johannes Balbus of Genoa. This was a book of great size and importance.

Some of these books were chained to one or other of the altars.

In the abbey of Kinloss a library was founded by the good Robert Reid, afterwards Bishop of Orkney; and a later abbot made several additions to it, including the Books of the Old and New Testament in six volumes, the works of St Jerome, and works by St Ambrose, St Chrysostom, St Bernard, St Augustine, and Thomas Aquinas. These, with other books, were placed in the library for the use of the students in the monastery.

Robert Reid, all through his life, showed an exceptional devotion to education, and he greatly advanced its interests by securing the valuable assistance of John Ferrerius. Being struck with his enthusiasm and abilities, he persuaded Ferrerius to accompany him to Scotland in 1528. After spending some time at court, he took up his residence at Kinloss, where for five years he instructed the monks and pursued his own studies.

All record of his good work would have been lost, had he not resolved to commit to writing an account of his lectures, and a list of the books and authors on whom he prelected. This account is the best description left to us of the higher course of study pursued in the monasteries before the Reformation. It will be found in full on pp. 52-56 of the "Records of the Abbey of Kinloss," edited by Dr Stuart.

Doubtless the work done in Kinloss under Ferrerius represents the high-water mark of monastic education in Scotland. But some similar, if less pretentious, course must have been given in many of the abbeys before their tone and discipline had declined.

The following is a summary of the books "proborum authorum" on which Ferrerius publicly lectured in the chapter house of the abbey. Doubtless, according to the mediæval custom when books were difficult to obtain, his students wrote down *verbatim* his dictata, and so formed compendiums of these authors for themselves.

Cicero: De officiis, De Amicitia, De Senectute, The Paradoxes and the Somnium.

Aristotle: The Ethics, Politics, Physics, Metaphysics, Economics, and De Anima, from Latin translations and commentaries.

The Sentences of Peter Lombard, the Dialectic of Georgius Trapezuntius, Sacrobosco's Treatise on the Sphere, Melancthon's Syntax, a Practical Arithmetic by Ferrerius, &c.

He also gives a list of authors on whom private lectures were given to some of the monks in his own apartment. It includes, besides some of the books already mentioned, Cicero, Pro Milone; Virgil's Bucolics and Æneid; Quintilian, Terence's Andria, Ferrerius' Introduction to Logic; Melancthon on The Figures of Speech, and Rodulph Agricola on Dialectic Invention, as well as several books on theology.

An account of his later work was written out in 1540, when he thought of finally leaving Scotland. Some of the same ground is naturally covered by this record, but we find more of Melancthon's books, some of Erasmus, the first five books of St Augustine's De Civitate Dei; and the Epistle of St Paul to the Romans. The influence of the combined Renaissance and Reformation movements was apparently growing with this enlightened and cultured teacher.

A list of fifteen books is mentioned in a special licence for printing granted to William Nyddry in 1559. They are said to be for "the better instruction of young children in the art of grammar to be taught in schools." It is interesting to note that a number of these school-books were written in the vernacular, but unfortunately none of them has survived the usage of the children and the hand of time. The titles, however, give us a little information about their contents. "A Short Introductioun Elementar digestit into sevin breve taiblis for the commodious expedition of yame that are desirous to read and write the Scottish tongue." "Ane regement for educatioun of young gentillmen in literature and virtuous exercitioun." "The genealogy of English Britons." These books were doubtless intended to be used in "lecture" schools, where Latin was not taught, and in such of the grammar schools as encouraged the study of the vernacular. For pupils who required to speak in Latin during school hours we have "Quotidiani sermonis formulae." Then we find provision made for boys beginning Greek, "Tables manuall brevelie introducing the unioun of the partis of orisoun in Greek and Latin Speech with their accidence." Three are trilingual handbooks such as were becoming popular in other countries at this period. "Orthoepia trilinguis," "Trilinguis literaturae syntaxis," and "Trilinguis grammaticae quaestiones." Such books were the germ of the comparative grammar of modern times. The book called "Ane instructioun for bairnis to be lernit in Scottis and latene," taken in connection with Vaus's Grammar, which was partly written in Scottish, shows that the teachers of the sixteenth century were further advanced in method than many of their successors. For even in this century there have been teachers in England and Scotland who used Latin Grammars written entirely in that tongue, and thus made a difficult subject doubly hard.

Another of the books is "Ane A B C for Scottis men to reid the French tongue." When we consider the intimate relations which had existed for ages between Scotland and France, it will go almost without saying that French must have been taught in many of the schools of the country. An old traveller in Scotland, Don Pedro de Ayala, has left it on record, that about 1498 "There is a good deal of French education in Scotland, and many speak the French language. For all the young gentlemen who have no property go to France, and are well received there." According to the Statutes of Aberdeen grammar school already quoted, French was one of the languages in which the pupils were allowed to address each other during school hours.

The last book we shall refer to, shows that attempts were being made to put before boys extracts from the classical authors suitable for their instruction. Its title is "E. Pub. Terentii Afri comediis discerpta." Progress was undoubtedly being made in the way of supplying the necessary books from the native press, and we shall see, from James Melville's account of his own education, that some of the most popular school-books in England were in vogue in this country also shortly after the Reformation.

The study of *Greek* was late in being introduced into the schools of Scotland. Hector Boece informs us that George Dundas, master of the Knights of St John, was, in 1522, well acquainted with Greek, as well as Latin literature, but it was not till 1534 that a French scholar, Pierre de Marsiliers, was brought over by Erskine of Dun, and began to teach Greek in Montrose. Two famous men were his pupils there, George Wishart the martyr, and Andrew Melville. The latter had a singular aptitude for languages, and profited so much by the lessons of his master that, when he went to St Andrews in 1559, "he learned and studied out of the Greek text, which his masters understood not, all that was taught of Aristotle," "quhilk was a wonder to the regents, he was so fine a scholar." When, some years afterwards, he became professor of Latin at Geneva, his Scottish stubbornness, in defending his own pronunciation of Greek, roused the wrath of the professor of that language, who was a native of Greece. "Vos Scoti, vos barbari!" he indignantly exclaimed, "docebitis nos Graecos pronunciationem linguae nostrae, scilicet?"

By the Statutes of the grammar school of Aberdeen (1553) the pupils are not allowed to speak to each other in the vernacular, but only in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, or Irish (*i.e.*, Gaelic). So that, some ten years before the Reformation, Greek and Hebrew must have been taught in that school. Bishop Leslie, in his account of the visit of King James V. to the Northern University in 1540, tells us that he was entertained by orations in Greek, Latin, and other languages. Knox's statement, that in 1543 the lay members of Parliament were better acquainted with Greek than the clergy is rather surprising, but though we may infer from it (what we already know) that the clergy knew little, we shall hardly be justified in concluding that the laymen knew much.

John Row taught both Greek and Hebrew at Perth, to which he went in 1560. He used to make his family read passages of Scripture in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, and English. His son was taught the Hebrew characters at the age of four, and could read a chapter in that language when he was eight.

Greek and Hebrew, as the languages in which the Bible was written, were regarded by the reformers with the utmost reverence, and their study was encouraged as one of the most important means of supporting the new tenets of Protestantism.

Arithmetic and the elements of geometry were taught in the schools, and in some monasteries such a knowledge of natural philosophy as could be got from Aristotle and other early writers. John de Sacrobosco, whose treatise on the Sphere was the great text-book both in schools and universities, is said to have been born in Dumfriesshire, and to have been a canon of Holywood. He flourished in the thirteenth century. In the "lecture" schools, which began to develop before the Reformation, the native tongue evidently began to be a subject of instruction, both in religious primers and in books like some of those printed by William Nyddry (1559). One of these, we have seen, was "for the commodious expedition of yame that are desirous to read and write the Scottish tongue." Sir David Lyndsay's books and, doubtless, others in English and the native Scotch, if not used as text-books were apparently read by school boys; for the pupils of Perth grammar school, shortly after 1550, influenced by Lyndsay's Satire, hissed down a friar who was attacking from the pulpit the reforming preachers. And Lyndsay, when he took his royal pupil over a course of native poetry, was doubtless not alone in recognising the educational value of English and Scottish literature.

JAMES MELVILLE, who was born in 1556, just on the eve of the Scottish Reformation, has left us in his Diary a detailed account of his own education, which was varied enough to cast a good deal of light on the opportunities for culture afforded to a youth of respectable parentage at that time, as well as on the subjects and methods of instruction in the schools and colleges of the period.

"About the fifth year of my age the grace book (a primer of religious knowledge) was put in my hand, and when I was seven little thereof had I learned at home. Therefore my father put my eldest and only brother David, about a year and a half in age above me, and me together to a kinsman and brother in the ministry of his to school, a good learned kind man whom for thankfulness I name, Mr William Gray, minister at Logie-Montrose. There was a good number of gentle and honest men's bairns in the country about, well trained up both in letters, godliness and exercise of honest games. There we learned to read the Catechism and prayers by heart, also notes of Scripture after the reading thereof. We learned there the rudiments of the Latin grammar, with the vocables in

Latin and French, also divers speeches in French, with the reading and right pronunciation of that tongue. We proceeded further to the etymology of Lillius and his Syntax, as also a little of the Syntax of Linacre, therewith was joined Hunter's Nomenclatura, the Minora Colloquia of Erasmus and some of the Eclogues of Virgil and Epistles of Horace, also Cicero's Epistles ad Terentiam. He had a very good and profitable form of resolving the authors he taught grammatically both according to the etymology and syntax. But as for me, the truth was my 'ingyne' and memory was good enough but my judgment and understanding were as yet 'smored' and dark, so that the thing which I got was more by rhyme than knowledge. There also we had the air good and fields reasonably fair, and by our master were taught to handle the bow for archery, the club for golf, the batons for fencing, also to run, to leap, to swim, to wrestle, to prove 'pratteiks,' every one having his match and antagonist both in our lessons and play. I was at that school the space of five years."

Melville informs us that in 1568 the state of the country was so uncertain and troublesome, "and the occasion of schools not serving," he spent the winter at home, "remembered of his books but now and then as his father had leisure." The time was not, however, fruitless—and he especially recalls two benefits: one, the reading of the story of the Scripture which "stack in his mind," and of David Lyndsay's book, which his eldest sister would read and sing.

His father that winter put in his hands Palingenius, wherein "he delighted much himself."

In the spring of 1569 his father resolved to keep the elder brother at home to "learn husbandry and experience of the worldly life," and to send James to school again for a year or two, that thereafter he might acquaint me also with husbandry, "because he neither saw the means to make us attain to such learning as we might live upon, nor when we had got it, any sure entertainment in the country for it." "So I was put to the school of Montrose, finding of God's good providence my old mother (*i.e.*, friend) Marjory Gray, who had taken up house and 'school for lasses' in Montrose. The master of the school, a learned honest kind man, whom also for thankfulness I name, Mr Andrew Miln, minister at Sedness. He was very skilful and diligent. The first year he caused us to go through the rudiments again, thereafter to enter and pass through the first part of the grammar of Sebastian, therewith we heard the Phormio of Terence, and were exercised in composition. After that we entered to the second part and heard thereat the Georgics of Virgil and divers other things."

It was in 1571 that James Melville entered the University of St Andrews. He was then fourteen years of age, and had been taken from school by his father and sent to assist in the harvest work. He liked the scholar's life better. The promise of a bursary, and special attention from the regent, Mr William Collace, decided his father to send him to St Andrews, where he began his course under "the said Mr William, who had the estimation of the most solid and learned in Aristotle's philosophy."

He gives us an account of the course in philosophy through which he was taken, and we are not surprised to find him afterwards asserting that he had "got nothing but a name and opinion of learning, a babbling of words without wit." He was, in spite of his school education, but "weakly grounded in grammar," and he "had not yet come to the years of natural judgment and understanding," when the mind is ripe for logical and metaphysical discussions. Mr Bass Mullinger says, "that when the growth of schools in England had increased the opportunities of learning Latin, the undergraduate at Cambridge was forthwith plunged into the mysteries of the scholastic logic, and in his second year became a disputant in the schools." Anxious as Melville was to learn, he "was cast into grief," because he understood not the regent's teaching, but that good man took him in hand privately and gave him all the assistance in his power. Melville "first heard under him Cassander's Rhetoric," then "he gave us a compend of his own philosophy and the parts thereof, of dialectic, definition, division, enunciation, of a syllogism enthymen, and induction, &c., which I thought I understood better."

"We entered in the Organ of Aristotle's Logic that year, and learned all the demonstrations."

"The *second* year of my course had the demonstrations, the Topics and the Sophist Captiones. And the primarius taught the four spaces of the arithmetic and something of the sphere, but the greatest benefit I had of him was his daily doctrine at the prayers in the kirk every morning."

"The *third* year of our course we heard the five books of the Ethics with the eight books of the Physics."

"The *fourth* and last year of our course we learned the books De Coelo and Meteors, also the sphere more exactly taught by our regent."

"In the third and fourth years of my course, at the direction of my father I heard Mr William Skein teach Cicero de Legibus and parts of the Institutes of Justinian.

"Moreover in these years I learned my music, wherein I took greater delight, of one Alexander Smith, servant to the primarius of our college, who had been trained up among the monks in the abbey."

Archery and golf seem to have been the amusements most within the reach of the student of humble means—but some form of tennis or rackets was also apparently in vogue.

"I would have gladly been at the Greek and Hebrew tongues, because I read in my Bible that it was translated out of Hebrew and Greek, but the languages were not to be got in the land. Our regent began and taught us the A B C of the Greek and the simple declensions but went no further."

The "First Book of Discipline" had not yet borne much fruit in widening or modernising the arts curriculum at St Andrews, and scholasticism still held its seat though the Reformation had taken place nearly fifteen years before.

It is worth while comparing the course which James Melville went through with that which his uncle, Andrew Melville, introduced into Glasgow. When Andrew Melville, on his return from Geneva in 1574, accepted the principalship of Glasgow College, he was determined to set university education upon a satisfactory basis. "He had two objects in view; to introduce new studies into Scotland, and to train up a race of teachers capable of carrying them on." The Diary of his nephew informs us that "he set himself wholly to teach things not heard of in this country before, wherein he laboured exceeding diligently, as his delight was solely therein. So, falling to work with a small number of capable hearers, such as might be instructors of others afterwards, he taught them Greek grammar; the Dialectic of Ramus; the Rhetoric of Talaeus with the practice thereof in Greek and Latin authors—namely, Homer, Hesiod, Phocylides, Theognis, Pythagoras, Isocrates, Pindar, Virgil, Horace, Theocritus, &c. From that he entered on the mathematics, and taught the elements of Euclid, the arithmetic and geometry of Ramus; the geography of Dionysius, the tables of Hunter, the astrology of Aratus. From that to the moral philosophy: he taught the Ethics of Aristotle, the Offices of Cicero, Aristotle De Virtutibus, Cicero's Paradoxes and Tusculans, Aristotle's Politics, and certain of Plato's Dialogues. From that to the natural philosophy: he taught the books of the physics; De Ortu, De Coelo, etc. Also of Plato and Fernelius. With this he joined history, with the two lights thereof, chronology and chirography, out of Sleidan, Manarthes, and Melancthon. And all this besides and above his own ordinary province, the holy tongues and theology. The name of the college within two years was noble throughout all the land and in other countries also."

The course of university study thus initiated and carried on by the famous principal was a great advance on the scholastic fare which formerly constituted the student's intellectual nourishment. The influence of the Renaissance is distinctly visible in the important place given to the great poets of Greece and Rome, and in the fact that now for the first time Greek authors were read in their own tongue. Aristotle still retains the place he merits, but he no longer unduly predominates. There was now established a four years' curriculum in Arts, of considerable scope and variety. The first year was given up to the humanities; the second to mathematics, cosmography, and astronomy; the third to moral and political philosophy; and the last to natural philosophy and history. The Arts curriculum was followed by a two years' divinity course, in which Melville himself "taught the Hebrew grammar, thereafter the Chaldaic and Syriac dialects, and the practice thereof in the Psalms, and works of Solomon, David, Ezra, and the Epistle to the Galatians. He went through the whole commonplaces of theology very exactly and accurately; also through all the Old and New Testaments."

ANDREW MELVILLE also took in hand the task of continuing the education of his nephew, and his grateful pupil gives us an admirable picture of the great scholar and teacher probing the shallow learning of the youth; opening up to him the meaning of scholarship, and stimulating him to real love of study, while guiding him to a right method.

"That quarter of a year I thought I got greater light in letters than all my time before; howbeit at our meeting in my convent I thought I could have talked to him in things I had heard as he did to me as a master of arts. But I perceived at once that I was but an ignorant babble and wist not what I said, neither could show any use thereof but in clattering and crying. He found me 'bauche' in the Latin tongue, a prattler upon precepts in logic without any profit for the right use, and having some terms of art in philosophy without light of solid knowledge. Yet of natural gifts and capacity good enough, whereby I had conned my dictata and had them ready enough. He entered therefore and conferred with me some of Buchanan's Psalms, of Virgil and Horace, which two were his chief refreshment after his grave studies, wherein he let me see not only the proper Latin language and ornaments of poesy, but also more good logic and philosophy than ever I had heard before. I had taken delight at the grammar school to hear read and sung the verses of Virgil taken with the numbers thereof (howbeit I knew not what numbers was till he told me), and had much of him by heart, but I understood never a line of him till then. He read a comedy of Terence with me, showing me that there was both fine Latin language and wit to be learned. That of language I thought well, but for wit I marvelled and had not known before. He put in my hand the Commentaries of Cæsar, commending him for the simple purity of the Latin tongue; also Sallust, and read with me the Conspiracy of Catiline. He had got in Paris, as he passed through, Bodin's 'Method of History,' which he read over himself three or four times that quarter, once with me, and the rest while I was occupied in the Greek grammar, which he put in hand of Clenard, causing me understand the precepts only and learn the paradigms exactly; the practise whereof he showed me in my book, going through with me that Epistle of Basilius, and causing me to learn it by heart, both for the language and the matter. Thereafter to the New Testament, and went through some chapters of Matthew and certain comfortable places of the Epistles, namely the Romans. And last, entering to the Hebrew, I got the reading declinations and pronouns, and some also of the conjugations out of Martinius' grammar, which he had with him, and showed me the use of the dictionary also which he had of Reuchlin's with him. And all this as it were but playing and cracking, so that I learned much more by hearing him in daily conversation both that quarter and thereafter, than ever I learned of any book, howbeit he set me ever to the best authors."

Andrew Melville's influence began soon to reach the schools. "The schoolmaster of Glasgow, Mr Patrick Sharpe, was his regular hearer and companion, whom he instructed and directed in the most commodious bringing up of the youth in grammar and good authors, whom I heard oftentimes profess that he learned more of Mr Andrew Melville cracking and playing, for understanding of the authors whom he taught in the schools, than by all the commentaries."

CHAPTER XIX.

ARTISTIC, INDUSTRIAL, AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

(A.) From the Introduction of Christianity till the Twelfth Century.

THE cultured mind is not necessarily inconsistent with the trained eye and hand. The production of books, the writing of essays or sermons, the composition of poems or speeches, are not the only ways in which the educated man can express himself. Thought may realise itself in a picture, a statue, a machine, or a bridge. And education may be so given, that while the pupil is instructed and developed, the outcome in life will be the application of his educated mind to the production of things that are beautiful or useful, and to the advancement of man's mastery over nature. Artistic and technical education, properly understood, have this end in view. The trained and cultured mind is the first thing, the brush, the chisel, or the tool are but the means of its expression. Hence general education and technical education can never be divorced.

Industrial and technical schools are popularly supposed to have sprung full fledged from the bosom of this nineteenth century. But like all other institutions they have their germs and first beginnings in the past. The early Church did something for the advancement of art and industry, as well as for the moral and literary culture of Scotland. Its influence was many-sided and touched all the life of the people. In education, as in other things, there has been going on a differentiation of aims and a division of labour. Real schools and technical schools have long been doing good work in Germany and France. In this country technical education in all its branches and grades is claiming an increasing share of public interest and support. Schools aiming specially at its advancement are growing in number and importance, and the ordinary primary and secondary schools, as well as the universities, are providing for it in their curricula. It will be interesting, therefore, to trace far back to the days of the Celtic Church the first beginnings of what has become a great movement.

It was not merely by their piety, and by the instruction in the Scriptures which they gave, that the good monks of the Columban Church deserve to be remembered in a History of Education.

Among a barbarous people they introduced the simple industries, and by example and precept led men, whose chief pleasure and duty had been fighting, to till the soil, and make ploughs, and waggons, and mills.

Columba himself made book-satchels and croziers, and the monks in connection with his monastery in Iona cultivated the land, reared cattle, built granaries, and performed the duties of the baker, the smith, and the carpenter.

Wherever monasteries were established, the arts of peace began to develop. The rude people were encouraged in agriculture, and, with the monks to teach them, began to know something about working with stone and iron and other metals. The gradual formation of a common dialect through the influence of writing, and the gathering of people together for protection and instruction round the monasteries, made more possible and necessary simple commercial relations. The spread of the Church, and of the religious ideas and rudimentary culture which went with it, bound the various tribes together by an invisible bond, which tended to make war less frequent, and a life of peaceful industry more possible. The monasteries were preparing the way for the feeling of a common nationality, and were in far distant parts of the country laying the basis of national industry and technical education. The roots of a progressive civilisation were slowly but surely taking hold of the national soil.

Antiquarians and archaeologists have collected, arranged, and interpreted the remains of that early period. Their labours have so far dispelled the darkness that covered the age, that from written book, sculptured stone, and golden relic we can read the outlines of the story of artistic and industrial progress. We need not expect to find schools set apart specially for technical education, but we *shall* find the cultured piety, which Christianised the land, expressing itself in artistic forms, and influencing many of the people to put taste and thought into the works they produced.

The records of early Christian Scotland—both in manuscript, in stone, and in metal—show that, almost from the beginning of the Columban Church, men were trained in eye and hand as well as in mind.

Specimens of beautiful and artistic workmanship in various materials remain, testifying to a taste, patience, and technical culture which is remarkable for the time.

It is not, however, on the side of architecture that we shall find traces of industrial and technical progress. The early buildings of the Celtic Church seem to have been very primitive. Beginning with bee-hive shaped cells, the churches of the Columban era gradually advanced in form, but it was only when Norman influences were introduced that they could lay any claim to elegance or beauty. We have seen that writing and the careful copying of MSS. was one of the chief occupations of the early monasteries. The style in which the extant copies of Gospels and Psalters, written by Celtic monks, were executed is unique. "Libri Scotticé Scripti" proclaim their origin, and are easily recognised, whether found in the monastery of Deer in Scotland, of Kells in Ireland, or of St Gall on the Continent.

The decoration of Celtic MSS. is confined to initial letters and front pages, and is marked by peculiar combinations and intricate designs.

The manuscripts of sacred books, which they wrote and adorned with such patient skill and taste, were in many cases preserved in caskets, upon which equal artistic care was expended. The value and beauty of these caskets made them a tempting booty to the sea-robbers who came down upon the shores of Ireland and Scotland and plundered the monasteries. Doubtless many books were destroyed because of the valuable cases in which they were contained.

These caskets "were rich with the costliest workmanship in gold and silver, in filigree or embossed work, or covered with gilded and engraved designs, and settings of precious stones."

Similar cases or shrines, elaborately worked in gold, silver, or bronze, were made with reverent care and patience for some of the old bells, which had come to be regarded with special honour on account of their connection with some saint or founder. And the croziers and other relics of the early Celtic Church likewise show "a feeling for decorative art, a faculty of design, and a skill in technical processes of art workmanship" which will stand comparison with the best work of the present day.

The artistic and technical skill which was displayed in the monasteries was not confined to them. It is not only in caskets, croziers, bells, and other articles specially connected with the Church and its service that we see the artistic spirit embodying itself in things of beauty. Articles for personal use and adornment, like pins, brooches, mirrors, bracelets, and scabbards, have been found in various parts of Scotland. These show the distinctive characteristics of the art of the Celtic manuscripts, and of the other relics connected with the Church service. For a full account of all these remains of Celtic work the reader may consult Dr Anderson's "Early Christian Scotland"; but he may see some of the most beautiful and interesting objects — like the crozier and bell of St Fillans and the Hunterston brooch—in the National Museum in Edinburgh.

Further, nearly five hundred sculptured monuments dating from an early period have been found in Scotland and its islands.

Of these, something like three hundred and fifty seem to have been erected after the introduction of Christianity. Their chief symbol is nearly always a cross.

Dr Anderson, in his recent Rhind lectures, divides the sculptured monuments into three classes, and traces a distinct artistic progress from the primitive monuments marked by absence of form in the stone, and lack of variety in the symbol, upwards to the richly ornamented crosses of the later period.

In the transition period the stone had its surface dressed, and the whole face of the monument was decorated with sculpture. "The surfaces of the monuments were prepared and spaced out in accordance with the well-known principles of Celtic art, to be decorated separately in panels or spaces. The forms used to produce patterns were chiefly three—interlaced work, fretwork, and spiral work, and in the later examples occasional intermixture of foliageous work." Along with these appear figures of animals and hunting scenes, which are supposed to have a symbolic meaning. These animal figures, if symbolic, as Dr Anderson thinks, may have been due to the influence of the Bestiaries—which were popular books in the early middle ages.

In monuments of the most advanced stage, when taste and culture had developed, there is, on the one hand, greater variety of form and the "decoration is bolder and fiercer." Animal symbolism decreases, and scenes from the Scripture narrative take its place.

"The logical outcome," says Dr Anderson, "is nothing less than the disclosure of a national school of decorative art."

The early Christian Church made use of the social and tribal institutions of pagan times to secure a firm footing in Ireland and Scotland. In the same way it took up the native art with its peculiar characteristics, infused its spirit and devotion into that art, consecrating it to religious uses, and developing it in many directions.

The scribes appropriated the native ideas for the decoration of their manuscripts, and, as the Church spread its monastic schools over the country, by means of these manuscripts it instilled a taste for artistic work among its pupils, which manifested itself in the sculptured crosses and the beautiful caskets, and croziers and other objects in metal, of which specimens still survive. Some of the manuscripts date as far back as the seventh century, but the best work in metal and sculpture belongs to the eleventh or twelfth century. In the interval, the scribe had been educating the monk, who could work in stone or metal; and the monk in turn spread his knowledge and his art, even among men who had not taken the tonsure. "The art," says Dr Anderson, "was perfected by the scribes before it was adopted generally by the sculptors and jewellers." The Celtic Church, in a word, was the first national school of art and design—the first great technical college. External influences afterwards introduced new ideas, and artistic culture began to express itself in new forms, notably in architecture. But the earlier Celtic period has a genius of its own, and Celtic schools have left more to Scotland than a few ancient names and traditions. Amid all the growth and variety, the originality and individuality of the art remains. "Wherever it presents itself, it can be recognised as the expression of the Celtic native culture."

Literary and religious education, under the supremacy of the Celtic Church, was national, in so far as it used the tribal institution as its basis of operations, but helped to instil the great idea that each tribe was a part of a greater whole, viz., the nation. So also technical education, as carried on by the Church, was a development of native art; the Celtic type of decoration is manifest through all the growth: it is enriched and purified by the religious influence, but remains characteristic of the race. In the ethnic sense we may call it national.

(B.) From the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century.

It cannot be said that during this period Scotland took a very high place among the nations of Europe as a home of the arts, or advanced very far in industrial achievement. But, at any rate, some progress was made, and we have now to consider by what influences and agencies the workmen of the country learned to do their work and gradually raise its standard.

As in the sphere of literature and morals, so also in the sphere of agriculture and industry the monasteries at their best period must be considered the great schools of education. The basis of a country's prosperity is, in most cases, the land and its tillage. The monks and canons regular of the monasteries were the great promoters and improvers of agriculture. They had in each district their grange or abbey farm—they introduced the proper variation of crops—they cleared the ground of brushwood, drained marshes, hedged off fields, got mills erected, roads made, and encouraged their cottars to build. They are admitted on all sides to have been indulgent landlords, and they established fairs and markets, and by their influence assisted in getting laws passed to protect the crops and property of the farmer in times of war, when large bodies of soldiers and horses were marching through the country. It has been stated by more than one authority that, "reviewing the whole history of agriculture from the dawn of authentic record to the Union, the most prosperous times were undoubtedly the reigns of Alexanders II. and III." The monks were also large breeders of stock, and in the Cartulary of Melrose and other monastic books strict regulations are laid down regarding the management and rearing of cattle. They themselves, by their ecclesiastical connections, were kept in touch with the improvements which were from time to time effected in the agricultural operations of other countries, and they spread their knowledge among the whole yeoman class.

They seem also to have done much to advance the cultivation of gardens and orchards in Scotland. " I have been repeatedly told," says an old traveller, "that the best fruit trees are to be found in the gardens of the old religious houses." There is a tradition about Arbroath that some of the best apples grown in that district were originally introduced by the monks into the abbey gardens, and it is stated that, when the last of the old pear trees of Kinloss was blown down last century, it was found that "they had been under-paved with flat flag stones after the most approved manner of modern orchard cultivation."

The enterprising monks seem also to have been the pioneers of commerce, for they not only encouraged trade, by establishing markets and opening up roads within the country, but they also, from an early date, formed connections with foreign countries. Thus David I. granted immunity from custom for one trading vessel to the monks of Dunfermline. About 1182 the Abbey of Melrose, by a charter granted by the Count of Flanders, received every facility for trading there. In 1224 the Abbots of Melrose and Cupar obtained permission to trade beyond the seas, and in the following year the right to send wool to Flanders. The Abbot of Arbroath in 1260, through the influence of William the Lion, received a charter to enable them to buy and sell for their own use throughout all England (with the exception of London), free of duty or toll.

Again it was chiefly in connection with the churches and monasteries that building and all the kindred arts were introduced and fostered. The earlier buildings of the Celtic Church were at first made of wood, and even when stone began to be used their architecture was of a very primitive type. The splendid piles which the Roman Church reared over the length and breadth of the land, and whose ruins are still beautiful, were built between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries. Skilled architects and artizans were in the thirteenth century created into a corporation and endowed with special privileges by the pope. Members of this great body of artistic builders came to Scotland, and began the work of raising stately churches, priories, and abbeys. They must have exercised a valuable educational influence on the people among whom they laboured, and left behind them many experts, not only in the simpler work of hewing and shaping stone and timber, but in the higher sphere of artistic execution, designing, carving, groining, painting, and staining. What Cosmo Innes says about the building of Kelso Abbey will hold also for every district in Scotland where cathedrals or monasteries were reared, "Kelso bears marks of having been a full century in building; and during that time at least, perhaps for long afterwards, the carver of wood, the sculptor in stone and marble, the tile-maker and the lead and ironworker, the painter, whether of Scripture stories or of heraldic blazonings, the designer and the worker in stained glass for those gorgeous windows, must each have been put in requisition, and each, in the exercise of his art, contributed to raise the taste and cultivate the minds of the inmates of the cloister. Of many of these works the monks themselves were the artists and artizans."

The monks, also, with their knowlege of mathematics and their skill in stone-work, must probably be credited with the honour of being among the first builders of bridges. In the thirteenth century there was a bridge over the Esk at Brechin, over the Tay at Perth, and over the Dee at Kincardine.

It was largely through the influence and energy of the Abbot of Arbroath that, in 1394, the harbour was built which did so much for the prosperity of that town.

With the growth of the burghs from the twelfth century onwards, the various crafts, as well as the merchants, formed themselves into gilds which, in addition to their other functions, became the means of promoting what may be called technical education. Practically the only way of admission into one of these crafts was by serving an apprenticeship. And thus the commonest, if the most rudimentary, form of technical instruction dates back to a very early period.

Apprenticeship is by eminent legal authorities shown to have been primarily a contract to teach and to learn a certain handicraft. The master bound himself to teach the art or manufacture to the lad intrusted to his care: and for several years the young craftsman of each generation went through a course of practical education, sufficient to make him master of the mystery of his craft as far as it had developed at the time. There were inspectors appointed by the various crafts to see that the work done by the members of the gild was honest work, and worthy of the dignity of the corporation. From time to time the arts and manufactures of other peoples were introduced from foreign countries by immigrants, who had either taken refuge in Scotland or had been brought over from the Continent for the purpose of instructing the community.

As early as 1154, for example, we find that when Henry II. banished the Flemings and other strangers who had flocked into England in the reign of his predecessor, these Flemings came over the border and settled in the Southern district of Scotland.

Their skill in weaving and similar industries was known all over Europe; and through this fortunate expulsion the foundation was laid of that textile activity which has occupied a large proportion of the people of Scotland. In return for a home the stranger instructed the people in a new and profitable industry.

Nations, like individuals, learn even from their misfortunes, and Scotland, though its shores were ravaged by the Norse Vikings from time to time, seems to have learned from them something both of ship-building and of sea-craft.

The influence of France on the artistic and technical education of the Scottish people was naturally great, for the relations between the two countries were for centuries intimate and friendly. M. Francesque-Michel has shown how the very language of Scotland testifies to the appropriation in the higher grades of society of many useful and artistic ideas of French origin.

In the sixteenth century the State began to realise the importance of technical instruction as bearing upon the extension and improvement of the manufactures of the country. Shortly after the Reformation (1579) this interest resulted in the appointment of commissioners to make inquiries regarding the manufacture of silk. The outcome of this commission was, that in 1581 Parliament gave special privileges to one Robert Dickson in establishing a silk manufactory at Perth. He was not only encouraged to make silk, but to instruct others in the art of manufacturing and working it. The "grant in aid" took the form of exemption for himself and his workmen from all burdens, taxes, and duties.

The State did not stop at the mere encouragement of native workmen to carry on and teach a useful art, but set itself to improve the condition of national industries by introducing foreign experts as instructors.

James VI., shortly after the introduction of a silk manufacture, had three skilled workmen brought from the Low Countries to initiate new methods in the production of various textile materials.

They were bound to remain in Scotland for a period of five years, and to bring with them thirty workmen, including an experienced dyer. They had not only to produce as good cloth as was turned out of the manufactories of their native country or England, but they had also to teach the secrets of their trade to apprentices of native birth. In other words, they came not merely as skilled workmen, but also as technical instructors.

Some fifty years later the first attempt was made to establish a system of technical schools all over Scotland. It does not seem to have reached any practical outcome, but the attempt is extremely interesting as an early anticipation of the Acts of recent years. From the Minutes of the Parliament, September 1641, it appears that the following overture was considered, and remitted to the Estates. After a statement of the loss to the country resulting from the want of sufficient manufactories to supply the native demand, it suggested that in every county a school should be erected in one of the principal towns, and that every parish within the county should send either one or two boys, according to the valuation of the parish, to be taught for seven years all kinds of "working cloth, or seys, spinning, weaving, waaking, litting and dressing." "Towards the expense of maintaining and teaching the boys an assessment of a merk from every chalder victual, or 100 merks of valued land, was to be paid, one-half by the owners, the other half by the occupiers. Every boy was to be above ten years of age." Thus two hundred and fifty years ago a movement was set on foot for the establishment and endowment of a national system of technical education.

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