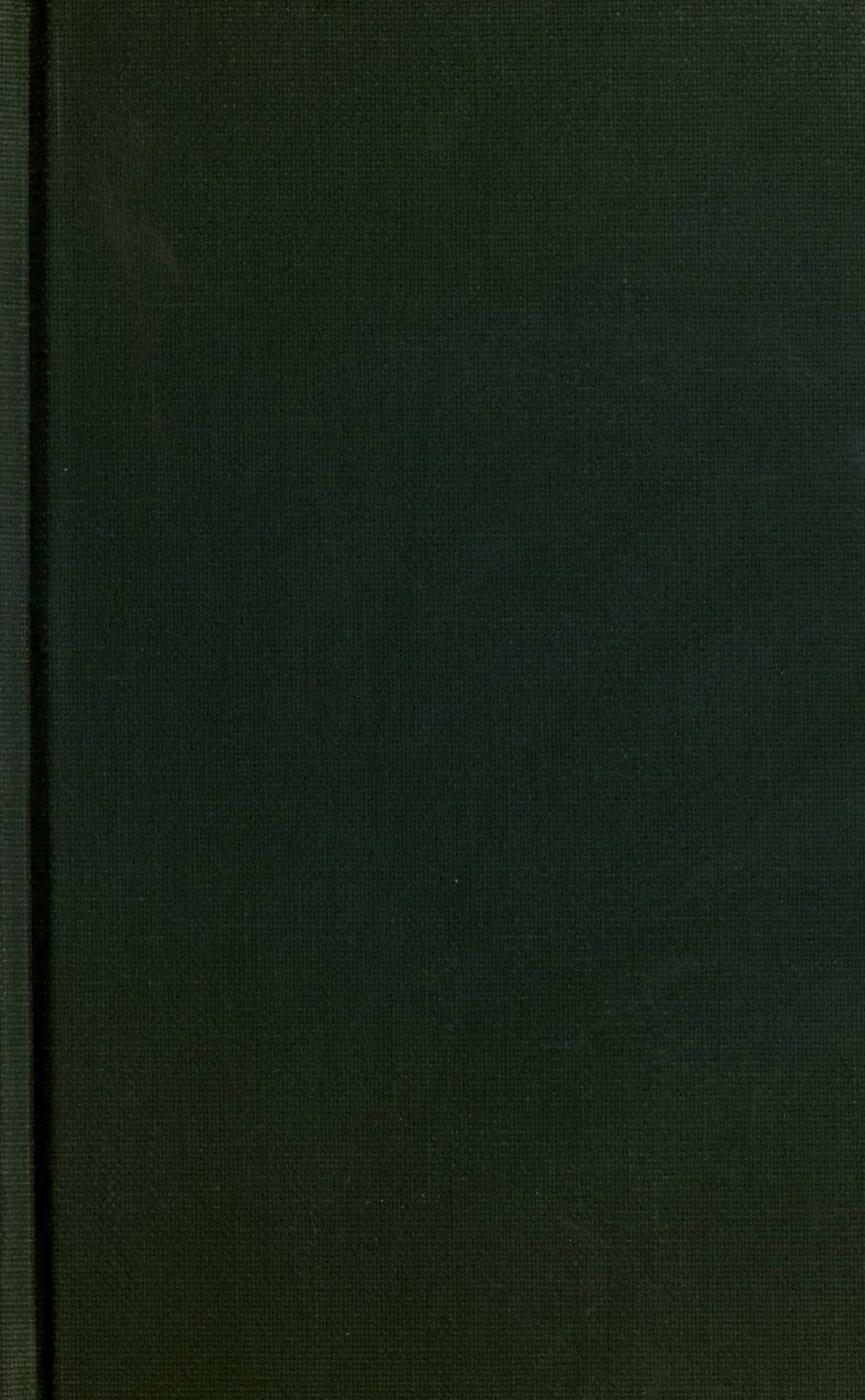

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MEDIAEVAL GLASGOW

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MCMXIII.

POPE NICHOLAS V.

From a painting, said to be by Rubens, in the Plantin Museum, Antwerp.

MEDIAEVAL GLASGOW

BY THE

REV. JAMES PRIMROSE

M.A., F.S.A. SCOT.

AUTHOR OF "STRATHBROCK, OR THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE PARISH OF UPHALL"

GLASGOW

JAMES MACLEHOSE AND SONS

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TO

THE CONGREGATION OF

CATHEDRAL SQUARE CHURCH,

GLASGOW,

TO WHOM THESE LECTURES, NOW REVISED, WERE ORIGINALLY DELIVERED, AND TO WHOSE SYMPATHY AND FORBEARANCE THE AUTHOR OWES MUCH.

PREFACE

THIS volume has been entitled *Mediaeval Glasgow*, taking the term mediaeval in its wider sense as synonymous with the ascendancy of the Mediaeval Church in Scotland. Round each of the leading prelates who sat in the Chair of St. Kentigern the history of the city during their time has been centred. Chapters on Pope Nicholas V. and the founding of Glasgow University, on Bishop Elphinstone's Glasgow Days, on St. Rollox and his Chapel, on the Castle and the Cross of Glasgow, have been included, as they contribute to the illustration of the period.

The endeavour of the author has been to show the important part Glasgow has played in the national history.

In connection with my researches I am indebted to many scholars for assistance, and specially to Professor Hume Brown, LL.D., Historiographer Royal for Scotland; the late Bishop Dowden; Mr. J. Maitland Thomson, LL.D.; Mr. Robert Renwick, Depute Town-Clerk, Glasgow; and the late Rev. John Anderson of the Register House.

I have also to thank among others Abbot, Rev. Sir D. O. Hunter Blair and the Rev. Dom. Columba Edmonds, O.S.B., Fort Augustus; Canon Hastings Rashdall, D.D., and Mr. R. S. Rait, M.A., of Oxford; the Rev. Principal Lindsay, D.D., the Rev. Professor Cooper, D.D., Professor Phillimore and Dr. William Gemmell, Glasgow; Mr. J. Maitland

Anderson, LL.D., of St. Andrews; Mr. Thos. Ross, LL.D., Edinburgh, and Messrs. Constable and Coy.

For the revision of proofs and valuable suggestions I am grateful to Mr. George Neilson, LL.D., and the Rev. Robert A. Lendrum, M.A., Glasgow. The Librarians of the University and the public libraries of the city, particularly Mr. F. T. Barrett and Mr. Robert Adams of the Mitchell Library, have courteously afforded me access to their treasures and aided me in my work.

To the Editor of the *Glasgow Herald* I am indebted for permission to reprint, in expanded form, a few articles that appeared in that paper.

The seals of prelates have been included among the illustrations from the conviction that while these ostensibly give a representation of St. Kentigern in his pontificals, in reality they contain a likeness of the prelate himself whose name they bear.

GLASGOW, *January*, 1913.

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I.

BISHOP JOCELYN—MONK JOCELYN AND THE PLACE-NAME GLASGOW.

THERE are two clerics of the name Jocelyn often confounded—Jocelyn who was Bishop of Glasgow (1175-1199), and Jocelyn a monk of the Cistercian Abbey of Furness. Perhaps the confusion arose from the fact that both flourished about the same period, viz. the latter part of the twelfth century, and that both belonged to the Cistercian Order of Benedictine monks.

The name Jocelyn seems to have been of French extraction, and is often found, spelt variously, in the records of those times.

It so happened that Bishop Jocelyn, who had previously been abbot of the recently-erected Abbey of Melrose, was anxious to build a new Cathedral at Glasgow, the former edifice erected by Bishop John in 1136 having been destroyed by fire. He may have been all the more impelled to this step because the twelfth century in Scotland was an age of great religious activity, when church building might be said to be in the air.[1]

Although Jocelyn was consecrated to the See of Glasgow in 1175, it would seem that, having other important business in hand, it was not till between the years 1189 and 1192 that he was anxiously engaged in building the Cathedral.[2] And

[1] Forbes, *Historians of Scotland*, v. pp. 308-312.

[2] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* i. xxiv.

further, it would appear that, although energetically carried on, the edifice was not sufficiently advanced for the celebration of worship till 1197, in which year it was consecrated.[1]

In order to procure the necessary means for such an expensive undertaking, Bishop Jocelyn set agoing a society for collecting funds[2] throughout the kingdom, which might be termed "a Cathedral Building Society." He also commissioned Jocelyn, of Furness, to write a biography of St. Kentigern, the founder of the See in the sixth century, and sing his praises as one whose glorious memory deserved to be perpetuated. To perform this task satisfactorily, Jocelyn of Furness visited Glasgow to gather material for the projected volume. In the prelude or preface of this biography, he tells us that he wandered through the streets and lanes of the city "seeking the recorded Life of St. Kentigern." He found a volume used by the Church, but this he described as "stained throughout by an uncultivated diction, discoloured and obscured by an inelegant style," as well as containing "something contrary to sound doctrine, and to the Catholic Faith";[3] a hint, indeed, that the ancient Celtic Church differed to some extent in doctrine from the Church of Rome. There is reason to believe that the volume thus referred to is the fragment of the Life of St. Kentigern, a transcript of which is preserved in the British Museum, and which appears to have been written by a foreign ecclesiastic, also a cleric of Glasgow, at the request of Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow, who died in 1164.[4]

Jocelyn also tells us he "found another little volume, written in the Scotic dialect, filled from end to end with solecisms, and tainted with what was perverse or opposed to the faith, but containing at greater length the life and

[1] *Chronicle of Mailros*, p. 103.
[2] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* No. 76.
[3] *Historians of Scotland*, v. pp. 29, 30.
[4] *Ibid.* Intro. p. lxiii.

acts of the holy bishop."[1] By the "Scotic dialect" is here meant the Irish form of Celtic, and as the influence of the Irish Church was felt along the West of Scotland, the language was probably intelligible to all.[2]

In the biography of St. Kentigern which he himself wrote, Jocelyn incorporated the contents of these two volumes or as much of them as he considered necessary. And he makes what, from a controversial point of view, may be regarded as a pregnant remark, "that he seasons what had been composed in a barbarous way with Roman salt."[3]

In those days Glasgow had been recently erected into a Burgh of Barony[4] or Bishop's Burgh, with the privileges of a weekly market on Thursdays. Besides, in connection with the consecration of the Cathedral in 1197, an anniversary "dedication feast" had been instituted, with a great fair of eight days' duration in the month of July—the origin of what is now well known as Glasgow Fair.

But the Fair was vastly different then from what obtains in our day. Now it is the signal for an exodus of the population; then the city was crowded with an influx of visitors bent on business, burghers and craftsmen from neighbouring towns, Solway fishers, shepherds from the Forest, Nithsdale yeomen, squires of Carrick and Clydesdale, knights, the lordly Abbots of Jedburgh and Crossraguel, Highland chiefs from the Lennox, and Border moss-troopers.[5]

As Jocelyn of Furness wandered through the streets of Glasgow, attired, doubtless, in the habit of the Cistercians —a black cowl and scapular and his robes of white—he would be "the observed of all observers." The only other

[1] *Ibid.* p. 30.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 314, note C.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 30.

[4] Glasgow was erected into a Burgh of Barony, 1175-78. *Glas. Charters*, ii. pp. 3-4.

[5] Dr. J. Robertson, *Scottish Abbeys*, etc. pp. 57-58.

monks likely to be seen in the city in those days would be the black-robed Clugny monks, from the neighbouring Abbey of Paisley. The "streets" of the city through which Jocelyn wandered would be few in number. The High Street, stretching from the Cathedral in more or less broken outline to the Cross, if not to the river, with the Rottenrow and the Drygate branching off on either side, would be the main thoroughfares. The "lanes" referred to by Jocelyn would be the narrow alleys or vennels leading from the streets to what are termed "back-lands." The houses, too, at this period would be mere mud hovels, thatched with turf or reeds, excepting, perhaps, the residence of the Bishop. Very few, if any, would be of stone. The outstanding building, overshadowing all, would be the Cathedral, then in course of erection, and although Bishop Jocelyn completed only the choir and the Lower Church, *i.e.* the eastern half, nevertheless the *Chronicle of Melrose* significantly informs us that Jocelyn enlarged the Church of St. Kentigern in a glorious manner.[1]

In those days, too, according to Jocelyn, the cemetery, long before consecrated by St. Ninian, was pointed out, and one of the tombs at least was "encircled by a delicious density of overshadowing trees." So far as can be made out, this cemetery would be situated where the Fergus aisle now stands, and close to the reputed tomb of St. Kentigern.[2]

There was also to be seen in this cemetery a very large stone cross, a monolith, said to have been erected by St. Kentigern with supernatural aid. A wonderful cross this must have been, for the Monk of Furness assures us that "many maniacs, and those vexed with unclean spirits, are used to be tied to it of a Sunday night, and in the morning are found restored." "But," he somewhat naïvely remarks,

[1] *Glasgow Charts. and Docts.* i. pt. i. p. viii.
[2] *Hists. of Scotland*, v. p. 52.

"ofttimes they are found dead, or at the point of death."[1]

But the question may be asked here—Why did Bishop Jocelyn select the Monk Jocelyn of Furness to write the biography of St. Kentigern? The answer would seem to be that the monk had already acquired some reputation as the accomplished biographer of St. Helen, King David of Scotland, St. Patrick, and of St. Waltheof of Melrose.

As we shall see immediately, the Life of St. Patrick was written about 1184, while the Life of St. Waltheof would not be written till 1206-7.[2] That is to say, Jocelyn, ere he came to Glasgow, had already written the Life of St. Patrick, if not others of the above-mentioned biographies, excepting that of St. Waltheof.

From Beck's *Annales Furnessienses*[3] we learn that in the year 1180 Jocelyn was sent to Ireland to help in founding the monastery of Iniscourcy, on a little island in Strangford Lough,[4] and that while he remained in Ireland he was requested by two of the Irish prelates and by John De Courcy, the conqueror and Prince of Ulster, whose name figures frequently in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, to write a Life of St. Patrick. But Jocelyn felt that to perform such a task satisfactorily, and gather up the traditions of the Saint current among the peasantry, he must learn the native tongue, Irish or Erse, a dialect akin to the Scottish Gaelic.

As is well known, the ancient Celtic language was divided into two branches, the Gaelic spoken in Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, and the Cymric, or Welsh, or British, or Brythonic spoken in Wales and Brittany. In the days of the Monk of Furness, the Welsh dialect of Celtic was

[1] *Ibid.* p. 110 and pp. 233-4.

[2] Morton, *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 202 ff.

[3] Beck's *Annales Furnessienses*, pp. 176-7.

[4] Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, i. pp. 71-2, 5th edn.

not confined to Wales,[1] it prevailed also in Scotland especially in Strathclyde, as several of the place-names found in the ancient documents indicate. Jocelyn, then, coming from Furness, where Welsh was spoken, and studying the Irish or Erse dialect of Celtic to qualify himself for writing the Life of St. Patrick, would thus become master of the two leading branches of the Celtic language, viz. the Gaelic and the Cymric or Welsh. Now, so far as we can gather, he published the Life of St. Patrick about 1184, and everything points to the conclusion that it was after this he came to Glasgow at the request of Bishop Jocelyn to search out material for the Life of St. Kentigern. This visit to Glasgow, then, may have been somewhere about the year 1190, at which period, as we may infer from history, the Welsh dialect was fast disappearing; and, while the Gaelic might still be holding its own, the Saxon tongue was making headway, especially among those who had received some education.[2]

Thus we may conclude that Jocelyn of Furness may be regarded as an authority on both branches of the Celtic language, the Cymric and the Gaelic, and if so, we should give due weight to what he has to say as to the interpretation of Celtic place-names. He seems to have been a fastidious writer, one who delighted in research, and the only outstanding literary man connected with Furness Abbey.

A specimen page of his Life of St. Patrick has been preserved among the *Facsimiles of the National MSS. of Ireland*.[3] While well versed in the knowledge of Scripture, Jocelyn's chief defect as a writer is undoubtedly his credulity in accepting legends of the supernatural—a blemish only

[1] From several references in Jocelyn's biography we infer that Welsh and Gaelic were both spoken in Strathclyde.

[2] Johnston, *Place Names of Scotland*, pref. p. xxx.

[3] P. liii, plate lxxxvi.

too common among the biographers of saints in Mediaeval times. This, however, need not detract from his authority as a Celtic scholar.

We are now in a position to enquire into the etymology of the place-name "Glasgow," concerning which there has been so much speculation. Those who are interested in the more scientific attempts to solve the problem will find these discussed in Macgeorge's *Armorial Insignia of Glasgow*,[1] and in the *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, in a paper contributed by Mr. W. G. Black.[2] Both of these writers come to the same conclusion that the place-name "Glasgow" is compounded of two Celtic words, viz. "glas," signifying "green," and "cu," an abbreviated form of "cum," meaning "dear." So that, in their estimation, the etymology of "Glasgow" is "the dear green place." With all deference, however, to the above-mentioned writers, it seems to me that we should attach some consideration to the interpretation Jocelyn himself offers.

What, then, is the interpretation Jocelyn gives? Taking the text of the British Museum MS., which Dr. Warner deems to belong to the early thirteenth century, as the earliest extant Life of the Saint,[3] we quote: "Cathedralem sedem suam in villa dicta Deschu, quod interpretatur Cara Familia quae nunc vocatur Glaschu, constituit," which may be translated: "St. Kentigern established his cathedral seat in a town called Glasgu, which is interpreted 'the dear family,' and is now called Glaschu."[4] Jocelyn states that in his day, *circa* 1190, the town was called Glaschu,[5] but

[1] P. 106. [2] *Trans. Arch. Soc.* 1st series, ii. p. 219, yr. 1883.

[3] *Hists. of Scotland*, v. p. lxiii. [4] *Ibid.* pp. 182 and 55.

[5] In the *Inquisitio of David*, *circa* 1120, the name of the city occurs three times, and the spelling is Glasgu, while in the Seal of the Chapter in Jocelyn's time the name is also spelt Glasgu. *Book of Glas. Cathedral*, p. 360. In the Dublin MS. *Life of St. Kentigern*, fourteenth century, the spelling is Glasgu. *Ibid.* p. lxiv.

he implies that in Kentigern's time, six centuries previous, it was named Deschu. And, not only so, but in an earlier chapter of his biography,[1] Jocelyn gives us to understand that when Kentigern first came here the place was called Cathures, as it would appear, the original Celtic name.[2]

Thus we discover that three successive names for the city emerge: first, Cathures, then Deschu, and later on Glaschu or Glasgu. Confining our attention meantime to "Deschu," a distinguished authority, Mr. Whitley Stokes,[3] suggests that the initial "d" in "deschu" has arisen through the copyist bringing the letters "c" and "l" into too close juxtaposition, thus forming a "d," so that we should read not "deschu" but "cleschu," a pronunciation that lingers in the vernacular to the present day.[4]

Nor is this the only instance in which the letters "c" and "l" have been brought too closely together so as to form a "d." Mr. J. T. T. Brown[5] detects a similar error in writing Carcleuin for Cardeuin (Cardowan), and Dr. Skene draws attention to the same mistake in the transcript of a History written by Asser in the ninth century.[6] Now, it is generally admitted that the terminating syllables of the names Mungo and Glasgow are identical, viz. that "go" or "gow" is the Welsh for "cu" or "chu" or "cum," signifying "dear." Hence Mungo is interpreted "the very dear man," or, as it might be rendered, "the man greatly beloved."

If, then, the "chu" in both "Cleschu" and "Glaschu" signifies "dear," what is the origin of the first syllable

[1] *Hists. of Scotland*, v. pp. 179 and 51.

[2] Cathures, probably connected with the Irish Cathair, a circular fort.

[3] W. Stokes, quoted in Macgeorge's *Old Glasgow*, p. 27, 1888 edn.

[4] This is a likely conjecture since "deschu" occurs only once, and that in the earliest MS.

[5] *Inquisitio of David*, ed. J. T. T. Brown, p. 12.

[6] Macgeorge's *Old Glasgow*, p. 27.

"cles"? If the name Cleschu signifies "the dear family," we must look for the meaning of "cles" in some word that has the significance of "family." And Jocelyn insists on this interpretation of "dear family," because he tells us that at Deschu (Cleschu), St. Kentigern united to himself a famous and God-beloved family who practised continence, and who lived after the fashion of the primitive church of the Apostles, without private property, in holy discipline, and divine service.[1] The monastery in those days was constituted on the model of a family. The Abbot was the father and the monks were his children. Hence the community of monks at Iona was known as the "family of Hy." Indeed the early Celtic church was monastic rather than episcopal, and its missionary work was carried on by little monastic communities or colleges of monks, whose heads were Abbots.[2]

With this clue we would accordingly look for the etymology of "cles" not in the Celtic "glas," but rather in the Latin "ecclesia," under its Welsh form "eglwys" or its Gaelic "eaglais," for we must bear in mind that the Celts, having no word of their own for a church or Christian family, adopted from the Romans the word "ecclesia," literally "an assembly," but which, later on, was applied more particularly to a Christian assembly or church or congregation. Thus, in those early days, the terms "family" and "church" were virtually interchangeable.

Accordingly, we come to the conclusion that the place-name "Cleschu" signifies "the dear church," and that in all likelihood Kentigern bestowed this term of endearment upon it on his return from Wales, whither he had exiled himself to escape the persecution of Morken, the pagan king of Strathclyde. Evidently Kentigern looked forward with

[1] *Hists. of Scotland*, v. pp. 182 and 55.

[2] Seebohm, *Tribal System and the Church*, pp. 204-5.

expectation to once more occupying the scene of his former successful labours on the banks of the Molendinar, for he left Wales accompanied by quite a large number of disciples, while King Rederech, who had succeeded Morken, came towards the Borders accompanied also by a great multitude of his people to give a hearty welcome to the man of God. Nor is this all; Jocelyn represents Kentigern several times [1] as referring in somewhat affectionate terms to his own church of Glasgow, a church, too, that is described by William the Lion as the "mother of many nations." [2]

To resume—if "ecclesia" in its Celtic form be the direction in which we must look for the interpretation of the "cles" in "Cleschu," this satisfies the contention of philologists that the first syllable of the place-name "Glasgow" should be a substantive, and the second an adjective. Besides, if "ecclesia" be the original, we can easily see how the two oldest forms "Cleschu" and "Glaschu" sprang from it, and, indeed, why there should be two forms at all, the one beginning with a "c" and the other with a "g." That "cles" is a likely abbreviation seems to me confirmed by the fact that the accent of "ecclesia" is on the second, not on the first syllable.

While it must be confessed the more common form in which "ecclesia" appears in place-names, is that which is transmuted in full, such as we see in Eccles, Eaglesham, Heglish, yet we have other forms which are just as likely abbreviations of "ecclesia." We may mention two—Lesmahago and Legsmalee. As to Lesmahago, according to a charter of 1144 A.D.,[3] the church there was dedicated to St. Machutus. Hence the original form of the name is said to have been "ecclesia Machuti," abbreviated into

[1] *Hists. of Scotland*, v. pp. 90, 95, 97.
[2] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* No. 76, p. xxv, note.
[3] *Lib. de Calchou* (Kelso), No. 8.

Lesmahagu, later on Lismago, later still Lesmachute, while it is now Lesmahago. Then, as to Legsmalee [1] in the Parish of Aberdour, Fife, the name was originally Ecclesmaline, the Church of St. Maline. In the course of time, however, this passed through several abbreviations, first into Egilsmalye, then into Egsmalye, and now it is Legsmalee. A somewhat similar process of abbreviation is found also in Eglismaly, or Egsmalee in Kinghorn Parish, Fife.[2] Here, then, in Lesmahago and Legsmalee we see the first syllable of "ecclesia" elided as we claim to have occurred also in "Cleschu," the original form of Glasgow.

But not to press other instances meantime, such as Cleish [3] in Kinross, the oldest spelling of which is "Cles," there is another strong reason why we should give heed to Jocelyn's interpretation of the place-name "Cleschu," as "dear family" or "dear church"; for, if we carefully read his biography of St. Kentigern, we discover that his knowledge of Celtic qualifies him to be somewhat of a philologist, albeit he was so credulous in the matter of the supernatural.

The etymology of Cleschu is not the only one he offers: he gives interpretations of several other place-names, and, so far as I am aware, they have never been questioned by competent critics. It is the Monk of Furness who tells us that "Mungo" or "Munghu" signifies "the dear man," [4] that "Kentigern" means "the chief lord," [5] that "Gulath," a little eminence in Glasgow, signifies "Dewhill," [6] that "Throp-Morken" was so named because King Morken was

[1] Dr. Ross' *Aberdour*, p. 117.

[2] Mackinlay, *Pre-Reformation Church and Scottish Place-names*, p. 70.

[3] *Reg. Dunfermelyne*, p. 83.

[4] *Hists. of Scotland*, v. pp. 327 and 41.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 94 and 218.

[6] *Ibid.* pp. 58, 185, 344. Dewhill latterly changed into Dovehill through misapprehension.

buried there,[1] and that "Crosfeld" is the English for "Crucis Novale," the field in which St. Kentigern erected a cross as the sign of the faith.[2]

To sum up, then, so far as we have light, the simplest and most feasible etymology of the much disputed place-name "Glasgow," originally "Cleschu," would seem to be "the dear church," a name probably given by St. Kentigern himself on returning from his enforced exile in Wales to the beloved scene of his former labours on the banks of the Molendinar. Here he erected his cell or chapel, the nucleus of the City of Glasgow. And in this respect the origin of Glasgow resembles that of many other towns and cities—houses built round a church causing the place to grow into a village, and then into a town or city, as we see also exemplified in Durham, Salzburg, Fulda, St. Gall, St. Neots, St. Ives, St. Boswells, St. Andrews, and Kilmarnock.[3]

Why was this particular site on the banks of the Molendinar chosen for the cell of St. Kentigern? Well, hereabouts according to legend the car with the body of Fergus halted. Here also there existed in St. Kentigern's time a cemetery that had been consecrated by St. Ninian about two centuries previously, in which the body of Fergus was buried, where also his tomb was pointed out to Jocelyn at the end of the twelfth century.[4]

When St. Ninian consecrated the cemetery for the burial of Christian dead, probably towards the beginning of the fifth century, just at the period when the Roman legions were being withdrawn from Scotland,—there was probably attached to it a cell or chapel from which as a centre, he evangelized the district.

Here, then, the question arises, Why should St. Ninian choose this particular site for a cemetery and a cell? Tradi-

[1] *Hists. of Scotland*, pp. 72 and 199.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 74, 200 and 349, note SS. [3] *Ibid.* p. 340. [4] *Ibid.* v. p. 52.

SLEZER'S VIEW OF GLASGOW (*circa* 1680) FROM THE NECROPOLIS HILL.

The Drygate Brig, Ladywell Street, and Gardens of the ancient Manses in the foreground; the Castle with its walls and gateway; the College and other spires in the background.

tion avers that the Necropolis Hill, termed in the twelfth century "The Crag," and for centuries afterwards "The Craigs,"[1] was originally a seat of Druid worship.[2] If so, there would be a cromlech or circle of stones here,[3] round which, according to the venerable and wide-spread custom of "deisiol," our Celtic forefathers danced "sunwise" and made invocations to the Deity, the visible symbol of which was the sun.[4]

If the tradition be credited, that the Necropolis Hill was originally a centre of Druidism, then at once we see a possible explanation for the site of St. Ninian's cell, viz. that it was erected on the opposite side of the ravine of the Molendinar as a Christian centre to counteract the influence of Druid paganism. The early Apostles of Christianity adopted this method of setting up churches near pagan centres; witness the Apostle Paul originating churches at Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome. This example the early Celtic missionaries imitated; St. Patrick made his head-quarters at Tara, the great Druid centre of Ireland, St. Columba at Iona, and St. Modan at Dryburgh. Recent writers have a tendency to deny that the so-called Druidism of Scotland in the early centuries had any priesthood offering sacrifices or, indeed, any marked resemblance to the Druidism of the Gauls, as pictured by Julius Cæsar.[5] Undoubtedly the Druids referred to in the lives of the early Celtic missionaries

[1] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* i. p. 55; Wodrow's *Analecta*, i. p. 166; *Extracts Burgh Records of Glasgow*, yrs. 1663-1690, p. 278. Craig in Celtic means a rock, so Glasgow has its rock as well as Edinburgh and Stirling.

[2] Brown's *Hist. of Glasgow*, i. p. 18; H. Macdonald's *Rambles*, etc., p. 417.

[3] "Cromlech" is derived from the Breton 'Crom,' a circle, and 'lech,' a place, and is not to be confounded with a Dolmen or table stone. Rouzic, *Les monuments de Carnac*, p. 11.

[4] Joyce's *Irish Names of Places*, ii. p. 455; Smith's *Gaelic Antiquities*, p. 38, Edin. 1780.

[5] Dowden's *Celtic Church in Scotland*, p. 99.

are presented rather in the character of "magicians" or medicine-men. But it must be borne in mind that an interval of five or more centuries had elapsed since the days of Cæsar, and that during this period Druidism must have degenerated, for Cæsar expressly informs us that in his day young men on the Continent designed for the priesthood were often sent over to Druidical Colleges in Britain, where the purity of the ancient faith was preserved, that they might learn there more correctly the principles of their religion.[1]

It must be confessed we are yet much in the dark concerning Druidism, whether the megaliths known variously by the terms, cromlechs, dolmens, and menhirs are the remains of ancient Celtic races, or of prehistoric peoples, who lived centuries anterior. It has even been questioned whether these megaliths are the remains of pagan worship at all, and not rather sepulchral monuments pure and simple, as the dolmen appears to have been. But if we study these megaliths at Carnac in Brittany, where they are to be seen at their fullest splendour, where the alignments or oriented lines of menhirs [2] are evidently vast avenues leading to the cromlech, the conviction is impressed upon us that this must have been originally a temple of the Sun, and that while at first these standing stones may have been employed exclusively for places of worship, nevertheless in course of time they came to be used also as places of interment, just as the space surrounding the old parish churches has from time immemorial been occupied as a churchyard set apart for the burial of the dead.[3]

In any case, the site of Glasgow Cathedral is associated with the early preaching of the gospel in Scotland. In this

[1] *De Bello Gall.* bk. vi. ch. 13.

[2] Menhir, lit. long stone, *i.e.* in upright position.

[3] Excavations at Kermario in Carnac. Jas. Miln, 1881.

respect Glasgow can claim a more venerable antiquity than either St. Andrews or Edinburgh. As Dr. Jos. Robertson writes: "Here the cross was planted and here was ground blessed for Christian burial by a Christian bishop, while Iona was yet an unknown island among the western waves, while the promontory of St. Andrews was the haunt of the wild boar and the sea-mew, and only the smoke of a few heathen wigwams ascended from the rock of Edinburgh." [1]

[1] *Scottish Abbeys*, p. 62.

SEAL OF JOCELINE,
A.D. 1175-1199.

SEAL OF WILLIAM DE BONDINGTON,
A.D. 1233-1258.

II.

BISHOP WILLIAM DE BONDINGTON (1233-1258) BUILDER OF GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.

Bishop Keith informs us that William de Bondington belonged to an ancient family in the shire of Berwick.[1] Bondington, it appears, was the name of a village long since vanished, immediately to the west of Berwick-upon-Tweed, although now absorbed in it, owing to the extension of the burgh boundaries. It is probable that the future bishop was born there and, as so many priests did, took his name from his birthplace. At any rate, the name was not uncommon in the district.[2]

It is not stated where William received his schooling. But as Berwick was an important commercial centre for trading with the Continent, and, besides, a town of advanced ideas, the likelihood is that there would be schools there for the instruction of the young. Indeed we read of a master of the schools there, evidently an important personage, as early as the year 1233.[3] As the monasteries in those days were usually the centres of secondary education, and as there is no reference in this connection to Coldingham, the nearest abbey, we may presume that William received his higher school training at Kelso Abbey, one of the grandest

[1] *Cata. Scot. Bish.* Edin. 1824, p. 238.

[2] *Lib. de Calchou* (Kelso), i. pp. 35 and 40; ii. p. 467, Bann. Club Edn.; Scott's *Hist. Berwick-on-Tweed*, pp. 332, 433-5.

[3] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* i. No. 166; *Lib. de Calchou*, p. 5.

foundations of its kind in Scotland.[1] The monks of Kelso enjoyed a good educational reputation, furnishing instruction not only within the monastery to a more advanced class than those who attended the burgh schools, but having schools also in the neighbouring town of Roxburgh as early as the reign of William the Lyon (1165-1214).[2] Here, it may be stated, that while the monasteries were the chief centres in Scotland for secondary education, recent investigation has made it clear that in England, at least, the chantry priests of cathedrals and large parish churches were the teachers of the higher education. In confirmation so far of this conjecture that Bondington was educated at Kelso, there are several entries in the Book of Kelso of grants of land in the village of Bondington to the monks of Kelso, while the parish church of Bondington was originally gifted to these monks, thus showing ecclesiastical connection between the two places.

After his early education, Bondington, like others of his countrymen, might have proceeded to Oxford, seeing that Scotland in those days had no university of her own; but England and Scotland were then in a bellicose condition, besides, strained relations existed at Oxford about this period between town and gown. At any rate Bondington's name is not to be found in Antony Wood's *History and Antiquities of the University.*

Failing Oxford, we might have expected Bondington to proceed to Paris, the headquarters of orthodox theology in the Middle Ages, but the lists of students of this period are not recorded in the pages of Denifle.[3] Another probable conjecture is that Bondington studied at Bologna whose university then enjoyed special repute for the study of Law,

[1] *Trans. Scot. Ecclesiol. Soc.* 1909, p. 358.
[2] *Lib. de Calchou*, pref. xliii.
[3] *Auctar. Chartul. Univ. Paris.* ii.

both civil and canon, two departments of knowledge in which Bondington excelled, as his later career inclines us to believe.[1] Unfortunately, as at Paris, no lists of the early students of Bologna are known to be preserved.

In those days, and even earlier, towards the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, Scotch students in their zeal travelled far and wide, veritable knights-errant of learning. Of these, perhaps the most illustrious was Michael Scot [2] of Balwearie, Fife, who studied at Oxford, Paris, Padua, and Toledo. Invited to the court of Frederick II.—" the wonder of the world," he translated the writings of Aristotle from Arabic into Latin. He possessed, too, an omnivorous and versatile intellect, so far above his compeers that he was regarded as a wizard, endowed with supernatural powers. Hence Dante,[3] imagining him to practise the wiles of the devil, consigns him to an awful fate in *Inferno*,—the only Scotsman, by the way, who has found a place, although not an enviable one, in the immortal pages of the " Divine Comedy."

A Scotsman, in quest of learning abroad, might be poor, but evidently he had a good reputation, for like his native thistle, whose motto is " Nemo me impune lacessit," he must not be trifled with or trampled upon. As an illustration of this, an English monk, Sampson by name, afterwards Abbot of St. Edmondsbury, tells us that when journeying through Italy to Rome on a visit to the Pope, about the year 1160, he pretended to be Scotch. " Putting on the garb and the gesture of a Scotchman," he says, "I often brandished my staff in the way they use that weapon called a gaveloc —probably a pike—at those who mocked me, using threatening language after the manner of the Scotch." " This,"

[1] Rashdall, *Mediaeval Univers.* i. ch. ii.; ii. pt. ii. p. 581.

[2] *Michael Scot*, by J. Wood Brown.

[3] *Inferno*, canto xx.

he naïvely confesses, "I did to conceal myself and my errand and that I should get to Rome safer in the guise of a Scotchman." [1]

On the completion of his university curriculum, Bondington's first ecclesiastical preferment seems to have been as Rector of Eddleston, near Peebles, one of the possessions of the bishopric of Glasgow enumerated in the Notitia of the Inquest of David I. Eddleston may at this time have been one of the prebends of Glasgow; if so, Bondington would officially visit Glasgow on cathedral duty.[2]

Subsequently Bondington was promoted to be Archdeacon of Lothian, under the diocese of St. Andrews. So says Keith,[3] but Cosmo Innes thinks he was Archdeacon of Teviotdale. For the latter, however, there is no documentary proof.[4] Besides, we are tolerably certain of the names and dates of the Archdeacons of Teviotdale, and Bondington's name is not among them.[5] It is best, then, to follow Keith and, it may be added, Crawford, and regard Bondington as Archdeacon of Lothian. The post of archdeacon in mediaeval times was most important, for he not only controlled the management of church property and saw to the support of the clergy, but rendered such valuable assistance to the bishop in the oversight of the diocese that he was termed "oculus episcopi," the eye of the bishop.[6]

[1] *Chronicle of Jocelyn of Brakeland*, edn. 1907, pp. 61-62. The term Scotchman in those days, while long applicable to natives of Ireland and Scotland, probably refers to the latter here.

[2] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* Nos. 167 and 320, pref. lxiii. Eddleston was certainly a prebend in 1401.

[3] Keith gives no authority, and no copy of the *Episcopal Register of St. Andrews* is known to exist.

[4] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* pref. xxx.

[5] *Archdeaconry of Teviotdale*, Geo. Watson.

[6] Dowden, *Mediaeval Church in Scotland*, p. 218.

Again, as showing Bondington's high reputation for knowledge of law, Alexander II., King of Scotland in 1231, bestowed the Chancellorship on William de Bondynton, formerly clerk of Thomas the Chancellor—Thomas de Striveling—who also at the same time held the office of Archdeacon[1] of Teviotdale. As Chancellor, Bondington's name is found as a witness to charters.[2] As the post of Chancellor was one that demanded a thorough knowledge of both civil and canon law, it may be inferred that Bondington was a man of extensive legal learning and practical sagacity.

Then, two years afterwards, so rapid was his preferment, he was consecrated Bishop of Glasgow by Andrew, Bishop of Moray, a leading churchman of his day, on 11th September 1233, in the Cathedral of Glasgow, built by Jocelyn.[3] Two years later the bishop is found dedicating a cemetery,[4] attached to the recently erected Franciscan Monastery, on the banks of the Teviot close to the now vanished town of Roxburgh, thus showing his sympathy with the Franciscans when they first came to Scotland, as shortly afterwards he did with the Dominicans.

It would appear that Bondington had been complaining to the papal court of what he considered encroachments upon his rights and liberties. Hence Pope Gregory IX., in May 1235, grants the Bishop of Glasgow and his successors an indult that neither they nor their clerks should be summoned, against their will, out of Scotland by apostolic letters, unless such letters make mention of the indult.[5] A similar indult was also granted July 1238.[6]

When Bondington became Bishop of Glasgow, the Cathedral was not in a very prosperous condition financially.

[1] Fordun's *Scotichron.* lib. ix. cap. 48, Goodal's edn.
[2] Raine's *North Durham*, Coldingham Chart. lxix, lxx.
[3] *Chronicles of Melrose*, p. 144.
[4] *Lib. de Calchou*, p. 321, No. 418.
[5] Theiner, *Monum.* No. 79.
[6] *Cal. Pap. Reg.* i. p. 175.

It had been erected by Bishop Jocelyn at considerable expense, for we read "ecclesiam gloriose magnificavit."[1] Consequently there was a debt of 1400 merks due to the merchants of Florence. This debt Bondington cleared off with characteristic energy in August 1240, as was acknowledged by Ubertellus, son of William, merchant of Florence, at London in presence of the papal legate Otto.[2]

About this very period, the Emperor Frederick II. and Pope Gregory IX. were engaged in bitter conflict. Both Frederick and Gregory were remarkable men. Frederick indeed was so highly gifted that he spoke several languages, was well versed in the knowledge of science, and fostered the arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting. Unfortunately, however, his great powers were wasted in struggling with Popes. He would never admit that the Church should dominate the State. Like the imperial eagle with the two heads emblazoned on his arms, the Emperor claimed to be head over both Church and State.[3] On the other hand, the Pope claimed that neither prince nor prelate nor any other ruler had any lawful power, but what was derived from him. Holding such extremely diverse opinions, we are not surprised that Pope and Emperor were continually at strife. Hence Frederick was several times excommunicated, and, Dante voicing the sentiments of those days, consigns him to one of the red-hot tombs of the city of Dis.[4]

In August 1240, Gregory IX. summoned a General Council to meet at Rome in the Easter of 1241, to consult about grave matters affecting the Church. The Emperor, however, objected to the Council on the ground that it ought to have

[1] *Historians of Scotland*, v. p. 308.

[2] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* No. 176.

[3] Bryce's *Holy Rom. Emp.* London, 1906, pp. 203-204; Matthew of Paris, *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Series), Index—Fred. II.

[4] *Inferno*, canto x. 120.

been summoned by the cardinals and not by the Pope, who was one of the contending parties. Besides, he suspected that the prelates of the Church had been summoned for the purpose of crushing him. Accordingly he ordered a proclamation to be made that all faithful subjects of the empire should detain both in person and property, all prelates and ministers of any religious order who should pass through their country to go to the court of Rome, whether they should travel by sea or by land. Further, to stimulate their loyalty, they had free leave given them to capture any such persons and to appropriate their goods. As a counterblast to this proclamation, the Pope wrote letters urging the bishops to obey the summons to the Council and to disregard the threats of the Emperor. In these circumstances, the prelates were in great straits whom to obey.[1]

Among the prelates of Scotland summoned to this Council were David de Bernham, Bishop of St. Andrews, and William, Bishop of Glasgow, who accordingly set out from Scotland on 2nd December 1240, for Rome, leaving many sorrowing at their departure.[2] Not very long after this, however, these two bishops returned along with the bishops of France and England, declaring that it was impossible for them, without danger of death, to reach the seat of the Apostles.[3] They sent proctors meantime to the Pope to explain the situation. It is probable that the two Scottish bishops and those who accompanied them would turn back at Nice, for it was to this port the Pope had commissioned a fleet to convey the prelates to Genoa, *en route* for Rome. At any rate, we know that many turned back at Nice in

[1] Capture of Gen. Coun. *Eng. Hist. Review*, 1891, pp. 1-17; Huillard Bréholles, *Historia Diplomatica Fred. II.* vol. v.

[2] *Chron. de Mailros*, p. 151. Probably Bondington sailed direct to France, as there is no mention of his obtaining a safe-conduct to pass through England.

[3] *Chron. de Mailros*, p. 152; Fordun's *Scotichr.* lib. ix. cap. 56.

March, 1241, upon the pretext that the fleet was insufficient for their safety.[1]

But while those above mentioned returned to their own countries, "many great and religious persons took this journey by sea," the fleet leaving on 25th April with great rejoicing and blowing of trumpets. It was well that these two illustrious Scottish bishops turned back, for those prelates who sailed from Nice were soon afterwards captured by the Emperor's fleet in a naval engagement that took place near the island of Giglio, and experienced no end of hardship and cruelty. Thus the Council did not meet in 1241, and the aged Pope Gregory died on 21st August, the same year, a disappointed man.

As soon as Bondington reached home after his adventurous journey, he set about erecting at Glasgow a new cathedral on a scale far more imposing than the one then existing. Doubtless in his travels through France he must have witnessed the outburst of enthusiasm displayed there in building cathedrals. Such exquisite creations as those of Notre Dame Paris, Rheims, Chartres, Rouen, were then rising up, each of them in their loveliness, like the fabled Aphrodite out of the sea foam. Yet, when Bondington erected Glasgow Cathedral there is no trace of French influence in its style of architecture. As Dr. Thomas Ross remarks, "If the French method had been followed at Glasgow, the east end would almost to a certainty have been apsidal which was the prevailing manner in France, and which had only a footing for a short time in Britain after the Conquest. Besides, when Bondington began his cathedral in 1240, they were actually taking down at Durham the apsidal east end built more than a century previous, and replacing it by the splendid square east end, thus reverting to the ancient British tradition. Not only

[1] *Eng. Hist. Review*, 1891, pp. 9 and 10.

is the plan of Glasgow English but the minor details also."

This being so, we are led to infer that on returning from abroad, Bondington, instead of sailing direct to Scotland from France, travelled through England, where at the very period the Cathedrals of Salisbury, Ely, and York were in the course of construction.

Perhaps, too, Bondington felt impelled to erect his cathedral out of a sense of gratitude to God for his deliverance from the fate that had befallen so many of his brother prelates. Besides, circumstances were eminently favourable to such an undertaking. Scotland under her king, Alexander II., had never been more prosperous. New ideas were breaking out in many directions. Indeed there was so much energy and enterprise manifested at this period that it has been reckoned a kind of golden age in Scottish history.[1]

According to Fordun, writing about 1380, William de Bondington, "a man bountiful and generous in all things, built his church at Glasgow with wonderful ingenuity in stone and enriched and adorned it with many gifts."[2] For this purpose he would secure, as was customary in those days, the services of one of the travelling guilds of masons and artificers, who built oriented and cruciform cathedrals and churches. The east end, known as the chancel or choir, where stood the high altar, was usually erected first of all, so that public worship might be celebrated as soon as possible. So it was at Glasgow; the lower church with the chancel above was built first. Whether in part it was the work of Bishop Jocelyn we shall not discuss; but this lower church with its clustered columns and floriated capitals, and its exquisite vaulting, is unrivalled in Britain, and is considered one of the finest specimens of its style in Europe.

[1] Hume Brown's *Hist. of Scotland*, i. p. 110.
[2] *Scotich.* lib. x. cap. xi.

Hector Boece affirms that the Kirk of Glasgow was completed by Bondington, as it was standing in his day, 1500.[1] But experts are of opinion that while Bondington finished the choir and the crypt, he only laid the lower courses of the nave on an earlier foundation. Some have ascribed to Bondington also the foundation and lower courses of the chapter-house, from the inscription over the dean's seat, which reads :

"Wilms: fuda: istut: capitm: Dei."

According to the late Archbishop Eyre this abbreviated form should be read "Willelmus fundavit istud capitulum Dei," *i.e.* William founded this chapter-house in honour of God. Who was this William ? Was it William de Bondington or William Lauder, both of whom were building bishops ? The armorial bearings on the stone beneath the inscription are those of Bishop William Lauder, 1408-25. Professor Hume Brown, also is of opinion that the type of script employed here was that in use in the fourteenth century, and may very well have persisted into the first half of the fifteenth century. The balance of probability inclines us to believe that this inscription belongs to the period of Bishop William Lauder, and not to that of Bishop William de Bondington.[2]

But whence came the money for the construction of the Cathedral ? There were several benefactors. Forveleth, daughter of Kerald, and a widow, granted lands in the parish of Buthelulle, now Bonhill, on the banks of the river Leven.[3] Pope Gregory IX. also granted for a period the rents of the churches of Ancrum, Stobo, and

[1] Boethius, *Hist.* bk. xiii. ch. xvi.

[2] *Trans. Glas. Arch. Soc.* New Series, April 1891, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 154 ; *Book of Glas. Cathedral*, p. 255.

[3] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* Nos. 177-8.

Eddleston.[1] Then Bondington himself, according to Fordun, contributed lavishly. Again, King Alexander II. confirmed in 1242 to Bishop William and his successors certain lands in and around Glasgow, such as Schedinistuñ, Possele, Ramnishoreñ, along with the rights of free forest.[2]

Moreover, Bondington persuaded the Provincial Council held at Perth in 1242, when such councils were beginning to operate beneficially on the life and discipline of the Church, to adopt as a resolution, "That the scheme for the building of the Glasgow Cathedral be on all Sundays and feast days faithfully and earnestly brought before the parishioners in every church after the gospel at mass; and that an indulgence be granted to those who contribute to this building scheme, which indulgence was directed to be exhibited in writing in every church and publicly and distinctly recited to the parishioners in the vulgar tongue. . . ." No one was to authorize a collection in parish churches for any other scheme within the period specified.[3]

Thus every precaution was taken that the collection for the building fund should be liberal. And observe the native shrewdness,—while the rest of the service might be in Latin, the intimation concerning the collection was to be made "in the vulgar tongue," the plain unmistakable Doric of the country.

To this annual national contribution we owe in great measure the completion of the magnificent choir and lower church.

But not only did Bondington so far complete the building of the Cathedral, he sought during the last year of his episcopate to provide it with a Use,[4] that is, with a con-

[1] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* No. 166. [2] *Ibid.* No. 180.

[3] *Stats. Scott. Church*, 1225-1559, D. Patrick's translation, p. 25.

[4] The term "Use" has various significations. Sometimes it is applied to the liturgical books, or to the ceremonial rules, or to the constitution,

stitution and customs formed according to the best models. Hence, through his dean and chapter, he entered into correspondence with the dean and chapter of Salisbury, whose new cathedral was just then being reared, and this led to the adoption by Glasgow of the Sarum Use—Sarum being the older name for Salisbury. The Norman-French invasion, with its infusion of new ideas, had rendered it necessary to incorporate some of the Norman-French Church customs with what had been in vogue in the English Church; and this blending of the two elements, the French and the English, came to be known as the Use of Sarum.[1]

It is stated that one of Bondington's predecessors in the See, Bishop Herbert, had about a century previously introduced the Use of Sarum into Glasgow. The probability, however, is that he only partially adopted the Use, a not uncommon practice in those days; and that it was Bishop Bondington who recommended the full adoption of the Sarum Use, its customs as well as its constitution.[2]

Bondington, too, as he journeyed through France, must have marked the great religious awakening, manifesting itself in the revival brought about by the evangelistic zeal of the Blackfriars.[3] Paris especially was deeply moved. We are not surprised if he caught infection from their enthusiasm, and felt that something more was necessary for the advancement of Christ's Kingdom than splendid temples of stone and a stately ritual. It was a new thing for the Church in those days systematically to train young men in preaching, to practise them in the graces

or even to the adoption of any combination of the three. The best known Uses are those of Sarum, York, Lincoln, Hereford, and St. Paul's, London. H. B. Swete, *Service and Service Books*, pp. 14, 15.

[1] The Use of Sarum as adopted by Glasgow is described in the *Reg. Epis. Glas.* pref. xxx, and Nos. 207-211.

[2] *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. ii. pp. 364-5-9.

[3] Rashdall, *Mediaeval Universities*, i. p. 348.

of oratory, and to furnish them with arguments to confute heresy. But Bondington, whose mind seemed ever open to ideas with any promise or potency in them, gave a cordial welcome to the Friars Preachers, the Dominicans or Blackfriars, when they came to Glasgow about the year 1246. He provided them with a site on which to erect their monastery on the east side of the High Street, on a spot which in days gone by, tradition tells us, was associated with memories of Druidism.[1]

Further, in his desire to encourage the new order, Bondington secured from Pope Innocent IV. a forty days' indulgence to all the faithful who should contribute to the completion of the church and other edifices, which the Friars Preachers of Glasgow had begun to build.[2]

In the year 1244 we find that Bondington as bishop of the diocese in which Crossraguel was situated, was called upon to arbitrate in a dispute between the Clugny monks of Paisley Abbey, and the trustees of Duncan, Earl of Carrick, who had bequeathed lands for building an abbey at Crossraguel. This award, which is contained in the "Scriptum de Ragmol," affirmed that the monks of Paisley were to hand over all the properties that they had been holding for nearly fifty years, also that the new house of Crossraguel was to enjoy full independence, including free choice of its abbot.[3]

Then some time between 1248-58, we find Bondington along with the other bishops of Scotland issuing a mandate to King Alexander III., who had recently acceded to the Crown, when only eight years of age, claiming that "the churches and the prelates should enjoy the peaceful possession

[1] Renwick's *Glas. Memorials*, p. 189; Brown's *Hist. of Glas.* p. 5. The site is now occupied by the G. and S.-W. Railway, to the north of what used to be known as Blackfriars Street.

[2] Bull of Pope Innocent IV. dated July 10, 1246.

[3] Blair's *Charters of Crossraguel*, i. 4.

of all the rights and liberties which they have received in the time of King Alexander II., because prelates had been despoiled by laymen of the possessions bestowed on their churches and alms, as lately in the case of the Prior of St. Andrews."[1]

In June 1250, there occurred at Dunfermline an event that somewhat stirred the national sentiment, if we may judge from the reputed prodigies associated with it. This was the translation of the bones of the recently canonized Margaret, wife of Canmore, from the stone coffin in which they had lain for a century and a half, to a beautiful shrine adorned with gold and precious stones, erected in the Lady aisle of the newly-built choir of the Abbey Church.[2]

Fordun tells us that this solemn ceremony took place in the presence of King Alexander III., the queen his mother, with many bishops and abbots, earls and canons, and other men in great numbers.[3] He does not, however, mention the names of the bishops, but when we turn to an inquisition of 1316,[4] it is stated that the translation took place in the presence of the king, of seven of his bishops, and seven of his earls, whose presence it would appear from the history of the period was essential to such a ceremony. Now St. Andrews and Glasgow being two of the most ancient and important Sees in the realm, we may be tolerably certain that Bondington would be there. Dempster, who is not always a reliable authority, credits Bondington with having written a treatise, "De translatione reliquiarum dom: Margaretae reginae."[5]

[1] D. Patrick, *Statutes of Scottish Churches*, p. 211.

[2] This shrine at Dunfermline was the scene of many pilgrimages for more than three centuries, till its destruction at the Reformation.

[3] *Scotich.* lib. x. cap. iii. and *Historians of Scotland*, vi. pp. 290-1.

[4] *Reg. de Dunferm.* p. 235, and *Acts of Scot. Parlt.* pt. i. pp. 83 and 425.

[5] *Historia Eccles.* p. 662, Bannatyne Club edition.

But while Bondington threw his energies into the administration of the spiritual affairs of his diocese, he was also called upon as Chancellor to act the part of statesman. Brought up at Berwick-on-Tweed, his patriotic spirit would be stirred now and again in times of border raids or of English aggression.[1] Hence when Alexander II. of Scotland marched southwards with his army to meet the advance of Henry III. of England, and war was averted only by the interposition of the English barons, we find in the treaty or agreement which was entered into between the two monarchs at York, the name of Bishop Bondington among others, as being present, signing his name, and affixing his seal thereto, on September 25, 1237.[2]

The strenuous life led by the bishop began at last to weaken his strength, for in May 1255, the Pope "commissions the prior of the Friars Preachers, Glasgow, on the petition of the Bishop of Glasgow, to grant a dispensation to him who is now unable from age and infirmity always to abstain from flesh meat, and to commute his voluntary vow to that effect into alms and other works of mercy." [3]

In his declining years the spirit of patriotism was roused within him when he learned that Henry III., taking advantage of the Scottish king's being a mere boy, was intriguing against the liberties and independence of Scotland. Henry, like his son Edward I., was most persistent in his insidious efforts to bring Scotland under the domination of England. In 1255, after his daughter Margaret had been married to the youthful Alexander, he sought to remodel the government of Scotland, and presented at Kelso Abbey a document for ratification to be signed by the Scottish representatives. But Bondington and the

[1] Berwick-on-Tweed had been burnt in 1175 and 1216.

[2] *Cal. Documts. Scotland*, i. Nos. 1358, 1654 and 2013.

[3] *Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters*, i. p. 318.

others indignantly refused to affix their seals thereto. Whereupon he and the other bishops who resisted were removed from the Scottish king's council and deprived of their secular offices.[1]

Although deprived of the Chancellorship, the venerable bishop, standing up for his spiritual rights, boldly consecrated Gamelin, Bishop of St. Andrews, at his own See, albeit Henry's counsellors sent messengers to prohibit the ceremony.[2] Thus we find that Bishop Bondington, as well as Bishop Wishart later on, acted as bulwarks against the aggression of the two kings of England, who made the most persistent and insidious attempts to undermine the independence of Scotland.

All honour to these two bishops of Glasgow, whose names have been passed over by historians, but whose patriotism, nevertheless, burned so brightly at a most critical juncture in the nation's history! And is it not interesting that the memories of these two bishops are intertwined and kept alive by the fact, that while the former built the choir and the lower church, the latter built the western towers and the nave, thus virtually completing between them the stately and beautiful Cathedral that is the pride and ornament of Glasgow?

From several of his charters being dated at Alnecrum or Ancrum, near Jedburgh, where the bishops of Glasgow had from the earliest times a manor-house, we learn that Bondington frequently resided there, especially during the latter portion of his life.[3] We can picture to our mind's eye the good bishop as he rode on horseback, accompanied by his retainers, travelling in those far-off days from Glasgow to his country-house

[1] *Acts of Scot. Parlt.* i. 419. [2] *Chron. de Mailros*, yr. 1255, Aug. 15, p. 181.

[3] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* i. p. 5, Nos. 203-207; *Lib. de Calchou* and *Lib. de Dryburgh.*

near the Borders. Keeping by the Clyde valley as far as Carstairs, he would strike eastwards by Dolphinton or Biggar and follow the Tweed valley past Stobo and Peebles, thence by Melrose to Ancrum.

We can imagine the dangers of the road from wolves and other beasts of prey issuing from the forests.[1] Yet, for the greater portion of the way, he would be hospitably entertained by his own tenants, who rented property belonging to the See of Glasgow. If we judge from what was customary in the sixteenth century, these various tenants would provide the bishop with fresh horses and provender for each stage of the journey.[2] Ancrum, even in Bondington's day, was an old-world spot, with its Druidical remains, its ancient Roman road near by, and its caves in the rocks by the side of the river Ale. Here, in this romantic and lovely region, "this Arcadian ground of Scotland," where he had not only a chapel, but also a manor-house, with gardens and orchards, tradition says the good bishop loved to cultivate his fruits and flowers as a solace amid the cares of office.[3] And here also, where fish and game were plentiful, he, like the neighbouring monks, would rear cattle and sheep for exportation of hides and wool to the Continent, and so add considerably to his revenue.[4]

Uncertainty hangs over the site of the ancient episcopal manor-house or castle as to whether it stood at Over or Nether Ancrum. On the whole, the evidence seems in favour of the latter, at a spot curiously named the Maltan or Mantle Walls, near the lower bridge over the Ale, where the surface shows traces of a terrace, and where in days gone by subterranean vaults were discovered.[5]

[1] Cosmo Innes' *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, pp. 123, 125, 331.
[2] *Dioces. Reg. Glas.* i. pp. 32 and 38, 1543 A.D.
[3] Jeffrey, *Hist. and Antiquit. of Roxburghshire*, pp. 351-2.
[4] Chalmers' *Caledonia*, ii. p. 148 and notes.
[5] *Origines Paroch.* i. p. 304 ; O.S.A. and N.S.A. Parish of Ancrum.

The antique market-cross, too, that stands in the centre of the village green, looks as if it had weathered the storms of centuries, and come down to us, perhaps, from the days of Bondington.

Here, at Ancrum, on 10th November 1258, the bishop breathed his last.[1] His body, like that of Jocelyn, one of his predecessors, was buried in the chancel near the great altar of the magnificent Abbey of Melrose, then at the height of its splendour.[2] In this consecrated spot in Melrose Abbey, Bondington, one of Scotland's greatest bishops, was buried beside Alexander II., one of Scotland's greatest kings, whose faithful counsellor he had been. According to Sir Walter Scott, near by was buried also that weird personality, Michael Scot, the wizard, one of Scotland's greatest scholars, while seventy years after Bondington fair Melrose received the heart of Robert the Bruce, one of Scotland's most heroic kings.

From the facts of his life, gleaned out of ancient ecclesiastical records, William de Bondington, Bishop of Glasgow, rises before us as a gentleman of dignified bearing, of open and unprejudiced mind, of generous heart and noble patriotic sentiments, above all, a man of God and of lofty principle, altogether a beautiful character amid the stained reputations of the thirteenth century.

The magnificent choir of the Cathedral and its lower church of petrified poetry remain a splendid monument of his work to posterity. Bondington was undoubtedly one of the makers of Glasgow. From his time, it steadily rose in importance among the other cities of the land, and its bishops were men of light and leading in shaping the destinies of Scotland.

[1] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* i. Nos. 115 and 207.
[2] *Chron. de Mailros*, yr. 1258, p. 184.

III.

BISHOP ROBERT WISHART (1272-1316), THE WARRIOR BISHOP.

WHEN Bishop Robert Wishart, in 1272, began his rule over the diocese of Glasgow, Scotland was enjoying a period of great national prosperity under Alexander III., known among his countrymen, as "the Peaceable King."

Commerce with the Continent was in so flourishing a condition that Berwick-on-Tweed, which then led the way in enterprise, was regarded as a second Alexandria. Religion also was in a healthy state; the vigorous efforts of Bishop Bondington of Glasgow, and of his contemporary, Bishop Bernham of St. Andrews, had not spent their force, while the evangelistic zeal of the two new orders, the Blackfriars and the Greyfriars, was reviving spiritual life. "The Church of Christ flourished," says Fordun, "her priests were honoured with due worship, vice was withered, craft there was none, wrong came to an end, truth was strong and righteousness reigned." [1]

Doubtless there were exceptions to this glowing picture. Indeed, we obtain a glimpse of the darker side of things from an incident related, says the chronicler, by way of a joke. A certain knight of Roberton had an estate in Annandale, the tenants of which committed all sorts of scandalous offences which brought them to the court of the official, and filled the purse of the archdeacon with

[1] *Historians of Scotland*, iv. pt. ii. p. 304.

fines.[1] And, as the knight was not getting in his rents, on account of the money being all given to the archdeacon in fines, he decreed that, if his tenants did not leave off their evil ways, he would expel them from his lands. When the people heard this, they left off their evil ways and devoted themselves to agriculture and, accordingly, the archdeacon got no money in fines. When the archdeacon one day met the knight, he accosted him and, with haughty superciliousness, asked who had made him guide of such matters. The knight replied that he did it for the good of his property and not as interfering with the archdeacon's jurisdiction. The knight added, however, "I see, if you can fill your purse with their fines, you have no care who takes their souls." At this, the exactor of fines and lover of transgressions held his peace.[2]

Robert Wishart was Bishop of Glasgow from 1272 till 1316, and so ruled for forty-four years, the longest period of any bishop in the annals of the See. On glancing over the events that occurred during his long tenure of office, we may conveniently divide his reign into two periods, the first twenty years, when the bishop might be described as a man of peace, and the next twenty-four, when the bishop was most assuredly a man of war.

With reference to his early days, we have scarcely any information except that he was descended from the principal family of Wishart of Pitarrow, near Laurencekirk, Kincardineshire. It appears that a certain John Wishart had lands in the Mearns in the reign of Alexander II., and William Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, and immediately afterwards of St. Andrews, was his second son. His third

[1] During Bishop Bondington's rule, if not earlier, the diocese is said to have been divided into two archdeaconries, Glasgow proper and Teviotdale. *Reg. Epis. Glas.* p. xxix.

[2] *Chron. Lanercost*, 1277 A.D.

son was Adam, who got the lands of Ballindarg and Logie-Wishart (in Forfarshire) in 1272.[1] Bishop Robert was the son of this Adam, and accordingly the nephew, not the cousin, as so often asserted of Bishop William Wishart, his predecessor, and thus belonged to the Logie-Wishart branch, also called of that ilk.[2] An interesting account of the Wisharts of Pitarrow will be found in the *Memorials of Angus and the Mearns*,[3] from which we learn that George Wishart, the martyr of 1546, and George Wishart, Bishop of Edinburgh (1662-1671) both belonged to the Logie-Wishart family.

Passing now to speak of the education of the future Bishop Robert, we have no information as to which monastic school he attended, but as the name of the Wisharts of Pitarrow and also of Logie occurs very frequently in the chartulary of Arbroath, in connection with gifts to the abbey,[4] the probability is, as Arbroath was not many miles distant, that his education would be obtained at this famous abbey, whose lord abbots in those days, bearing crosier and mitre, were among the leading churchmen in the kingdom.[5] Nor are we informed as to the university he attended, but, as Scotland and England were not on the best of terms, Robert may have gone to the Continent to study at the famous Universities of Paris or Bologna. But Denifle's lists of the students attending Paris University do not begin till 1330,[6] while the lists of the early students of Bologna have not been preserved. The first time Wishart's name comes into prominence is as Archdeacon of Lothian in the diocese of St. Andrews, from which post, on the recommenda-

[1] Sir W. Fraser's *Earls of Southesk*, ii. p. 479.
[2] MS. History of Family of Pitarrow, Lyon Office, Edin.
[3] Vol. ii. p. 174—Jervise—edited by Gammack.
[4] *Liber S. Thome Aberbrothoc*, pref. xxvi.
[5] C. Innes, *Sketches of Early Scott. Hist.* pp. 155 and 159.
[6] *Auct. Chart. Paris. Univer.*

tion of the king and his uncle, Bishop William, he was elected to the See of Glasgow in 1271, but not consecrated till 29th January 1273. In the interval between his election and his consecration he journeyed to Rome "to expedite his own affairs, as well as those of the Chancellor—his uncle."

At the date of his election, Fordun describes him as "a young man in age, but older in manners."[1] He was consecrated, not at Glasgow, but at Aberdeen, by the Bishops of Aberdeen, Moray, and Dunblane.[2]

From the first, Bishop Wishart appears to have set himself vigorously to carry out the work of his diocese. In 1273 we find him holding court at Castletarris (Carstairs) to settle a dispute. Castletarris was a manor-house, built with stone and lime, belonging to the Bishops of Glasgow from a very early period, and this, between the years 1287-1290, Wishart sought to fortify as a castle, after the death of Alexander III., when Edward I. was threatening the independence of Scotland.[3]

In 1275 Scotland received a visit from Boiamund or Benemund de Vicci, Canon of Asti, Piedmont, but popularly known as Bagimont, who was sent as legate by the Pope to collect a tax for another crusade to recover the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem from the Turks. This Bagimont announced to the clergy assembled in a provincial council at Perth, that they must either pay a tenth of the true value of their benefices or suffer excommunication.[4] This demand of the Pope somewhat exasperated the Scottish clergy, and we may be certain that Bishop Wishart would take a prominent part in the opposition; nevertheless they

[1] *Scotichron.* lib. x. cap. xxix.

[2] *Scotichron.* lib. x. cap. xxx. Fordun adds: R. Wishart was made bishop more by influence than merit.

[3] *Liber de Calchou*, pp. 267-334; also *Catalogue of Documents, Scotland*, ii. p. 433; *Diocesan Register, Glasgow*, i. pref. p. 33.

[4] *Calendar Papal Registers*, i. p. 465.

agreed to be taxed according to the ancient valuation of their benefices, which was considerably below their true valuation. Accordingly, an appeal was made to the Pope to this effect, but in vain ; so they reluctantly consented to pay the tax according to the new valuation roll. The list of church properties thus assessed in 1279, and known as Bagimont's Roll, is not to be confounded with the Ragman Roll of 1296, which contains the list of those who swore fealty to Edward I. as Overlord of Scotland. Two years after Bagimont's visit, viz. in the year 1277, occurs an important reference to the completion of the building of Glasgow Cathedral, which seems to have been generally misunderstood. In this year, Bishop Wishart procured from Maurice, Lord of Luss, Loch Lomond, for a certain sum of money, a grant of whatever timber might be necessary for the building of a campanile and a treasury for the Cathedral (*ad fabricas campanile et thesaurarie*). Not only so, it was covenanted that the contractors of the work, their carriers and artificers, should have free entry to Maurice's lands, and should have the right of felling and dressing timber wherever they chose . . . and should have pasturage for their horses and oxen.[1]

While this affords an interesting sidelight into the condition of the times, it nevertheless raises a question about which there has been considerable discussion. Here, in 1277, a grant was made to Bishop Wishart by the Lord of Luss, of sufficient timber for the erection of a campanile and treasury. Yet, in 1291—fourteen years later—we read of the bishop begging from Edward I., then acting as Overlord of Scotland, a supply of timber for building a "clocher" for the Cathedral.[2] Now, if the "clocher" here

[1] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* No. 229.

[2] *Documents and Records, Hists. of Scotland*, i. p. 348, § 14 ; also Dr. Joseph Robertson's *Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals*, p. 60. No authority is given here for the date 1291.

be identical with the "campanile" before mentioned, it would appear that the campanile was still unfinished, for we read that the bishop, instead of using the sixty oaks from Ettrick Forest, which the king granted for this purpose, actually turned them into engines of artillery—catapults and mangonels—with which to besiege the castle of Kirkintilloch, then held by the Comyn in the interests of England.

As the great central tower of the Cathedral was not erected till the early part of the fifteenth century, by Bishop Lauder, if we may judge from his arms inscribed on the parapet thereof, the campanile and treasury referred to in 1277 would be what were known as the two western towers—the north-west and the south-west, which, unfortunately, were removed about the year 1848. This being so, the campanile, latterly called the steeple, would be the north-west tower, and the treasury the south-west tower. There is good reason, experts tell us, for believing that the campanile or north-west tower was erected to some height, at least, before the nave was completed.[1] With reference to the south-west tower, however, some, from the style of its architecture, conclude that it was a later building erected by Bishop Cameron in the middle of the fifteenth century. This may be, but we are inclined from the reference made to the campanile and treasury in 1297 to think that they were two separate erections, and that both began to be built about the same time. As confirming this contention, there is a reference in the year 1306, which seems to show that a building known as the treasury was then in existence, for when Robert the Bruce rode from Dumfries

[1] *Book of Glasgow Cathedral*, p. 277. From the style of the towers in drawings taken when they were standing, architects regard it as not unlikely that additions were made at later periods to the original buildings. In September, 1911, while the nave was being re-roofed, the upper portion of this north-west tower was laid bare, as Mr. M'Gregor Chalmers pointed out.

after his assassination of the Comyn, and reached Glasgow on 10th February, Bishop Wishart prepared in his own wardrobe the robes in which Bruce was to be arrayed for the coronation ceremony. And he sent the same, together with a banner of the arms of the kingdom of Scotland, which had been long concealed in his treasury (*en sa trésorie*), to Bruce at the Abbey of Scone.[1]

But, further, since experts agree that the style of the nave is that of the latter portion of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century, the golden age of the Gothic in Scotland, the likelihood is that when Bishop Wishart was building the two towers he also about the same period completed the nave.[2]

To sum up, so far as documentary evidence can be found, to which architectural evidence is complementary, the two western towers were commenced by Bishop Wishart and were added to, or altered subsequently; while the north-west tower, also termed the campanile, clocher, or steeple would seem to have been erected more than a century before the great central tower and spire. If this distinction between the north-west tower or steeple and the central tower be observed, it will help to clear one's mind from the confusion that has arisen among writers on the fabric of the Cathedral.

In July, 1282, the Pope grants a commission to the Bishops of Glasgow, Dunblane, and Caithness, to consecrate Henry le Chen, a deacon, precentor of Aberdeen, whom the Pope has appointed to that See. But whether Wishart journeyed to Aberdeen on this occasion is uncertain, for it is expressly stated that if the three bishops cannot be present,

[1] Palgrave, *Docts. and Records*, *Hist. of Scot.* i. pp. 346-7; also clxxx.

[2] See *R.E.G.* ii. plate v. 2 for representation of a church. Does the reverse of this seal represent the chancel and nave as they existed in Wishart's time with the underbuilding laid by Bondington? Does the obverse represent the two Western Towers?

the other two are to call in another Scotch bishop to their aid.[1] At any rate, Bishop Henry, like Wishart himself, became a staunch supporter of Robert the Bruce in his struggle for the Scottish Crown.

Another interesting fact is that early in Wishart's episcopate, in 1285, there is found mention of a bridge over the river Clyde at Glasgow,[2] which, if we accept the authority of Blind Harry, was not a stone bridge but "a bryg that byggyt was of tre," in other words a timber bridge,[3] which Wallace and his three hundred crossed on their way up High Street to fight the English at the "Bell o' the Brae."

If we turn to the Register of Glasgow during the period of Wishart's episcopate, we find quite a large number of documents, such as papal bulls, charters and other instruments, but these are of little general interest. Cosmo Innes draws attention especially to two,[4] which give us a glimpse of what the burghal laws prescribed before a burgess could sell his inheritance in those days. From these it appears that the property had first to be offered for sale to relatives, parents and friends, at the three head courts (*placita*), and at other courts often, according to law and the custom of the burgh. When the sale took place, seisin was given to the purchaser in the presence of civic authorities, described as "prepositi et ballivi," and twelve burgesses. Then took place the ancient and picturesque bit of ceremonial known as "in-toll" and "out-toll." In accordance with this, the seller gave the bailie who presided at the transaction, a penny for the "ische" or out-toll, or outgoing, while the purchaser gave the bailie a penny for seisin or taking possession of the property, *i.e.* for in-toll.[5]

[1] *Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters*, i. pp. 465-7.

[2] *Reg. de Passelet* (Paisley), p. 400.

[3] *The Wallace*, bk. vii. 533.

[4] *R.E.G.* pref. 33, Nos. 222, 265.

[5] *Charters and Docts. Glas.* pt. i. pp. xv-xix.

"Symbols of investiture generally bore some reference to the subject. Seisin was taken of a mill by clap and hopper, of a house by the key, of fishings by net and coble, of patronage by a psalter and the keys of the Church." [1]

This leads us to advert to the subject of seals, appended to charters and other documents, and not infrequently referred to in the long period of Wishart's rule. Nor need we be surprised at this, for during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the making of seals was reaching the height of its development as a fine art.

Those who are desirous of acquainting themselves with the various seals used by Bishop Wishart will find an account of these with illustrative plates in the *Book of Glasgow Cathedral*.[2] One of these, strictly speaking, a counterseal and particularly rich in design, is generally believed to give a representation in three compartments of the legend concerning the fish with the ring in its mouth; but this, Archbishop Eyre thinks, may be questioned.

Not only had the bishop and chapter their seals, but it appears there was in existence at this period, in the years 1280 and 1293, a common seal for the Burgh of Glasgow,[3] the device of which apparently was taken from the private seal of the bishop, observe, not of the bishopric, for, previous to the Reformation, ecclesiastical heraldry, properly so-called, viz. the seals of bishoprics, abbeys, etc., did not exist in Scotland.[4] As Archbishop Eyre states, "in old times there were no arms belonging to the various Sees. In the bishop's seals the family shield was introduced."

As we examine the various seals used in Wishart's time, we discover upon them one or more of the familiar emblems

[1] *Scotch Legal Antiqs.* p. 91.

[2] Pp. 362, 366; *R.E.G.* ii. p. xxxiii, plates i. 6, ii. 1, iii. 1, v. 2.

[3] M'George's *Armorial Insignia*, pp. 98 and 100; *R.E.G.* ii. plate v. 3.

[4] *Scot. Hist. Review*, v. p. 313.

that are emblazoned on the armorial insignia of Glasgow at the present day, viz. St. Kentigern with his crozier, the fish with the signet ring in its mouth, the bird on the branch of the tree, and the saint's hand-bell. We are thus carried back not only to the days of the warrior-bishop, and of the patriots Wallace and Bruce, but to the days of St. Kentigern and the legends that clustered round his name. Thus it may be said, the heraldic escutcheon of the City of Glasgow preserves to posterity the earliest relics, albeit legends, of the history of Old Glasgow.

Let us now give consideration to the events that led to the great war for Scottish independence, in which the Bishop of Glasgow played so prominent a part. In the year 1286 there occurred an event fraught with disastrous consequences to Scotland, the death of her good king, Alexander III., whose horse stumbled in the darkness of the night as he was nearing Kinghorn, where the queen at the time was residing, and both rider and horse were precipitated over a cliff and killed.

Not only was the death of such a noble king a national calamity, it was intensified by the fact that the king's own family had all died before him, thus leaving as his nearest heir his granddaughter, the Maid of Norway, otherwise referred to as Damsel of Scotland. She was a child of his daughter Margaret, who had married Eric, the young King of Norway. It was at this critical period then that Edward I. began to scheme for the throne of Scotland, and attempt to bring the country completely under his domination.

The details of Scotland's long, fierce and indomitable struggle to maintain her independence cannot be entered into here, but only the events with which Bishop Wishart was more immediately concerned.

Shortly after Alexander III.'s death an assembly met at Scone, April 1286, and appointed six regents or

guardians to carry on the Government. Three were assigned to the north of the Forth, and three to the south—among the latter being Bishop Wishart.[1] Then in 1289, when the interest of the period begins, the bishop is found at Melrose as one of the three guardians appointed to settle a treaty with the representatives of Eric, King of Norway, concerning the affairs of his daughter, the Scottish Queen, and, later on in the same year, he appears at Salisbury.[2]

Evidently in all these negotiations the bishop proved his ability as a patriotic statesman, for he stands out as a leading figure at Brigham, near Coldstream, in March and in July 1290, when the marriage treaty between Edward I.'s son and Margaret, the infant Queen of Scotland, was drawn up—a treaty which clearly shows the sensitive patriotism of the Scots. But "man proposes and God disposes," for the young queen sickened on her voyage to Britain and died at one of the Orkneys, September 1290; at which news "the Kingdom was troubled and its inhabitants sunk into despair."[3]

And now began in earnest the bitter internecine struggle between Bruce, Comyn, Balliol and others, as competitors for the Crown, when Scotland passed through the darkest period in her history, inasmuch as her independence was almost lost, and her name, like that of Poland, well nigh blotted out from among the nations.

During these days of interregnum, Edward I. in pursuance of his policy summoned the Scottish barons and clergy, along with the claimants for the Crown, to meet him at Norham-on-Tweed, 10th May, 1291, professedly to settle the affairs of Scotland, and to have himself recognized as her Lord Paramount. After an opening speech on the part of the king, which rather staggered the Scottish representatives,

[1] *Scotichron.* lib. xi. 1, 3.

[2] Rymer's *Foedera*, ii. 431, edit. 1705; Hailes' *Annals*, A.D. 1286.

[3] Hailes' *Annals*, A.D. 1290.

Bishop Wishart rose, and having thanked the king in the name of the representatives for the interest he had taken in their country, proceeded, "But where it pleased the King to speak of a right of supremacy over the Kingdom of Scotland, it was sufficiently known that Scotland from the first foundation of the State had been a free and independent kingdom, and not subject to any other power whatsoever. Howbeit, the present occasion hath bred some distinction of minds, all true-hearted Scots will stand for the liberty of their country to the death, for they esteem their liberty more precious than their lives, and in that quarrel will neither separate nor divide." [1]

Surely these were the outspoken sentiments of a brave man and ought to have impressed Edward with the spirit of the people he sought to subdue. But the king, although not at all pleased with the bishop's free speech, said nothing at the time. A few weeks afterwards, however, he summoned the various claimants for the Crown, now numbering eight, to meet him in an open field in Scottish territory opposite Norham Castle, when all of them acknowledged Edward as Lord Paramount.[2] But it was not till after a weary period of delays that Edward, in November 1292, at Berwick-on-Tweed, definitely pronounced that among the various competitors, John Balliol had the best claim. At the same time, the great seal of Scotland used by the regents was broken and its fragments deposited in the treasury of England, "in testimony to future ages of England's right of superiority over Scotland." [3] Then Balliol swore fealty

[1] Spottiswoode's *Hist. of Ch. of Scot.* ed. 1655, p. 48; a translation of *Scotichron.* lib. xi. cap. 10, Goodall's edition. Spottiswoode gives the year 1279; it should be 1291.

[2] Hailes' *Annals*, A.D. 1291—quotes Rymer's *Foedera.*

[3] Hailes' *Annals*, i. yr. 1292; Anderson, *Diplomata Scotica*, No. 38, shows that the Scottish Seal had the lion rampant on one side and on the reverse a St. Andrew's cross with St. Andrew.

to Edward, an act that caused him to be universally detested by his countrymen, who later nicknamed him the "Toom Tabard,"—signifying that he was only the empty show of a king. However, he was nominally king for four years (1292-1296), during which he was loyally supported by Bishop Wishart, especially when he rose up against Edward's authority. This is clearly evident from the letter addressed by Edward to Pope Clement V., in which Edward complains bitterly of his conduct.[1] "Bishop Wishart, without hesitation or compunction, aided and abetted the new king in all his treasons. It was the bishop who instigated Balliol to ally himself with the King of France, to which alliance the bishop affixed his seal. Again, Balliol made war against Edward principally by the aid and assistance of the bishop, who was continually helping and inciting Balliol to commit arsons, robberies, murders, and as many ravages as he possibly could in the English territory; all which matters are public and notorious as well in England as in Scotland."[2]

Balliol having submitted, Edward made a veritable triumphal progress throughout Scotland from May to August 1296, during which he received the oath of fealty practically from the whole community.

Although he did not visit Glasgow on this occasion, it would appear that the Bishop of Glasgow of his own free will, travelled north to Elgin, and humbly prayed forgiveness of Edward, renouncing every kind of allegiance against the King or Crown of England. Then he swore the following oath, which he afterwards ratified at Berwick-on-Tweed: "I shall be true and loyal and I will keep faith and loyalty

[1] Palgrave's *Docts. and Records*, *Hist. of Scotland*, introd. p. clxxiii, text p. 341. The introduction gives a translation of the text, which is in Norman-French.

[2] Tytler's *Hist. of Scotland*, A.D. 1296, and Prof. Hume Brown's *Hist.* i. p. 143.

to the King of England and to his heirs of life and of members and of earthly honour, against all persons who can live or die, and never will I bear arms for any one, nor will I give advice or aid against him, nor against his heirs in any case which can happen, and I will truly acknowledge and truly perform the services which belong to the tenements which I claim to hold of him. So may God help me and the Saints." [1]

Not only did he take this carefully worded oath, but swore it in the most solemn circumstances upon the consecrated host, upon the gospels, upon the cross of St. Neot of Wales, and upon the black rood of Scotland. In those days, this black rood was regarded as Scotland's most sacred and venerated relic. It belonged originally to the saintly Queen Margaret, and was believed by her to be a bit of the true cross; hence it was adorned with gems of priceless value.

Notwithstanding this most solemn oath, the bishop, having learned that King Edward had quitted England for Flanders, immediately joined the rising under William Wallace. Indeed, Wishart was charged with being the prime instigator of the rebellion.[2] The tyrannical acts of the English officials, appointed by Edward to govern Scotland, so exasperated the people that it roused to intensest pitch their patriotism, so that, as the old chronicler says, " From his den, William Wallace lifted up his head." Accordingly, we find Bishop Wishart arrayed in armour, allying himself with the party of Wallace. Unhappily, the bishop, with Bruce and Douglas, surrendered ignominiously to the English at Irvine on July 9, 1297.[3] Wallace, it is said, was very indignant and according to King Edward's secretary,

[1] *Docts. Illustr. Hist. of Scotl.* ii. pp. 67 and 68: Jos. Stevenson.

[2] *Docts. and Records Scotl.* i. p. clxxv.

[3] Hailes' *Annals*, 1297, for terms of treaty. 1297 is the date of the well-known Lübeck MS.

"he proceeded to the bishop's house"—Glasgow Castle is generally supposed to be meant—"and carried off all his furniture, arms, and horses," not to mention other particulars which can hardly be credited.[1] Here, perhaps, if anywhere, should be introduced Blind Harry's account of what has been termed the battle of the Bell o' the Brae. If the minstrel is to be believed, Wallace with three hundred horsemen rode from Ayr to Glasgow, entering the town by the "tre brygg" over Clyde. Then, dividing his forces into two, one section headed by himself advanced up "the playne street," supposed to be the High Street, while the other under his uncle, Auchinleck, proceeded by "the north-east raw," probably the Drygate.[2] The English garrison then occupying the castle made a sally against the Scots, led by Wallace, and a fierce encounter took place in the High Street, near where it joins Rottenrow, and where for many a day was a somewhat steep and rocky ascent known as the Bell o' the Brae. Here, while Wallace was dealing death among the English, the second division of the Scots, coming unexpectedly upon the scene by the Drygate, attacked the enemy in the rear and completed the victory, leaving the castle in the hands of Wallace.

But while there is a certain amount of local colouring in the poet's narrative that suggests a substratum of fact, there are other statements proved to be unhistorical.[3]

Within a month after the capitulation at Irvine, and when he had apologized for his conduct to Cressingham, Edward's Treasurer of Scotland,[4] the bishop changed sides again, and

[1] *R.E.G.* i. xxxvi. note; also *Sir W. Wallace*, Famous Scots Series, pp. 75-77-82.

[2] Tradition seems to point rather to what is now called Ladywell Street, and the ancient bridge over the Molendinar known as "Wallace's brig."

[3] Blind Harry's *Wallace*, bk. vii. 515 ff.; *Book of Glas. Cath.* pp. 335-339; Renwick's *Glas. Memorials*, pp. 29, 30.

[4] *Hist. Docts. Scot.* 1286-1306, ii. pp. 219, 220.

GLASGOW CATHEDRAL, WITH THE SO-CALLED WALLACE BRIG OVER THE MOLENDINAR.

From water-colour by Thomas Hearne, circa 1775.

instigated both Wallace and Bruce to rise against the king. But on seeing the power of Wallace and Bruce decrease before Edward's superior forces, he changed sides once more, and repaired to Roxburgh Castle the same year, 1297, where he surrendered himself as a prisoner. This act of his, however, was suspected by the English as an attempt to get within the castle walls in order to betray the garrison to the Scots. Nevertheless the bishop seems to have been detained as prisoner by the English for the next three years.

In August 1297, the Pope, writing from Orvieto, gives mandates to the Bishops of Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Ross to consecrate Andrew, Abbot of the Cistercian Monastery of Cupar-Angus, to the See of Caithness. The Pope also allows Andrew to choose the principal consecrator from among these three bishops. This permission was given because it was dangerous, on account of the hazards of the wars in these parts, for Andrew personally to resort to Rome for consecration.[1]

Next year, 1298, Edward, having invaded Scotland and gained a great victory at Falkirk over the Scots under Wallace, avenged the defeat to his arms at Stirling, and thereafter proceeded by way of Ayr and Annandale back to England.[2]

While Edward was marching with his army in the southern parts of Scotland, Pope Boniface VIII., at the request of certain Scottish emissaries at Rome, issued, in July 1299 a bull directed to Edward, stating that, among other things, it had come to his ears, that he (Edward) had imprisoned and harshly treated Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, and other ecclesiastics, whom he now urged the king to set free; and also to recall his officers from Scotland, since that realm

[1] *Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters*, i. p. 572; Dowden's *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 240.

[2] Jos. Bain, *The Edwards in Scotland*, p. 30.

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belongs to the Roman Church and is not a fief of the King of England.[1]

Accordingly, in October 1300, Bishop Wishart, having been liberated, voluntarily took for the fourth time the solemn oath of allegiance to Edward at Holmcultram. Yet, while the oath was still fresh, he issued letters-patent to William Lydel, his bailiff, to assemble all the forces of the See to assist Bruce and Wallace in Galloway against the English under the Prince of Wales.[2]

During August and September 1301, Edward visited Glasgow, and made offerings several times at the shrine of St. Kentigern, in the lower church and at the high altar in the choir, as well as in the private chapel he carried about with him in his campaigns. The amount was usually seven shillings, probably equal, remarks Bain, to five guineas of our day. He also worshipped at the Blackfriars' Church, High Street, and gave the friars a grant for their own diet, for three days of six shillings. This grant then was not given to pay expenses for lodging with them as is often represented, but to provide them with a few delicacies to add to their usual scanty meals.[3]

Besides, it is unlikely that Edward would reside at the Blackfriars' Convent during his stay in Glasgow. His usual custom was to sleep in his tent in the midst of his army, which at this time numbered 7000 foot and 500 horse, and was probably encamped in the Gallowmuir, where the barracks afterwards stood, the ancient *champ-de-Mars* of the city.

Passing to August 1302, we find Pope Boniface VIII. now taking the side of Edward, writing to Wishart, severely

[1] *Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters*, i. 584.

[2] Bain's *The Edwards in Scotland*, pp. 34-5.

[3] Jos. Bain, *The Edwards in Scotland*, pp. 34-35; *R.E.G.* ii. p. 621; *Cal. Docs. Scotl.* iv. pp. 448-449.

reprimanding him as follows: "I have heard with astonishment that you, as a rock of offence and a stone of stumbling, have been the prime instigator and promoter of the fatal disputes which prevail between the Scottish nation and Edward, King of England, my dearly-beloved son in Christ, to the displeasing of the divine majesty, to the hazard of your own honour and salvation, and to the inexpressible detriment of the Kingdom of Scotland. If these things are so, you have rendered yourself odious to God and man. It befits you to repent, and, by your most earnest endeavours after peace, to strive to obtain forgiveness." [1]

In 1303, Edward, now set free from his continental wars, brought his whole resources to attempt to subdue Scotland. Wishart, seeing resistance hopeless, came to Edward at Cambuskenneth and humbly prayed his grace and mercy for all his trespasses, and for the fifth time, in the most solemn manner, swore allegiance.[2] Whereupon the king restored him to the temporalities of his See, which he had forfeited by his treasons. Then in the following Easter the bishop went to St. Andrews, and there at the high altar of the cathedral solemnly took the oath of fealty for the sixth time.

It surprises us that such solemn oaths were so lightly treated by a bishop, but in those days of oppression it seemed quite customary for clergy as well as laity to break their pledges. Indeed, Edward himself kept oaths only so long as served his purpose. Yet, as has been remarked, "he prided himself on his personal good faith and caused the motto to be inscribed upon his tombstone, *Pactum serva*, Keep troth."

In the year 1304,[3] Bishop Wishart and his chapter granted

[1] Hailes' *Annals*, i. p. 271, and Theiner's *Monumenta*, No. 372.

[2] *Cal. Docts. Scotl.* iv. pp. 482-3.

[3] *R.E.G.* p. xxxiv.

to the Friars Preachers a "perennial spring called the Meduwel in the place which is called Denside to be led to the cloister of the said fathers for their necessary uses." This Meadow-Well or Deanside Well was originally in a meadow at the foot of the Deanside Brae, bordering on the lands of Deneside, hence its name. The site of this ancient well is now in George Street, midway between Shuttle Lane on the one side and Deanside Lane on the other. But in those days the spot was rural, the whole lands on the west as far as Partick being garden grounds and cornfields.[1]

The water was led from this overflowing spring to the Monastery of the Blackfriars on the east side of the High Street. As the friars had been settled there about the year 1246, their beautiful church with the other conventual buildings would be completed when the new water-supply was introduced. This well, afterwards enclosed with a circular wall of ashlar stones as a draw-well and thirty-five feet deep, continued for centuries to be held in great repute by the inhabitants of the city.[2]

After the capture of Wallace at Robroyston, near Glasgow, and his trial and death at London in August 1305, Edward, considering Scotland to be thoroughly subdued, consulted with Bishop Wishart and others, and by their advice ordered a general council of the Scottish nation to be held at Perth, in order to elect representatives to Parliament and formulate a system of government for Scotland.[3]

[1] M'George's *Old Glas.* 3rd ed. pp. 123, 145, 272.

[2] Cleland's *Annals*, i. p. 394. When the tramways were being laid this circular draw-well was laid bare. Fifty years ago, says Mr. Andrew Brown, George Street, this draw-well, after it had been removed to a spot near the kerb-stone at 89 George Street, and changed into a pump-well, was much frequented by the inhabitants on account of the purity and coldness of its water. The domestic water-supply drawn from the Clyde was often infested with eels and required to be filtered before using.

[3] Hailes' *Annals*, i. p. 283.

But within six months of the execution of Wallace this new system of government was completely overthrown, and Scotland breathed freely. What contributed to this result was the unpremeditated assassination of Comyn by his rival Bruce at the altar of the Franciscan Church at Dumfries on February 10, 1306. Thereafter Bruce acted with the utmost boldness and decision. This sacrilegious act, which put him outwith the pale of Christendom, and was, according to Barbour,[1] the cause of his subsequent misfortunes, nevertheless seemed to set his whole soul on fire with new energy, as if he said:

> "I must mix myself with action
> Lest I wither by despair."

As has been remarked, the only alternatives at this point of his career lay between the throne and the gallows; and realizing this, he became more determined than ever to win the Crown of Scotland and overcome every obstacle. Along with a band of patriots, later joined by good Sir James Douglas, he rode from Dumfries to Glasgow.[2] And here in the cathedral, within eight days after the murder, Bishop Wishart gave plenary absolution to Bruce, and not only so, but furnished him with robes for his coronation which took place at Scone on 27th March, and at which both the Bishop of St. Andrews and Wishart were present. Besides, he went about the country preaching to the people in order to excite them to espouse the cause of Bruce, assuring them that carrying on war against the King of England was as meritorious as fighting against the Saracens in the Holy Land.[3]

[1] Bk. ii. *Bruce*. [2] *Ibid.* bk. ii. l. 175, Scot. Text Socy.

[3] Palgrave, *Docts.* etc. p. 348. Pope Nicholas IV., in a bull dated 1291, had exhorted the Scottish bishops to preach a crusade, and for every sermon so preached a hundred days' indulgence would be granted.

So enraged was the Pope at the conduct of the bishop that he sent a mandate on 11th May, 1306, to the Archbishop of York, and another to Antony, Bishop of Durham, to seize and cite him, suspended from spirituals and temporals, to set out for Rome within a month.[1] Wishart, instead of surrendering to the Pope, once more donned his coat of mail and assisted in defending the Castle of Cupar, Fife, which held out against the English. This castle, being captured by Sir Aymer de Valence in July 1306, the bishop in his armour underneath his canonicals was taken prisoner and sent to England in chains.[2] As soon as he was brought into the royal presence, King Edward declared "he was as glad as if it had been the Earl of Carrick (Bruce) himself." We can imagine the shame and discomfiture of the bishop when brought face to face with the king whose solemn oath he had so often broken; but there is a lack of reverence and seriousness about him which detracts considerably from his otherwise heroic character. For example, after his capture at Cupar, when accused by Edward to the Pope with breaking fealty six times, he humbly petitioned the king and council for leave to remain quietly in England till the "riot of the Scots," as he termed it, was put down.[3]

From Cupar, Wishart, along with other Scottish prisoners heavily ironed, was sent under a strong escort to Newcastle, and thence by daily stages, by a chain of castles, so to speak, to Nottingham.[4] But Nottingham Castle was not considered safe enough for such an irrepressible patriot as the Bishop of Glasgow; he must be removed as far as possible from Scotland. Hence, in August 1306, Edward orders that Wishart be kept in chains at Porchester Castle away in the far south of England, near Portsmouth; a castle still

[1] *Cal. Pap. Reg.* ii. pp. 6, 7.

[2] Palgrave, *Doc.* p. 349; Hailes' *Annals*, ii. p. 13, A.D. 1306.

[3] Bain's *The Edwards in Scotland*, pp. 49-50.

[4] Rymer's *Foed.* ii. p. 1015, edit. 1705.

standing hoary with the antiquity of centuries, having originally been a stronghold of the Romans, and later associated with memories of the Saxon and Norman Kings of England.[1]

From records of the period some interesting details may be gleaned regarding the bishop's imprisonment at Porchester. For example, he was provided with a chaplain to celebrate mass every day, also with a valet and a groom, each of whom received as salary so much per day. It was stipulated, too, that these be all faithful servants of the king, and that there be a sufficient number of soldiers on guard, for, should the bishop escape, Viscount Southampton, to whose charge he was committed, would be held responsible. Nor was this enough. Edward, who, doubtless, would have put the bishop and other ecclesiastics to death, had not their sacred office, in his eyes, shielded them, wrote to the Pope and his cardinals to give credence to certain messengers concerning the misconduct of the Bishop of Glasgow, and stating also that he had given the See of Glasgow to Geoffrey de Moubray, praying also the Pope's confirmation of this appointment.[2]

Although Edward I. died in July 1307 at Burgh-on-Sands, near Carlisle, on the march with his army to subdue Scotland, Wishart was still continued in prison. Meantime, Pope Clement V. in April 1308 appealed to Edward II. for the bishop's release. But "instead of releasing the bishop he delivered him to the Bishop of Poitiers to be conveyed to the Pope, then at Avignon, November 15, 1308." Then Edward sent, in December 1308, a letter to the Pope "concerning the horrible crimes of the Bishop of Glasgow."[3] This letter of the king's to the Pope

[1] *Ibid.* ii. 1016, and *Hist. of Hampshire*, Victoria Edition, iii. p. 151.

[2] Sept. 20, 1306; Rymer's *Foed.* ii. 1025-6, edit. 1705.

[3] *Ibid.* iii. 121; also *Cal. Docts. Scotl.* iii. Nos. 58 and 61.

was evidently drawn up with great care and eloquence. Among other charges made against the bishop it was stated that "he had stirred up the inhabitants of Scotland to rebellion, broken his oaths of fealty and homage, and been the source of many conspiracies. . . . Forgetful of his calling, he has not been peaceful but warlike, not a Levite at the altar, but a knight on horseback, with a shield instead of a censer, a sword instead of a stole, a breastplate instead of an alb, a helmet instead of a mitre, and a lance instead of a pastoral staff." In short, the king makes out Wishart to be the root of all the trouble in Scotland, and hopes that the Pope will administer such punishment as will make him an example to all others.

Now it so happened that while Bruce was making headway against the English oppressors all over the land, a council of the clergy held at Dundee in February 1310 unanimously acknowledged him as lawful King of Scotland, a recognition that proved extremely helpful to his claims. But while rejoicing at the happy turn things had taken in his own favour, he did not forget his old and staunch friend, the bishop, lying immured in the dungeon at Porchester. For we read that King Robert,[1] when granting the restoration of churches and lands that had been alienated from the See of Glasgow, spoke most sympathetically of the "imprisonments and chains and persecutions and vexatious delays which the venerable father, Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, has borne and still so patiently bears for the rights of the Church and of the Kingdom of Scotland." Meantime, the king, "hearing that the Bishop of Glasgow is busy suing his deliverance at the Court of Rome and leave to return to his own country," orders letters to be sent to the Pope and the cardinals, January 1310-11, urgently opposing the said bishop's restoration, either to his office or his country, and

[1] *R.E.G.* No. 258; *Glas. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 21.

recommending instead that Master Stephen de Segrave be appointed in his place as Bishop of Glasgow.[1] No further steps seem to have been taken in this direction, for we find the bishop still in prison at Porchester, December 4, 1312.[2] Soon thereafter, Wishart was again sent to the Pope, for King Edward refers to the bishop having been summoned before the Pope and sent back to England under charge of Arnold, Cardinal of St. Prisca, to be retained in custody. Thereupon, the king, on 20th November, 1313, wrote to the Prior of Ely to have Robert of Glasgow in his custody and to provide lodgings befitting his spiritual condition within the precincts of the priory, where he might be securely kept and treated with respect, and maintained at his own expense.[3] Here he remained a prisoner within the Convent of Ely till after the battle of Bannockburn. Then on July 18th, 1314, three weeks after that memorable event, King Edward orders Wishart to be brought to him at York, when he was exchanged for the Earl of Hertford, one of the English leaders captured by the Scots at the siege of Bothwell Castle.[4] Wishart, now blind,[5] was conveyed to the Castle of Carlisle, 2nd October, 1314, *en route* for Glasgow.[6]

And here we light upon an interesting incident. When the bishop was brought before Edward at York, there were also brought to the same place the wife, sister and daughter of King Robert the Bruce, who, all like himself, had been captives in England.[7] And these the king sends to the Castle of Carlisle along with the Bishop of Glasgow.

[1] *Cal. Docts. Scot.* iii. Nos. 194 and 207.

[2] Syllabus, Rymer's *Foed.* p. 170.

[3] Rymer's *Foed.* edit. 1727 ; iii. pp. 450 and 459 ; *Cal. Docts. Scot.* iii. No. 342 ; Bentham's *Hist. of Ely Cathedral*, p. 155, edit. 1812.

[4] *Cal. Docts. Scot.* iii. No. 372.

[5] Barbour's *Bruce*, bk. xiii. 683, Skeat's edit.

[6] Syllabus, Rymer's *Foed.* p. 184.

[7] Rymer's *Foed.* iii. pp. 496-7, edit. 1727 ; *Cal. Docts. Scot.* iii. No. 393.

How far on the road to Glasgow these royal ladies travelled with the bishop may be uncertain. At any rate, so long as they were in company, we can easily conjure up the nature of their conversation—how the memories of the fateful struggle through which they had passed would be recalled—yet, in all hearts there would well up a profound sense of gratitude to God that Scotland was freed from the oppressor and once more in possession of her ancient liberty and independence. We can picture to our imagination also, the venerable and patriotic bishop, after all his wanderings and vicissitudes, blind as he was, led on horseback and welcomed with acclamation by the inhabitants of Glasgow as he entered the city and rode past the Cross and up the High Street to his palace at the townhead—a scene so full of pathos, especially to the older citizens, that it would touch many a tender chord.

On his return to Glasgow, there would be much business to transact, for the offices of the diocese, during the troubles of the past twenty years, must have fallen sadly into confusion. Among other matters, we read of Bishop Robert on April 25, 1316, appointing one Sir Patrick Floker, connected with the Church of Kilpatrick, master and guardian of the hospital at Polmadie, and granting him power of discipline over the brethren, sisters and pensioners.[1]

This hospital, which stood on the south side of Rutherglen Road and west side of Jenny's Burn, where several ancient thoroughfares intersected, has long since vanished. It is believed to have been used in pre-reformation times as a retreat for poor persons, and for the accommodation of travellers.[2]

Spottiswood[3] tells us that Bishop Wishart died on November 26, 1316. He was buried in the lower church

[1] *R.E.G.* No. 263.
[2] *Glas. Memors.* pp. 247-250.
[3] *Hist. Church Scotl.* i. p. 222.

between the altars of St. Peter and St. Andrew, perhaps because building operations were going on in the upper church at this time. It is said that the recumbent effigy underneath the open arch, now sadly dilapidated, is that which once covered the tomb of the warrior-bishop.[1]

In reflecting upon the life of Bishop Wishart, one is struck with the boundless energy of the man, as well as with the irrepressibility of his patriotism. It might be said, too, seeing that he treated so lightly the breaking of the most solemn oaths, that his besetting sin was patriotism. Hitherto historians have sung the praises of Wallace and Bruce, as if these two alone were the outstanding heroes in the great War of Independence. But, is it not evident from the official documents of the period that another name must be added to make a trio, viz. that of Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, who is spoken of as the prime instigator of the rebellion, the source of many conspiracies, and the root of all the trouble between Scotland and England ?

[1] *Book of Glas. Cathedral*, pp. 412-413.

IV.

BISHOP JOHN CAMERON (1426-1446).

John Cameron, the Catholic Bishop of Glasgow, is to be distinguished from another John Cameron, the Protestant Principal of Glasgow University, who flourished two centuries later, and was known in his day as "The Great Cameron."

John Cameron, the Roman Bishop, occupied the See of Glasgow from 1426 to 1446. He was contemporary with James I., that monarch who, as a youth on a voyage to France, was captured by the English and detained by them a prisoner for eighteen years before he was permitted to return to his native land in April 1424. Those were the days of the great schism in the Papacy, when no fewer than three Popes claimed, at the same time, to be the rightful occupants of St. Peter's Chair. This schism lasted for thirty-six years during which the various claimants anathematized one another.

In those days, Scotland, in ecclesiastical matters, under the guidance of Bishop Wardlaw of St. Andrews, sided with the Spanish claimant to the Papacy, Benedict XIII., who, subsequently, owing to the decision of the Council of Constance, conceded his claims in favour of Martin V., so that the year 1449 may be said to have seen the end of the anti-popes. The exact date of Bishop Cameron's birth appears to be unknown. From all that can be gathered, it would be towards the close of the fourteenth century. He is said to have been a scion of the gallant house of Locheil,

but contemporary documents point to his belonging to one of the burgess families of Edinburgh.[1]

Although Cameron belonged to Edinburgh, the education necessary for church preferment could not be procured there; for in those days Edinburgh had no university, neither had Glasgow or Aberdeen, only St. Andrews. That Cameron studied at St. Andrews seems very probable, if we give weight to the following considerations. In a roll of the early graduates in Arts of St. Andrews is found the entry "Johannes de Camera, pauper."[2] This Johannes took the degree of B.A. in 1416, and that of M.A. in 1419, at which date the entry runs, "Johannes de Camera, magister, juravit paupertatem." Now, while the usual rendering of Camera is Chalmers or Chambers, it is also found translated Cameron, so that there need be no difficulty in accepting this rendering, inasmuch as other references seem to point to this John Cameron as the future Bishop of Glasgow. From the above entries we learn that this John Cameron was, while a student, in comparatively poor circumstances, seeing that he pled poverty and declared on oath his inability to pay his graduation fees, resembling in this respect a still more famous Scotsman, the illustrious George Buchanan, who was also, about a century later, a student of St. Andrews.

Again, we find one John Cameron, whom we have every reason to believe the same person, while acting as secretary to the Earl of Wigtown in 1423, adding after his signature, *Licentiatus in decretis*, a degree then granted at St. Andrews for proficiency in the study of canon law.[3]

[1] Robertson's *Stat. Eccl. Scot.* p. lxxxii, note.

[2] *Roll of Graduates*, transcribed by J. M. Anderson, LL.D.

[3] St. Andrews had a faculty for expounding canon law in 1410, even before the university itself was fully and properly constituted. Cf. *Historl. Sketch. St. Andrews Univ.* by J. M. Anderson, LL.D., 1878

Another reason for thinking that the future Bishop Cameron was a student of St. Andrews is, that he owed his early advancement in life to Bishop Wardlaw, who appointed him Official of Lothian. Besides, as this good bishop had great influence not only with James I., but with his kinsmen of the house of Douglas, we may easily understand how Cameron would be recommended for promotion to offices at the disposal of the king or of the Douglas.

Further, as Cameron graduated B.A. in 1416, this implies that he must have entered the university three years previously, *i.e.* in 1413. If so, we infer that he must have been present on that eventful day, 13th February, 1413, when Scotland's first university received the papal sanction. The historian [1] tells us that when Ogilvie, the papal envoy, made his entry into St. Andrews, bearing the papal bulls, his arrival was welcomed by the ringing of bells and the tumultuous joy of all classes of the inhabitants. The next day being Sunday, a solemn convocation of the clergy was held, and the papal bulls being read, the dignitaries of the Church went in procession to the high altar of the cathedral, where the *Te Deum* was sung by the whole assembly, the bishops, priors, and other dignitaries being arrayed in their richest canonicals, whilst four hundred priests, besides lay brothers, prostrated themselves before the altar, and an immense multitude of spectators bent their knees in gratitude and adoration. The religious services concluded, the rest of the day was devoted to mirth and festivity. In the evening there were bonfires in the streets, peals of bells and musical instruments, processions of the clergy and joyful assemblies of the people.

The above description of this brilliant function has been purposely detailed because the story of Cameron's life gives us the impression that his after career was deeply influenced

[1] Tytler's *Hist. Scot.* yr. 1413, quotes from Bower.

by it, as if visions of this scene, with its impressive and gorgeous ceremonial, flitted before his youthful imagination and played no unimportant part in shaping his future and winning for him, among the pre-reformation prelates of Glasgow, the title of "Magnificent."

Putting these several considerations together, and also the unusually rapid promotion to the highest offices in Church and State, which so quickly followed his university curriculum, we infer that Cameron was not only one of the earliest, but also one of the brilliant students of St. Andrews. As instructions had been given to the professors of the university to recommend for church preferment "only such youths as were of good learning and virtuous lives," we may be certain that in this way Cameron would early come under the notice of the bishop, who would watch his remarkable diligence in study with the liveliest interest.

From 1419, when he graduated M.A., we lose sight of Cameron till 1422. Where he was in the interval, we cannot tell. In all likelihood he remained at St. Andrews to pursue his studies in civil and in canon law, and take his degree of licentiate in decrees, and then perhaps proceed to the Continent.[1]

At any rate, in 1422, Cameron was appointed by Bishop Wardlaw, himself a keen student of law, Official of Lothian,[2] a post of considerable importance, and one demanding an expert knowledge both of civil and ecclesiastical law. This of itself shows the confidence which the sagacious bishop reposed in the character and accomplishments of one who had so recently passed through the university.

[1] Orleans and Bologna Universities had, at this period, a European reputation for the study of law.

[2] Crawford's *Lives of Officers of State*, p. 24; *Cal. Pap. Reg.* vii. p. 519.

Next year, 1423, Cameron is found rector of Cambuslang, and also acting as secretary and confessor to Archibald Douglas, Earl of Wigtown,[1] son of the fourth Earl Douglas, created Duke of Touraine by the King of France, and husband of Margaret, sister of James I. From this time Cameron's promotion was conspicuous for its rapidity. In 1423 we find him Provost of Lincluden, doubtless through the influence of the Douglas.[2]

Lincluden was a beautiful collegiate church recently erected by Archibald, third Earl Douglas—the same who erected Bothwell collegiate church—and was situated at the meeting of the waters, near Dumfries, where Cluden pours its crystal stream into Nith. The ruins of this church, built in the finest style of florid Gothic, standing still "in all the imploring beauty of decay," furnished inspiration to the muse of Robert Burns, who often frequented the spot, as well as to poet and artist since.[3]

Next year, 1424, Cameron was appointed secretary to King James I. a month or two after the return of that monarch from his long detention in England—an appointment in which may be seen the hand of Bishop Wardlaw, who had been the king's tutor before his pupil had been captured by the English and his steady friend ever since, and who could confidently recommend Cameron from personal knowledge.

Then in 1425 we find him Keeper of the Privy Seal; in 1426, Keeper of the Great Seal and at the same time holding the Rectory of Kirkinner, the richest parish church in Galloway; while later, in 1426, he was elected Bishop of Glasgow, and shortly thereafter Chancellor of Scotland.[4]

[1] *Reg. Great Seal*, ii. No. 13.

[2] *Reg. Great Seal*, ii. No. 23, and *Excheq. Rolls*, iv. 379.

[3] M'Dowall's *Chron. of Lincluden Abbey*, pp. 177 and 203.

[4] *Cal. Pap. Reg.* vii. pp. 425-465-478; *Excheq. Rolls*, iv. 400; Dr. Jos. Robertson's *Statuta Eccl. Scot.* i. p. lxxxii, note; also p. xcix, note.

KING JAMES I.

Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

It appears, however, that the Chapter of Glasgow Cathedral in electing Cameron, one of their own canons, as bishop, had done so in ignorance of the fact that the provisions of the See had recently been specially reserved for the Pope. The papal confirmation having been obtained in due course, and the customary fees paid to the Apostolic See, John Cameron was consecrated Bishop of Glasgow early in the year 1427. And thus it came to pass that the poor boy who graduated B.A. at St. Andrews in 1416, rose step by step within the remarkably short space of ten years, to occupy a commanding position in Scotland as Bishop of Glasgow and Chancellor of the Realm, in all likelihood when he had just turned his thirtieth year. But now, after this unusual run of prosperity, Cameron's troubles seem to have commenced. During the late regency, Scotland had been suffering from the evils of misgovernment, chiefly from its laws being set at defiance by the nobility, so James I., burning with zeal to reform both Church and State, summoned several Parliaments, and in particular the Parliament which met at Perth in the summer of 1427, where, at the same time, a Provincial Council of the Church was sitting. This Parliament passed an ordinance curtailing the cost and abridging the forms of process in civil causes against churchmen in the spiritual courts, and ordained that it should forthwith be enacted by the Provincial Council. "The boldness of the Scottish Parliament in thus dealing with ecclesiastical affairs appears to have startled the Papal Court, and been the signal of a breach therewith," [1] which lasted for several years.

Evidently Cameron, who as a bishop was a "King's man" rather than a "Pope's man," was regarded as the prime mover of these obnoxious Perth statutes, for Pope Martin V. writes, May 1430: "The Pope lately on learning that

[1] Robertson's *Stat. Eccl. Scot.* i. p. lxxxi-ii, and note.

before his promotion to the See of Glasgow, John Cameron had more than once incurred disability and perpetrated such crimes as to have forfeited all right to said promotion, and that after he became bishop he was the author and cause of the putting forth in Parliament of certain statutes about collations of benefices and otherwise oppressive to the clergy, and against ecclesiastical liberty and the rights of the Roman Church, also guilty of simoniacal practices, ordered an investigation to be made into these charges by two cardinals, the result being that John was found guilty and cited to appear before the Court of Rome in person to hear his deprivation." But King James interposed between the Pope and the bishop, and sent his orators to set forth to the Pope that many of the charges were untrue and that if John had done aught amiss he was ready to make amends. Whereupon, "at the said king's petition, made on John's behalf, that he will help to obtain the abolition of the above statutes and behave laudably in future, the Pope condones and remits all crimes and other charges against him, absolves him from excommunication and other sentences, and annuls the above citation and rehabilitates him." [1] But, as the sequel shows, fresh difficulties soon cropped up between the Pope and the Bishop of Glasgow. The priest who had been appointed as Papal Nuncio to serve the above citation upon Bishop Cameron, was one William Croyser, Archdeacon of Teviotdale, who at this time was acting as one of the officials of the papal household.[2] And here it may not be amiss to enquire into the antecedents of Croyser, because from all we can gather, he seems to have been Cameron's thorn in the flesh.

[1] *Cal. Pap. Reg.* vii. pp. 18, 518-9. If this be a specimen of the charges brought against Cameron, it shows there was little ground for complaint.

[2] Robertson's *Stat. Eccl. Scot.* i. lxxxiii.

Croyser was evidently of a litigious disposition, often in trouble concerning his benefices. He was convicted, too, of having obtained illegally the archdeaconry of Teviotdale.[1] Indeed, Cameron had scarcely taken in hand the duties of his diocese, when Croyser entered into a lawsuit against him, but lost his case on the question of the rights of their respective jurisdictions.[2]

It would appear that soon after losing this lawsuit, Croyser, in 1429, went to Rome and became an official in the papal household, where he would have exceptional opportunities of securing the ear of the Pope. If Croyser was already embittered against Cameron, one may naturally imagine he would have no good to say about him to the Pope. When the obnoxious Perth statutes were enacted, Croyser, who was in Glasgow diocese at the time, would be a leading spirit among the clergy who stirred up disaffection against the bishop, and complained of him to the Pope. And now from his vantage ground in the papal household, he could easily put the worst construction, were he so disposed, on Cameron's actions, and raise charges against him that were without reasonable foundation. This, it seems to me, is the explanation of the crimes said to have been committed by Cameron, and referred to in Pope Martin V.'s letter, but of which King James believed him to be innocent. If the above conjecture be correct, we do not wonder that Croyser, in April 1433, would gladly welcome his appointment as Papal Nuncio to serve the citation upon his rival—Bishop Cameron.[3] But Croyser no sooner reached Scotland and served the citation than he fled back to the Court of Rome,

[1] *Cal. Pap. Reg.* vii. pp. 73-4, 92-3, 344, 464, 511, 519.

[2] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* No. 332. Glasgow diocese had two archdeacons, one of Glasgow proper, and the other of Teviotdale.

[3] Safe-conduct to W. Croyser and W. Turnbull, Papal Chamberlains, to pass to Scotland and return to Rome. *Cal. Docts. Scot.* iv. No. 1062.

pursued by letters under the King's Seal, summoning him to answer in the next Parliament for the crimes of rebellion, treason, and lese-majesty. Safe under the shelter of the Pope, he refused to answer the summons of his sovereign. Nevertheless, the trial proceeded in his absence, when, by an assize of nobles, gentry, and burgesses, he was adjudged guilty and stripped of his possessions and benefices.[1] Croyser appealed against this decision, and Eugenius IV., now Pope, championed his cause and issued a bull at Florence, 8th May, 1435, restoring to him his livings, and denouncing the severest censures of the Church on all who should recognize the sentence which had been passed against him. Moreover, it would seem as if Bishop Cameron had been summoned as papal assistant and referendary before the Pope in connection with Croyser's case, for he is granted in May 1435 a safe-conduct for himself and a retinue of thirty to go from the Roman court to Scotland.[2] Not long after this, in the winter of 1435, there appeared in Scotland that illustrious scholar of the Renaissance, Aeneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., on a secret mission from Arras.[3] He tells us in one place in his works that the mission concerned "a certain prelate to be restored to the king's favour,"[4] in another place that it was "to effect the liberation of a certain person despoiled."[5] If these ostensible reasons be correct, then by recalling what was happening between the Court of Rome and Scotland at this very time, it would seem as if the prelate referred to and the person despoiled would be no other than Croyser, Archdeacon of Teviotdale. Thus it is almost

[1] *Stat. Eccl. Scot.* i. pp. lxxxiii-iv.

[2] *Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters*, viii. p. 282, 1427-47.

[3] Boulting, *Aeneas Sylvius*, p. 56.

[4] *Commentarii Pii II.* The term *prelatus* was of wide significance. Cf. Du Cange.

[5] *De viris illustribus*, xxxii. "pro liberatione cujusdam spoliati quod obtinui."

AENEAS SYLVIUS PRESENTS PETITION TO JAMES I.

From Pinturicchio's Frescoes at Siena.

certain that Aeneas would, on this occasion, visit Glasgow, seeing it was the headquarters of both of the contending parties, Cameron and Croyser.

Aeneas informs us that he was successful in his mission, but whatever reconciliation was effected it must have been only temporary, for the bull of 1435 was issued anew twelve months later, in 1436, and an influential commission containing among others, three cardinals, one of whom was Nicholas of Santa Croce—to whom, by the way, Aeneas acted as secretary—was ordered to see to its execution. Meantime, the Pope had written to King James denouncing certain of his bishops as Pilates rather than prelates, and entreating him in the Lord to revoke the obnoxious statutes, and to restore Croyser to his offices and possessions.

To this admonition a threat of excommunication and interdict was now added.[1] It would seem as if the Pope, whose authority was openly questioned at the Council of Basel then in session, was determined to bring the Scottish king under his obedience. At the threat of an interdict, which in those days took all joy out of life and plunged a land into deepest gloom, James deemed it prudent to temporize. Accordingly he sent Bishop Cameron and the Abbot of Arbroath to the Pope, then at Bologna, with the request that a legate be commissioned to Scotland to reform the Church. After some delay Eugenius consented, and in the summer of 1436, Anthony, Bishop of Urbino, as legate, took his departure for the Scottish court. The Pope stipulated that the costs of the journey—a thousand ducats or golden florins of the Camera—be paid in advance by the bishop and the abbot, empowering them, at the same time, to recover the amount from the Scottish clergy.[2]

[1] Robertson's *Stat. Eccl. Scot.* i. pp. lxxxv-vi-vii.

[2] Theiner's *Monum.* p. 375, No. 746, and *Cal. Pap. Reg. Papal Letters*, viii. pp. 229, 261.

The legate arrived in Scotland, but before the meeting with the king and the clergy arranged for had taken place, the king, James I., was murdered, February 1436-7, in the Blackfriars' Convent, Perth. Doubtless had the meeting been held with the legate, its object would have been a compromise on the two matters in dispute with Rome, viz. the proceedings of the papal court against Cameron, and the proceedings of the Scottish Parliament against Croyser. It was not, however, till 1438-9 that the breach between Scotland and Rome was healed. Then, strange to say, the Pope commissioned Croyser once more as nuncio to absolve Bishop Cameron from all the sentences of excommunication, suspension, interdict, and other censures and punishments incurred by him.[1] Although the dispute between the Pope and the bishop lasted ten years, and the threat of excommunication was held over the bishop most of that time, it is unlikely that Cameron was actually under excommunication for more than a short period. Whether Bishop Cameron was absolved in public or in private in the cathedral, is not recorded, but doubtless it would be performed according to the ritual in vogue in Glasgow—the Use of Sarum.

At any rate, the church of Glasgow, which had figured so prominently during this ten years' conflict with the papal court, at a period, too, when the Council of Basel was threatening the supremacy of the Popes, and it seemed "as if the Catholic world were about to break into chaos," made its peace with the powers that be, and won its way back to favour.

While the dispute with the papal court was dragging, Bishop Cameron was vigorously carrying on the work of his diocese and fulfilling his duties as chancellor,

[1] Theiner's *Monum.* p. 375, No. 747 ; *Cal. Pap. Reg. Papal Letters*, viii. p. 294.

which latter post he held till 1439. As it happened, the French were then at war with England, and the English, being anxious to cultivate an alliance with Scotland through marriage, were naturally apprehensive that the Scots might be led to attack England. Accordingly, from 1429 to 1432, Bishop Cameron is found acting as one of the leading commissioners in seeking to continue the truce between Scotland and England. And, as the Borders were especially troublesome on such occasions, we read of safe-conducts being granted to the bishop and others to come to a place named Hawdenstank on the March of Scotland, with 1000 men, horse or foot, armed or unarmed, to redress March offences and treat for peace.[1] The March offences were crimes connected with Border forays. Those who are curious to see the indenture or terms of truce drawn up on this occasion, will find its provisions quaintly stated in the Scottish dialect of the period.[2]

As already hinted, another matter causing no ordinary agitation within the Church at this period was the Council of Basel that met in the year 1431, the great aim of which was to reform the Church, curb the power of the Popes, and put down heresy. This was so entirely after King James' own heart that when repeatedly asked to send representatives to the Council, he at last wrote in August 1433, to the Abbot of Dundrennan, Thomas Livingstone, a Scotsman who took a leading part in the discussions at Basel, that nothing was more worthy of a Catholic prince, and that, although the length of the way and the perils of the journey across the lands of enemies, and of the voyage by sea, may be an excuse for not having as yet sent representatives, nevertheless he would see to it at once. Accord-

[1] *Cal. Docts. Scot.* iv. Nos. 1029, 1030, 1032, 1037, 1041. Hawdenstank —midway between Kelso and Coldstream.

[2] *Cal. Docts. Scot.* iv. pp. 404-6.

ingly, a commission to appear on behalf of the King of Scotland at the Council was given to eight persons to act as representatives, viz. the Bishops of Glasgow and Brechin, the Abbots of Melrose and Dundrennan, the Dean and the Precentor of Dunkeld, and two laymen.[1] It would seem there is no certain information as to whether Cameron actually gave attendance at the Council. It is known, however, that he procured a safe-conduct for a year for himself and thirty Scotsmen, his attendants, to go to the Court of Rome, on 29th November, 1432,[2] and again in October 1433.[3]

Let us turn attention now to Bishop Cameron's work within his own diocese. Thinking to increase the efficiency and add to the dignity of public worship in the cathedral, he added between the years 1427-1430 seven new prebends to the existing twenty-five, thus making thirty-two altogether. The seven new prebends were Cambuslang, Tarbolton, Eaglesham, Luss, Kirkmahoe, Killearn, Strathblane and Polmadie Hospital united, these prebendaries being admitted to stalls in the choir and to a place and vote in the chapter.[4]

Further, he enjoined the thirty-two prebendaries to erect each a manse or place of residence in town, near the cathedral, and to provide each his own church in his absence with a suitable vicar, when cathedral duties required his presence in Glasgow.[5] Hence Rottenrow, Drygate and what is now Cathedral Square, in ancient times, were largely occupied with these manses and their gardens.[6]

While there were thirty-two canons altogether in the chapter of the cathedral, probably not more than twelve were usually in residence. Yet those canons in residence found their tables so scantily provided for that they some-

[1] *Statutes of Scot. Church* (1225-1559), D. Patrick's, pp. 218-219.

[2] *Cal. Docts. Scot.* iv. p. 218.

[3] Rymer's *Syll.* p. 656.

[4] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* Nos. 338, 340, 342.

[5] *Ibid.* No. 348.

[6] M'Ure's *Hist. of Glas.* edn. 1830, pp. 43-48.

times absented themselves from their sacred functions, and thus divine service was diminished. Hence the Pope, on the petition of Bishop Cameron, ordered, in April 1430, that the church of Liberton in the diocese, when it became vacant, be appropriated as a common church by the chapter, that from its revenues a more liberal distribution be provided for the canons in residence.[1]

The earliest historian of Glasgow gives us a vivid picture of Bishop Cameron, "The Magnificent." "This great prelate now being seated in his palace, and the thirty-two parsons having built their respective manses or manors on the four streets adjacent to the great church, he made a most solemn and magnificent procession and entry to the metropolitan church, twelve persons or fertors carrying his large silver crozier, and eleven large silver maces before him, accompanied with the thirty-two parsons members of the chapter, belonging to the great church, the bells of the two steeples ringing, the organs, with the vocal and instrumental music, sung by the masters of the sacred music in the cathedral, gorgeously arrayed with costly vestments, and especially when Te Deum and Mass were to be sung and celebrated." [2]

For the better preservation of the moveable property, Bishop Cameron caused to be drawn up, in 1432, an inventory of all the ornaments or ecclesiastical furniture, such as relics, jewels, vestments and service books, and other volumes belonging to the cathedral.[3]

This inventory consists of twelve sections, eight of which have been made the subject of a learned and interesting disquisition by the late Bishop Dowden of Edinburgh.[4]

[1] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* No. 334; *Cal. Pap. Reg. Papal Letters*, viii. p. 161; *Trans. Scot. Eccl. Soc.* 1908, p. 188.

[2] M'Ure's *Hist. of Glas.* edn. 1830, p. 48. [3] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* pp. 329-339.

[4] *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 1898-9, pp. 280-329.

In passing, it may be stated that among the relics venerated by the faithful in Glasgow in the fifteenth century was a bit of the true Cross inlaid within a silver cross, a silver gilt phial said to contain hairs of the Virgin Mary, another phial with some of her milk, also a silver coffer with part of the hair shirt of St. Kentigern, and two linen bags with the bones of St. Kentigern and of his mother, St. Thanew.

Those who are curious as to the jewelled mitres and croziers, the richly coloured vestments and altar cloths, the products of the loom and the embroidering needle, the plate, the psalters, service and professional books, are referred for full information to Bishop Dowden's paper.

Then, with regard to the last four sections of this inventory, these contain a catalogue of the books of the cathedral library as it existed in 1432. This list was examined by Cosmo Innes, who gives the results of his investigations in his scholarly preface to the Register of Glasgow.[1]

From this it appears that the volumes therein described were not all housed in one building. The service books, for example, such as missals, breviaries, psalters, anthem, processional and pontifical books, were kept in the choir of the cathedral for the use of the officiating clergy, and not infrequently these volumes were chained to the desks, two holes being bored through the lower corners of the oaken boards next the binding.

Other volumes were kept in presses, not within the library, perhaps, but in the chapter-house, where they would be required for reference on questions of procedure or of canon law.

The majority of the volumes were accommodated in the library house,[2] all within the small compass of three shelves.

[1] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* pref. footnote, pp. xlv-xlvi.

[2] This is believed to have been in one of the upper storeys of the south-west tower or consistory house. Cf. *Records Burgh of Glas.* i. p. 370; Dr. Gordon's *Glasgow Cathedral*, p. 286.

The following might serve as a brief classification: two copies of the Bible, complete, one of them illuminated in gold; a copy of the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. Paul, also *Commentaries on the Five Books of Moses and the Psalter*, Bede's *Homilies on the Gospels*, and a *Concordance of the Bible*, illuminated in gold.

In scholastic theology and kindred subjects were treatises by Jerome, Augustine, Isidore of Seville, Bonaventura, Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, also the famous pastoral book of Pope Gregory the Great, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, sermons by St. Bernard, and a small volume containing the lives of St. Kentigern and St. Serf.

Among volumes on civil and canon law were the *Pandects* of Justinian, the works of Durandus, and several books on the Decretals. The above-mentioned heavy tomes were relieved by only two volumes of the ancient classics, the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid and the works of Sallust the historian. This brief list may be completed by remarking that only two volumes in the library had any special connection with Glasgow. One of these was a book of theology with the arms of the Cardinal of Scotland painted on the first letter—undoubtedly those of Walter Wardlaw, Bishop of Glasgow (1367-1387), Glasgow's only cardinal.[1] The other was a processional book—then in the hands of the binder, one of the clergy of Glasgow—Richard Air.[2]

In this catalogue, we have a glimpse of the comparatively limited range of reading among the Scottish clergy of five centuries ago, before the mighty impulse of the Renaissance movement had made itself felt in Scotland, and before the invention of printing scattered books broadcast to the ends of the earth.

[1] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* p. 336. [2] *Ibid.* p. 335.

With regard to his "Kirkwerk," as it was termed, while the great central tower of the cathedral was built by his predecessor, Bishop Lauder, Cameron is credited with having erected the elegant octagonal spire that rises from the central tower. He also had a share in bringing about the completion of the chapter-house, as his coat of arms here and there about the sacristy testifies.

Again, the consistory house, or south-west tower, unfortunately removed about the year 1848, has been ascribed to him, erroneously as we believe, for, as already stated, this south-west tower was, in all probability, erected by Bishop Wishart a century and a half previous, although Cameron in his day may have enlarged and strengthened it, when it became the law court house of his diocese.[1]

The bishops of Glasgow, being lords of the regality, administered justice throughout that territory generally by means of a bailie appointed by themselves. In addition to this local jurisdiction, law, both civil and ecclesiastical, was dispensed within the bounds of the diocese by judges nominated by the archdeacon, and styled officials. The court of the official was known as the Consistorial or Commissariot court, and, before the Court of Session was established, nearly all the law business of the diocese was transacted therein.[2]

Such was the reputation of Glasgow Consistorial court in the fifteenth century for even-handed justice, that upon court days, thrice a week, there was quite a concourse of litigants and suitors, not only from the city itself, but from the districts of Campsie and Hamilton, making this one of the busiest quarters of Old Glasgow.[3]

[1] Dr. Gordon's *Glasgow Cathedral*, p. 284.

[2] Cosmo Innes, *Legal Antiquities*, pp. 181, 238-9.

[3] M'Ure's *Hist. of Glas.* edn. 1830, p. 74.

The fame of the court was largely due to Bishop Cameron who seems to have reorganized it; nevertheless its fame was splendidly maintained in 1471-1478 when William Elphinstone, afterwards Bishop of Aberdeen, was Official of Glasgow.

Bishop Cameron, too, enlarged the episcopal palace to provide extra accommodation, by erecting another building in the form of a great tower, alongside the more ancient.[1] Some writers have confounded this tower, built by Cameron as an integral portion of the palace itself, with the tower at the south-west angle of the wall surrounding the palace, built afterwards by Archbishop James Beaton about the year of fatal Flodden, 1513. The two towers were quite distinct; the Cameron tower was within the palace grounds, the Beaton tower without.

Further, Bishop Cameron as lord of the barony granted the citizens the privilege of erecting a mill, known as the Townsmill, on the banks of the Molendinar at the south side of Garngad Hill, near where the present Townmill Road meets Alexandra Parade. In those days it was reckoned a valuable concession to the citizens to have a mill all to themselves, the only condition stipulated by the bishop being that the citizens supply two pounds of wax candles yearly for lighting up the shrine at St. Mungo's tomb in the lower church of the cathedral.[2]

"Nor was this all," says M'Ure, "for illustrating the city more magnificently, he procured a fair from his majesty to be held yearly near the high church, the first week of January, commonly called St. Mungo's Fair."[3] This fair

[1] *Ibid.* p. 19. On this tower Bishop Cameron's arms were visible in 1736.

[2] *Glasgow Charters*, pt. ii. p. 25; also notarial instrument dated 4th Feb. 1446-7.

[3] M'Ure's *Hist.* edn. 1830, p. 48.

was in existence, as stated by M'Ure in 1736, but we have no documentary evidence to show how it originated.

"But, further," says M'Ure, "the great resort of his vassals and tenants being noblemen and barons of the greatest figure in the kingdom, waiting and attending upon this spiritual prince, in procuring from him charters of confirmation and resignation, tacks of lands and tithes, together with the ecclesiastic persons that depend upon him, made his court to be very splendid, next to majesty itself." [1] Such is the statement of M'Ure. Mr. Renwick, however, is of opinion that the bishops would not grant charters to the occupiers of the lands in the Barony till long after Cameron's time. Probably he entered the names of the occupiers in a Rental Book as his successors did. The earliest extant Rental Book begins in 1509.

Here falls to be recorded the gruesome incident related by George Buchanan and repeated by others as having taken place at the bishop's death-bed. Cameron, at the time, it is said, was residing at Lochwood, on the shore of the Bishop's Loch, where the bishops of Glasgow had a country house or rural manor.[2] It was Christmas evening of the year 1446 and he had retired to rest, when there came a thundering voice out of heaven summoning him to the judgment of God, where he should give account and reckoning of all his cruelty and oppression. Suddenly awaking in great perturbation, he roused his servants and ordered them to sit by him with lighted candles, and, having taken a book in his hand, began to read, when a repetition of the same voice struck all present with profound horror. A short while after, it sounded again, louder and more terrible, when the bishop gave a deep groan, and, on his attendants going up to his couch, he was found with his tongue hanging

[1] M'Ure's *Hist.* edn 1830, p. 48.

[2] "Manerium de lacu," *Reg. Epis. Glas.* pp. 232, 252, 293, 294.

out of his mouth—a remarkable example, adds Buchanan, of the Divine vengeance.[1]

This story of Buchanan's, as he himself admits, founded on mere rumour, is in direct contradiction to the whole tenor of Cameron's life. We have faith in the maxim, "He who has lived well, cannot die ill." This story may be regarded as a libel on Cameron's character, and a slander emanating from enemies who hated his reforming zeal. We prefer to accept the testimony of one who lived much nearer the date of the bishop's death, viz. John Asloan, who relates "Ane thousand four hundred and forty-six thar decessit in the castall of Glasgow—not at Lochwood observe—Master Jhone Cameron, Bischop of Glasgow, upon Yule evyne, that was bischop nineteen year." [2]

As we recall the story of the life of the poor boy who became Bishop of Glasgow and Chancellor of Scotland, we seem to see in his career a typical instance of the hardy Scot. He was evidently a man of boundless energy and a vigorous administrator of the affairs of his diocese. Like his royal master, too, he was a resolute and fearless reformer of the evils that afflicted both Church and State in his day. Indeed, it was his reforming zeal in Church matters, not unlike that of Chrysostom at Constantinople, that brought so many troubles down upon his head from the day he became Bishop of Glasgow till the day of his death. Perhaps owing to his extremely rapid promotion in life he became somewhat overbearing, and his methods of reform rather hasty and drastic. At any rate, the record of his achievements is a noble one. He not only virtually completed the fabric of the cathedral,[3] increased the splendour

[1] Buchanan's *Hist.* xi. p. 207, Freebairn's edn.

[2] *Auchinleck Chron.* yr. 1446.

[3] Blackadder reconstructed the aisle that bears his name about the year 1500, but this seems no part of the original design.

of its worship and the efficiency of its administration, but enlarged the palace and conferred boons which contributed largely to the prosperity of the city, so that he is well entitled to be ranked as one of the Makers of Glasgow, and one of the ablest prelates that ever sat in the chair of St. Kentigern.

SEAL OF ROBERT WISHART,
A.D. 1272-1316.

SEAL OF JOHN CAMERON,
A.D. 1426-1446.

V.

POPE NICHOLAS V. BISHOP TURNBULL AND THE FOUNDING OF GLASGOW UNIVERSITY.

Thomas Parentucelli who afterwards became Pope Nicholas V., was born in 1397, not at Pisa, but, as recent investigation has shown, at Sarzana, on the coast of Liguria.[1] While he was only a little boy, his father, a surgeon, died, and his mother, who married a second time, had a hard struggle to bring up her family. Perceiving that Thomas was gifted, she scraped together what money she could to procure him a good education. He was sent to school first at Lucca, the cathedral city of the diocese, and then at the age of twelve to Bologna, where he spent the next six years of his life at its renowned high schools.[2] How he was supported during these early years we are not informed. When he was eighteen he left Bologna and came to Florence, and was employed successively as private tutor by two of its most wealthy and cultured families. While resident there he developed his powers, absorbed new ideas, formed his literary taste, and acquired an enthusiasm for learning and art. After two years he returned with the money he had saved to Bologna to prosecute his studies at its university, and graduated doctor in theology at the age of twenty-two. These were years of strenuous struggle, but, consumed by zeal for learning and enjoying the fascination of difficulty,

[1] Dr. Pastor's *Hist. of the Popes*, translated by Antrobus, ii. p. 14.

[2] J. A. Symonds' *Renaissance in Italy*, London, 1877, pp. 222-3.

he conquered as many a poor student has conquered, and climbed the ladder of fame.

Evidently his abilities and scholarship became well known in Bologna, for the bishop of the city, Cardinal Niccolo Albergati, appointed him as major-domo to superintend his household and ecclesiastical establishment. This position he held for twenty years, the relationship between master and servant being so cordial and intimate, that Parentucelli ever regarded the cardinal as his second father.

When the papal court, owing to internal dissensions at Rome, took up its residence at Florence and remained here for two years (1433-5), the cardinal, along with his major-domo and household, also removed thither.

These were the days in Florence when the Renaissance movement was almost at its height, a revivification of the poetry, eloquence, art and science of ancient Greece and Rome. During the Dark Ages men's minds were under the bondage of scholasticism, and their souls under the domination of the Church. But great intellectual forces had been let loose, and a vast tidal wave swept all before it. Of this movement, Florence was then the centre and inspiration. "Nowhere else, except in Athens," it has been said, "has the whole population of a city been permeated with ideas so highly intellectual by nature, so keen in perception." Here were gathered together "illuminati" in all departments of knowledge, so that Florence was described as the Athens of modern Europe and the eye of Italy.

It is difficult in our day to attain any adequate conception of the splendour and stateliness of this city's life, when ardour for the new learning was at its highest. Men's minds experienced a subtle intoxication as the ideas of the great masterpieces of antiquity dawned upon them and expanded the horizon of their vision.

> "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive
> But to be young was very heaven."

If there was one individual in Florence to whom the Renaissance owed its inspiration and encouragement, it was Cosimo de Medici, the head of the wealthy banking firm of the Medici and the virtual ruler of the city.

As a young man Cosimo had caught the enthusiasm of the new learning. Every moment he could spare from business was given to books. "The man who has no pleasure in study," he said, "has not tasted one of the chief delights in life."

Possessed of immense wealth, he sent scholars to famous seats of learning, especially to monastic libraries to search for manuscripts of classic authors. He gave permission to certain experts to purchase at any price rare and valuable manuscripts, while correspondents in his banking business all over Europe were commissioned to be on the outlook for these treasures. In Florence itself he had numbers of learned men at work copying manuscripts and translating Greek into Latin, so that the best thoughts of the best minds should become the property of all.

Nor did he confine his interest to books and manuscripts. Relics of antiquity and articles of vertu were highly valued, intaglios, coins, sculpture, vases and inscriptions.

Into this vortex, intellectual and aesthetic, Parentucelli was plunged when he accompanied Cardinal Albergati to Florence in 1433 to serve at the court of Pope Eugenius IV. As might be expected, kindred spirits like Cosimo and Parentucelli drew to each other, and the most intimate friendship sprang up between them. In their absorbing eagerness for knowledge, the savants of Florence used to congregate morning and evening at the side of the Palazzo where they entered into discussions on various subjects. In this connection we have a picturesque glimpse of

Parentucelli. "As soon as he had attended the cardinal to the Palazzo, he joined this literary circle, mounted on a mule, with two servants on foot. Generally he was attired in blue and his servants in long dresses of a darker colour. Here he was always to be found conversing and disputing, since he was a most impassioned debater." [1]

Gifted with ardent curiosity, an all-embracing receptivity of intellect and a retentive memory, he knew by heart entire works of poets, scholars and philosophers. Aeneas Sylvius, who became acquainted with him about this time, paid him the fine compliment "What is unknown to Parentucelli lies outside the sphere of human knowledge."

Historians are careful to inform us that he was not a genius. But if Parentucelli had not genius he undoubtedly possessed the infinite capacity of taking pains. An indefatigable student, he not only perused but annotated all the books he purchased, so that he became "the greatest bookman of his age."

He seldom appears to have lost an opportunity of accumulating books. He used to say in the days of his poverty that if ever he acquired wealth he would expend it on books and buildings, and the dream was amply realized when he rose to the Pontificate. Cosimo de Medici employed him to arrange and catalogue the numerous manuscripts and books he had purchased and presented to the library of San Marco.

Cardinal Albergati who was himself not only a scholar, but a diplomatist, was employed by the Pope on embassies to the various courts of Europe—among others to those of Germany, France and England. As he was always accompanied by Parentucelli, the latter in this way obtained an insight into politics and statecraft, while his own reputation

[1] A. Symonds' *Renaissance in Italy*, p. 224; Dr. Pastor's *Hist.* ii. p. 16, Antrobus.

for learning made scholars everywhere desire to cultivate his acquaintance. Thus he was unconsciously preparing himself for wearing the tiara. Leaving Florence with the cardinal in 1435, he crossed the St. Bernard Pass and made his way to Basel, where there was in session, the famous general council which endeavoured to reform the Church and limit the power of the Pope. From Basel he proceeded down the Rhine and arrived at Arras in Northern France. Here he attended the most magnificent congress the mediaeval world had witnessed, at which the noblest knights and warriors and statesmen were met to arrange terms of peace between France and England, and where dazzling tournaments, mystery plays, and sumptuous feasts concluded the labours of each day.[1]

Three years after Parentucelli had entered the service of Albergati he was ordained to the priesthood. Later, Pope Eugenius rewarded his services by appointing him Apostolic sub-dean. In 1443 his patron died, and Parentucelli entered the service of another cardinal, who also soon died. But in the same year the Pope appointed him his vice-chamberlain, and the following year bishop of Bologna, at the suggestion of Cosimo de Medici. A few months later he was chosen cardinal, and wore the red hat as one of the princes of the Church.[2]

In 1447, when the Pope, Eugenius IV., died, Cardinal Parentucilli delivered the funeral oration. So eloquent, it is said, was the effort that some of the cardinals at once thought of him as the successor of Eugenius. The Conclave met and the result of the final vote was that Parentucelli was chosen Pope. One of the cardinals, on leaving the Conclave, was asked, " If the cardinals had elected a Pope ? "

[1] W. Boulting's *Life of Eneas Sylvius*, pp. 55-6. From Arras, Aeneas Sylvius was despatched on his secret mission to Scotland in 1435.

[2] Pastor's *Hist.* ii. pp. 17-18.

His reply was, "No; God has chosen a Pope, not the cardinals." So sudden an elevation from comparative obscurity and poverty to the highest position in Christendom had rarely happened. "Who in Florence would have thought," Parentucelli said to a bookseller of his early acquaintance, "that a poor bell-ringer of a priest would be made Pope, to the confusion of the proud?" At his coronation he took the title of Nicholas V., out of gratitude and reverence to the memory of Nicholas Albergati, the cardinal whom he had faithfully served for twenty years. Pope Nicholas V. had no outward graces to commend him in his upward striving. Eugenius, his predecessor, was tall, imposing and aristocratic, whereas Nicholas was little of stature, with weak legs too small for his body; a face of ashen hue, through poring over books far into the night; his lips protruding; his voice loud and harsh. But he had brilliant black eyes that lit up his countenance and flashed with intelligence. Such was the personal appearance of Nicholas V., the first great Pope of the Christian Renaissance and the herald of a new era in the history of the Papacy.[1]

As giving a glimpse into his character, shortly after his accession to the Fisherman's Throne, we find him proclaiming himself a man of peace and not of war. He prayed heaven that he might never use any other weapon in his defence than the one God had given him, the Cross of Christ, while as an evidence of his shrewd practical wisdom in the art of ruling men he remarked, "The Roman pontiffs too greatly extended their authority and left the other bishops no jurisdiction. It is a just judgment that the Council of Basel has, in turn, shortened too much the hands of the Holy See. We intend to strengthen the bishops and hope to maintain our own power by not usurping that of others." In short, Nicholas was a man of high character and tried

[1] Pastor's *Hist.* ii. pp. 19-21.

capacity, "who made himself friends everywhere by his learning and made no enemies by his politics."

The fourth year of his pontificate was a great year in the annals of the Papacy. It was the year 1450, and Nicholas deemed it fitting for the proclamation of a Universal Jubilee. There was peace all over Europe. The schism in the Papacy was at an end. The last of the anti-popes had resigned, and the Pope of Rome enjoyed undisputed sway. Besides, the ever-threatening reforming Council of Basel had just completed its prolonged sessions of eighteen years.

Out of gratitude to God, the peace-loving pontiff proclaimed for 1450 a golden year of Jubilee,[1] and enjoined the faithful to make a pilgrimage to Rome and bring their offerings. The crowds that came in response from all nations of Christendom, among them kings, dukes, knights, and churchmen of every rank, were so vast that at times there were said to be millions in the Eternal City, while the papal treasury was replenished with the wealth of Europe, furnishing Nicholas with resources which enabled him to carry out his vast building schemes.

This Jubilee Year, 1450, was a memorable year for Glasgow. Out of consideration for the distance of Scotland Pope Nicholas decreed that for the faithful round about, a pilgrimage to Glasgow Cathedral, the cathedral of the diocese, would be considered as meritorious as a pilgrimage to Rome, while a plenary indulgence was granted to all who should make true confession of their sins, and present their offerings at the high altar. Moreover, the Pope appointed William Turnbull, bishop of Glasgow, and Andrew of Durisdere, sub-dean of the Church of Glasgow, as collectors

[1] This Jubilee, strictly speaking, began on Xmas Eve, 1449, and after being celebrated at Rome during the whole of the year 1450, it extended to the rest of the Church.

and guardians of the Jubilee offerings, one-third of which was to be remitted to the papal treasury intact.[1]

But of greater importance to Glasgow than the celebration of the Jubilee was the foundation in the same year of Glasgow University. For this the city owes a debt of gratitude to Pope Nicholas, as well as to its bishop, William Turnbull, and to King James II. In those days before a university could be created, authority had to be obtained from the Pope. There is a Franciscan tradition, which however is not supported by the Brockie MSS. at Blair's College, that Friar James Muirhead, the first guardian of the Glasgow Friary, was the bearer of the bull for the foundation of the University.[2] Evidence points rather to Andrew of Durisdere as fulfilling this mission, since he was not only procurator of James II. for making requests at the Court of Rome,[3] but was sent as papal nuncio to Scotland in March, 1451.[4]

Visitors to Rome in 1450 would see the city a moving mass of pilgrims. An eyewitness likens the thronging multitudes " to a flight of starlings or a swarm of ants." Among the distinguished visitors from Scotland to Rome in the Jubilee year were William, eighth Earl Douglas, Sir James Hamilton (afterwards a benefactor of the University), and other knights and gentlemen, along with eighty attendants, a retinue so imposing that it ensured Douglas a princely reception.[5] Strangers walking through the principal streets

[1] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* Nos. 359, 360. Of the other two-thirds, one was to be used for the repair of the fabric of the cathedral, the other for repair of pious places in the kingdom.

[2] Msgr. Wilson, Elgin, who has made a fresh transcript of Brockie's *Monasticon Scoticanum*, confirms this. Fr. Brockie, O.S.B., Ratisbon, died 1755.

[3] *Reg. Great Seal,* ii. No. 330 ; *R.E.G.* Nos. 359, 360.

[4] *Regesta Vatic.* 414, 66.

[5] Douglas, who left for Rome in Nov. 1450, was assassinated by James II. at Stirling Castle in 1452, after his return. Lord Hamilton was in Rome

of the city would observe the demolition of ancient buildings, for Nicholas during his reign somewhat recklessly purloined and transported for his own purposes blocks of marble and travertine from the Circus Maximus, the Forum, and the Coliseum, as well as from the venerable Basilica of Constantine.[1] Their admiration would also be aroused by the magnificent structures in course of erection. Notable alterations were made by Nicholas on the Vatican, where he laid the foundations of the library. When he found time amid his multifarious duties, we can imagine the Pope taking his intimate friends through the library, a collection of 5000 volumes upon which he had disbursed 40,000 scudi, pointing out to them the volumes that were his special favourites, magnificently bound in crimson velvet and fastened with silver clasps. "It was his greatest joy," says Voigt, "to walk about his library arranging the books, glancing through their pages, and admiring the handsome bindings." [2]

We can imagine him, too, taking his friends to see Fra Angelico, engaged in painting frescoes to decorate the walls of his oratory with scenes from the life of St. Stephen and of St. Laurence, and saying a word of generous appreciation to the artist who was now in the fulness of his powers, and for whose genius he had profound admiration.[3] It was the golden age of Humanism, and the Vatican was transformed into a vast literary laboratory. The most brilliant scholars of the time were invited or drawn to Rome in order to translate the famous Greek authors into Latin. To Nicholas himself the delight of drinking in the wisdom of Greece from the source itself was inexpressible; and when he

petitioning the Pope for liberty to erect the Parish Church of Hamilton into a Collegiate Church. The Pope empowered the Bishop of Glasgow to grant the petition if satisfied. *Cal. Doc. Scot.* iv. p. 249, 4th Jan. 1450-1; *Hamilton MS.* p. 47, Lond. 1887.

[1] Pastor's *Hist. of Popes*, ii. p. 180.

[2] Dr. Pastor's *Hist.* ii. pp. 210-14.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 185-7.

visited the translators and handsomely rewarded them for their work, the graciousness of his manner displayed itself as he pressed the acceptance of payment which modest worth declined, by representing it as a token of regard, rather than the recompense of merit, and playfully remarking, "Don't refuse; you may not find another Nicholas." [1]

The aim of Pope Nicholas was to make the Eternal City, not only the centre of the Church, but the centre of wisdom and beauty in literature and art, and, by means of noble monuments and imposing edifices, a city of visible splendour, which would attract the eyes of the world. Had he been spared to realize the magnificent ideas that teemed in his mind, "The new Rome," says Aeneas Sylvius, "would have had nothing to fear from comparison with the old."

When the privilege of University was granted to Glasgow, the heart of Pope Nicholas V., as well as the heart of Rome, was throbbing with the vigorous intellectual and aesthetic life of this remarkable period, so that Glasgow University, in the truest sense is a daughter of the Renaissance.

Pope Nicholas having been a student of the ancient University of Bologna, decreed that Glasgow University should be formed on the same model, viz. that the doctors, masters and students of the new institution should enjoy all the privileges, liberties, and immunities granted to its *studium generale;* also that William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow and his successors should rule as chancellors with the same authority over doctors, masters, and scholars as the rectors at Bologna.

While Bologna, a student University, was originally the model for Glasgow, recent investigations have shown that Bishop Turnbull, who was a student of St. Andrews, licensed in 1420, copied many of the St. Andrews regulations when

[1] Dr. Pastor's *Hist.* ii. p. 200.

he was drawing up those of Glasgow,[1] and both St. Andrews and Glasgow seem to be indebted to some extent to the University of Cologne, the great Dominican school of Germany. Cologne was much frequented by Scottish students in the Middle Ages. From this it is clear there was a considerable departure from the original Bologna pattern.[2] Nicholas, no doubt, had heard the praises of Glasgow from Bishop Turnbull, who had been an official in the papal household, as well as from Sub-dean Andrew of Durisdere, who had been procurator for the Scottish king at the papal court. Hence the language of the bull, dated 7th January, 1451, erecting the University, reflects the pleasant things that had been said:[3]

"Forasmuch then as it was lately shown to us on behalf our dearest Son in Christ, James, the illustrious King of the Scots, that the said king was desirous that a University should be set up in the city of Glasgow, as being a place of renown where the air is mild and victuals are plentiful, we, after the supplications of the said King, erect a University in the said city and decree and also ordain that henceforth such University may flourish in all time to come for ever."[4]

The papal bull was read at the Market Cross of Glasgow on Trinity Sunday, 20th June, 1451.[5] As this happened at a time of Jubilee rejoicings, and, as the Pope had granted a great indulgence to all faithful Christians who should visit Glasgow Cathedral and make their offerings—an indulgence to last four months—we may be certain that, as at St. Andrews on a similar occasion, there would be unusual

[1] *Statutes of Faculty of Arts in St. Andrews*, p. 1, edited by R. K. Hannay, 1910.

[2] Rashdall, *Univers. of Europe*, ii. p. 306.

[3] Similar sentiments are not infrequently expressed in granting bulls for the founding of Universities.

[4] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* No. 361.

[5] *Auchinleck Chron.* p. 45.

public rejoicing, festivities, morality plays, and ringing of church bells, while at night bonfires would be blazing in the streets.

The scene enacted at the Cross that June Sunday morning would be after this fashion.[1] In the centre of a multitude of onlookers stand the provost and magistrates attended by the quaintly attired burgh officers, who, with a flourish of trumpets, call for silence. Then one of the dignitaries of the Cathedral, in his gown and scarlet hood, makes the proclamation. The papal bull having been duly proclaimed, a procession is formed to march up the High Street from the Cross to the Cathedral. The High Street would look its best on this gala day—the picturesque mediaeval houses with their upper story projecting over the lower, and their crow-stepped gables and fore stairs fronting the street. Stairs and balconies would be busked with a profusion of green boughs and flowers, while brilliantly coloured carpets, tapestry and banners would be hung out from the windows and from every coign of vantage.

We can see the procession making its way up the narrow crowded street, the town officers preceding the magistrates, the cathedral clergy in their splendid vestments, the Black Friars in their black hoods and black robes over their white tunics, and the Grey Friars—the barefooted Observantines—in their brown tunics and rope girdles.[2] Then the sturdy yeomen of the upper ward mounted, their wives sitting behind on pillions, then the neighbouring nobility and gentry on their prancing chargers, richly caparisoned, the Maxwells, the Hamiltons, the Douglasses, and the Corbets—these rural lords each attended by his retinue of armed retainers,

[1] Cosmo Innes, *Sketches Early Scott. Hist.* pp. 67-69.

[2] The Grey Friars came to Glasgow in 1449 and lodged in a private house. It was not till 1476 that they were established in a regular Friary. Macgeorge, *Old Glasgow*, 3rd edit. Appendix, p. 307.

wearing helmets and carrying swords or pikes and daggers —"making gay the street with the clang and splash of their chargers."

In the crowd we recognize the various classes of society by their varied dress, the merchant in his long robe and bonnet of peace, the artizan in holiday attire of green, light blue or red, and the women folk in their kerchiefs and kirtles, while the maidens had their hair bound with snoods or fillets.

As the procession approaches the Cathedral, Bishop Turnbull, clad in pontificals and attended by clergy and crossbearers, stands waiting at the castle gate. Allowing the procession to pass by and bowing in acknowledgment of its salutations, the bishop and his clergy join in and bring up the rear. The Cathedral is entered amid the chanting of the choir and the pealing of the organ reverberates through the lofty aisles. High mass having been celebrated at the altar, amid clouds of incense, and the Apostolical benediction having been bestowed, the bishop and his guests re-form in procession and repair to the castle near by, where high banquetting is held.

The University thus auspiciously inaugurated began its career under Bishop William Turnbull as chancellor, David Cadzow, precentor of the Cathedral, as rector, Canon William Elphinstone as dean of the faculty of arts, along with Duncan Bunch, William Arthurle and Alexander Geddes as regents or professors.[1] So far as we know the University had its cradle in the Rottenrow, where the Lock Hospital now stands. Here the students resided in college fashion, but probably attended lectures in the houses of the professors. At any-rate from a very early period the schools of the faculty of arts were "in vico," that is "in the street" the High

[1] *Mun. Glas. Univ.*; Coutts *Hist.* p. 14.

Street.[1] At the same time it is recorded that lectures were delivered and meetings for business were held in the chapter-house of the Friars' Preachers (Black Friars) in the High Street, as well as in the chapter-house of the Cathedral.[2]

After nine years in the Rottenrow, struggling for existence in a time of civil war, poverty and pestilence, the University was enabled in 1460, through the bequest of lands from Lord James Hamilton, to remove to roomier quarters in the High Street, close to the Blackfriars Convent—one of the conditions of this gift being that twice in every day, at the close of their noontide and evening meals, the regents and students shall rise and pray for the souls of the donor, his countess, his ancestors and successors.

On its new site on the east side of the High Street the University continued for over four centuries until its removal in 1870 to Gilmorehill.

In passing, let us take a glance at the site of the Auld Pedagogy and its surroundings. The Rottenrow in the middle of the fifteenth century was a king's highway, and not only, along with the Drygate, the main thoroughfare between east and west since the period of the Romans, but a favourite residential quarter, where were situated the mansions of the wealthy and several of the prebendal manses with their stair-case towers and wooden balconies.[3] As these mansions and manses had gardens attached we can fancy, on the long summer days, the air vocal with the music of birds. So pure and salubrious was the atmosphere hereabouts, even towards the close of the eighteenth century, that a newspaper of the year, 1780, advertises "Summer quarters to be let at the west end of the Rottenrow in the common gardens."

[1] Rashdall's *Univers. of Europe*, ii. p. 304. The Auld Pedagogy ruins were removed in 1860. Traces of the ancient masonry, it is said, exist in the underbuilding of the Lock Hospital.

[2] *Mun. Glas. Univ.*; Coutts *Hist.* pp. 10-12.

[3] Lugton's *Old Ludgings of Glasgow*, p. 10.

On the south-side of the Rottenrow, close to the Auld Pedagogy, there stood in the fifteenth century what was termed " a great croce "—evidently one of the stone crosses that existed in Glasgow in Pre-Reformation times.[1] In all probability the cross was standing near where the University had its headquarters, although the earliest reference to it does not occur until 1497. It was removed in 1575 during the unsettlement of the Reformation period.[2]

As we scan the original lists of students at Glasgow University we learn that it was attended by ecclesiastics of various ranks, canons, rectors, vicars, priests, abbots, priors and monks, who, apparently in the dearth of young students enrolled themselves in order to encourage the new venture, as well as to merit the honour of being attached to a learned corporation.[3] Besides, in these days, and for years afterwards, the students of Glasgow enjoyed special privileges, and were exempted from all taxes and public burdens. Evidently there was no crying need for a University at Glasgow; that of St. Andrews, founded forty years previously, being sufficient to meet the demands of the country. Indeed, for more than a century after its foundation, the students were so few and the endowments so scanty that it was permanently on the verge of extinction.[4]

But there had always been ecclesiastical rivalry between Glasgow and St. Andrews, and now that St. Andrews had a University it was felt that Glasgow also must have a University of its own; just as later, when St. Andrews was raised to Archiepiscopal rank, Glasgow could not rest till she enjoyed a similar honour.

Some of the customs in vogue in those early days of the Auld and the New Pedagogies may not be without interest. The professors read their lectures in Latin, and as

[1] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* ii. p. 495.
[2] *Regality Club*, iii. p. 38.
[3] *Mun. Glas. Univ.* ii. p. 13.
[4] Hume Brown's *Hist. of Scot.* i. p. 245.

Latin was the recognized medium of communication among scholars, should any student during college hours be found talking his native Doric, even to his servant, he was liable to punishment. Students were required to rise to their studies as early as five o'clock in the morning, and to retire to bed in winter by nine in the evening and ten in summer. At bed-time the bell for silence rang and the professors went round with birch in hand to make certain that college regulations were strictly carried out.

As students were in residence in college it was customary for every bursar to present a silver spoon upon his being admitted to the common table.[1] Another custom in vogue at Glasgow and other University seats in those days was known as "shirking." An enactment enjoins "that any student who should meet any one of the professors in the streets without seeking to avoid his glance, or even play any game in his presence, should be subjected to severe corporal punishment. If it so happened that such a meeting took place in a narrow thoroughfare, where escape was impossible, the student was permitted to hold both his hands in front of his face and pretend not to see his superior."[2]

A list of the text books, ordinary and extraordinary, prescribed to the students of Glasgow University in the faculty of arts, will be found in the *University Munimenta* of the year 1500, the authors specified being Porphyry, Aristotle, and Petrus Hispanus.[3] It was mainly, however, the philosophical system of Aristotle that was expounded to the students—not the pure teaching of "the mighty Stagyrite," but diluted versions with all the subtleties, puerilities and absurdities current in the Middle Ages. Glasgow University in those days was rather behind the times,

[1] M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, p. 416, edn. 1856.

[2] Rashdall's *Univers. of Europe*, ii. pp. 306-7 ; Coutts *Hist. Glas. Univ.* p. 22.

[3] *Mun. Glas. Univ.* ii. p. 25 ; Coutts *Hist.* p. 24.

as if the new age of the Renaissance had never dawned, and mediaeval scholasticism still held undisputed sway.

To give a list of the distinguished alumni of Pre-Reformation times would be without our scope. Among them were Bishop William Elphinstone, Andrew Stewart, brother of James II., Cardinal David Beaton, John Adamson, provincial of the Scottish Dominicans, John Knox,[1] John Spottiswood, superintendent of Lothian, father of the still more famous Archbishop Spottiswood of Glasgow.[2]

It only remains to be said that among the institutions of the land which suffered most from the overthrow of the ancient faith was the University of Glasgow. The few endowments it then possessed were confiscated, its buildings became ruinous, and its studies and discipline almost extinct.

However, under the principalship of Andrew Melville, 1574-1580, the Nova Erectio, or College, arose, like the phœnix from its ashes, and its fame as a school of learning quickly spread both at home and abroad. As we learn from a contemporary, " there was no place in Europe comparable to Glasgow for guid letters during these years, for a plentiful and guid chepe mercat of all kynd of langages, artes and sciences." [3]

When we think of the University, cradled in the Rottenrow, and of its early struggle to maintain its existence, surely this was " the day of small things." The only faculty in its early career which had any vitality was that of Arts, the annual matriculation in which was about twenty students. In view of this we discover the vast changes that have taken place in the development of the University during the past four and a half centuries.

[1] The name of John Knox occurs in the lists of the matriculations of 1522 ; but it was not the Reformer if the latter was not born till 1515.

[2] M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, ed. 1856, pp. 415-16.

[3] *James Melville's Diary*, Bann. Club, p. 38.

Instead of one faculty there are now five, viz. Arts, Science, Medicine, Law, Theology, with a total teaching staff, including professors, lecturers, assistants, of over 150, while the total number of students who matriculated during the session 1910-11 was 2735.

An examination of the list of students and the countries from which they hail shows that the ancient distribution into the four Nations of Clydesdale, Teviotdale, Albany, and Rothesay shrinks into insignificance; for the nations are no longer confined to Scotland, but scattered over the world. Of the total number of students during 1910-11, 140 are from England, 24 from Ireland, and 8 from Wales. Outside of the British Isles, 48 students come from 13 different countries of Europe. Of 119 from Asia, 78 are from India and 35 from Japan and China. Of 34 from Africa, 20 are from South Africa, and 10 from Egypt. Of 31 from North America, 14 hail from the United States, 6 from Canada, and 10 from the West Indies, while 11 are from South and Central America.

"In recent years there has been a diminution in the number of students from England and Wales owing to the establishment of new universities there. On the other hand, the schools of Engineering, Naval Architecture, Mining, have brought increasing numbers from other countries, and the class lists of these departments present a truly polyglot series of names." [1]

If, as appears from the early records of the struggles of Glasgow University, there was no substantial reason for its foundation at the time, the marvellous development that has taken place has amply justified the action of Pope Nicholas V., Bishop Wm. Turnbull, and King James II. It has become one of the great universities of the world.

[1] For the above statistics of the university I am indebted to Mr. J. M. Ramsay, M.A., former Lecturer in History.

VI.

BISHOP ANDREW MUIRHEAD OR ANDREW OF DURRISDEER—(1455-1473).

To the late Bishop Dowden of Edinburgh is due the credit of first pointing out that in all the earlier documents, he who is usually styled Bishop Muirhead is referred to as Andrew of Durrisdere, or Bishop Andrew, never as Bishop Muirhead.[1] It is not till the middle of the sixteenth century, when his death was recorded in the *Martyrology of Glasgow*, that we first read of Andrew Muirhead, the entry being "Obitus Andree Mureheid episcopi Glasguensis 20th Novem: 1473."[2] On searching the records of the period we invariably find Andrew of Durrisdere.[3] Nevertheless, having been named Bishop Muirhead by such well-known writers as Spottiswood, M'Ure, Keith, Cosmo Innes, and others since, it is very unlikely that posterity will change this designation.

But while there is no trace of the name Muirhead in contemporary documents, the bishop undoubtedly had some connection with the Muirheads. M'Ure says the prelate was of the same stock of Muirheads with the house of Lauchope in the shire of Lanark.[4] As giving confirmation to this statement, we find one. Thomas de Muirhede, Clerk of the diocese

[1] *Scot. Hist. Rev.* v. 320-1.

[2] *R.E.G.* ii. p. 616. This list of obits was written after 1553.

[3] Theiner's *Mon.* No. 772; *R.E.G.* Nos. 359, 360, 373, etc.; Leslie's *Hist.* Bann. Club, p. 37; *Mun. Glas. Univ.* ii. p. 57; Pinkerton's *Hist.* appendix i. p. 502; Durrisdere is variously spelt.

[4] M'Ure's *Hist. of Glas.* edn. 1830, p. 22.

of Glasgow, *nepos* of Andrew, Bishop of Glasgow, October 1460,[1] while it has been observed that the heraldic arms of Bishop Andrew—three acorns on a bend dexter—are similar to those of one Martin Muirhead in 1542 A.D.[2] The Robertons, the descendants through marriage of the Muirheads of Lauchope, near Holytown, and who occupy Lauchope House at the present day, claim, in accordance with family traditions, the bishop as belonging to the old Muirhead stock.

Nisbet, too, assumes the connection and without giving his authorities states several interesting particulars,—that while Andrew became Bishop of Glasgow, his elder brother William succeeded to the paternal estate; and that his younger brother Vedastus became Rector of Cadzow, Dean of Glasgow, and in 1496, Rector of Glasgow University. Andrew had a sister, too, named Janet, of great beauty, known as the "Fair Maid" or "The Bonnie Lass of Lechbrunnach," whose life was not without romance.[3]

How the bishop came to be designated Andrew of Durrisdere is a problem still awaiting solution. One might imagine from his appointment as Sub-dean of Glasgow that the parish of Durrisdere would be the prebend attached to that office, and that the designation Durrisdere might thus have arisen; but with one exception there is no trace of any connection of Andrew with Durrisdere,[4] and it was not the parish of Durrisdere but those of Cadder and Monkland that were associated with the sub-deanery.[5] Durrisdere, it

[1] Theiner's *Mon.* p. 454.

[2] Macdonald's *Scottish Armorial Seals*, p. 259.

[3] Nisbet's *Heraldry*, ii. p. 257, etc. The story of her uncanonical marriage has been discredited.

[4] Bishop Andrew of Glasgow, in 1459, deprives Bartholomew de Glendonying, Rector of Durrisdere, of his charge because of non-residence. Chalmers *Caledonia*, new edn. v. p. 203. Mr. Cleland Harvey is of opinion that Durrisdere was Andrew's birthplace, and that he was connected with the Murehedes of Windyhills not of Lauchope.

[5] *Book of Glasgow Cathedral*, p. 380.

appears, was attached to the office of sub-precentor in 1432.

The earliest documentary evidence shows that Andrew of Durrisdere studied first at St. Andrews, where he graduated B.A., and afterwards at Paris. The entry concerning the latter informs us,[1] that Dominus Andreas de Durisder of the diocese of Glasgow, of Scottish birth, who claimed to have graduated B.A. of St. Andrews and satisfied his examiners at Paris on this point, studied also at Paris, joining the "nation" of Germany there. It is also stated that he was the first after many years who gave his name to that nation. He studied under Master Robert Esschinck, and in 1437 paid to the university as his bursa or tax twelve shillings, and in 1438 eleven shillings, and further, "pro jucundo adventu," *i.e.* for his joyful advent or incorporation at Paris University, he gave two francs, also eight shillings "pro cappis rectorum," for caps or capes—usually presented to the examiners by the successful candidates.[2] It is also stated that he was of noble birth, that in 1448 he became Vicar of Kilpatrick in the diocese of Glasgow.

Another source of information is that embodied in the letter of Pope Calixtus III. to Andrew Stewart, brother of King James II., and dated 5th May, 1455.[3] Here we read that when Andree de Durisder was provided as Bishop of the Church of Glasgow, he was Dean of Aberdeen, there the greatest dignity after that of bishop, vested with the cure of souls, an appointment made by election (curatam ac electivam); also that he held canonries and prebends of Glasgow itself, of Kirkandris, Lincluden, the perpetual

[1] Denifle, *Auctar. Chart. Univ. Paris.* ii. pp. 501-503.

[2] R. S. Rait's *Life in the Mediaeval University*, chap. vi. contains an account of the initiation ceremony through which the bajaun (*bec jaune*), the fledgeling or freshman, required to pass on entering the university.

[3] Theiner's *Mon.* No. 772. Kirkandris, now absorbed in Borgue. Kilpatult has been indentified with Kilpatrick.

vicarage of Kilpatult, and the sub-deanery of the churches of Glasgow. Further, we learn, in a papal letter dated 31st January, 1455, that when Andrew was elect of Glasgow and holding the benefices above mentioned, he was only in minor orders, not in major orders. That is to say, he was not even a sub-deacon, much less a priest.[1]

It is difficult to account for his holding so many benefices when, in reality, he had not been ordained to the priesthood. Perhaps these benefices were held by him, a minor cleric, on the understanding that he would eventually be promoted to the priesthood. Meantime drawing their revenues he would employ a priest to discharge priestly functions. This holding of pluralities was one of the serious abuses of the time.

While he held the perpetual vicarage of Kilpatrick we learn from other sources that on 26th March, 1450, Andrew was Dean of Aberdeen, when he would hold office under Bishop Ingleram, who ruled that diocese, 1441-59. But on searching for the Dean's name where we might expect to find it, unfortunately the entry reads "decano absente."[2]

While Dean of Aberdeen, and clerk and counsellor of James II., he was made Procurator at the Court of Rome, an appointment implying that he was regarded as an accomplished pleader.[3] As he held this distinguished post for several years, at any rate till 1453, he would be a frequent visitor to the papal court and so become personally acquainted with the great humanist, Pope Nicholas V.[4]

In November 22, 1450, Andrew is mentioned in the Bull of Indulgences sought and lifted by Bishop Turnbull, where he is described as Andrea de Durisder, Sub-dean of the Church of Glasgow.[5] Putting this and the former reference

[1] Theiner's *Mon.* No. 775.

[2] *Reg. Epis. Aberd.* ii. p. 70; *Regesta Vatic.* 409, 224.

[3] *Reg. Great Seal*, ii. No. 330.

[4] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* Nos. 359-360.

[5] *Ibid.* Nos. 359 and 373.

together it would seem that some time between 26th March and 22nd November, 1450, he became Sub-dean of Glasgow. He was still sub-dean in 1452, and indeed till 1455.

In the Bull of November 24, 1450, Andrew of Durisdere, Sub-dean of Glasgow, is appointed along with Bishop Turnbull to collect and guard the money offered at the high altar of Glasgow Cathedral in the Jubilee year, and to remit a third part of the collection intact to the papal treasury.[1] On 6th April, 1451, we find him obtaining at Rome a passport as Papal Nuncio to the kingdom of Scotland.[2]

Although Andrew is not mentioned by name in the Bull of 7th January, 1451 for the creation of Glasgow University, yet on 19th November, 1451, he is appointed one of the deputies to advise in its affairs—also he is named, along with others, as one of the incorporati or matriculated students and described as "sub-decanus magr. And. de Drusdere, non solvit."[3]

In the request for the renewal for another year of a safe-conduct from the Chancellor of England,[4] on the list of persons for whom it is asked are the following: William, Bishop of Glasgow, Mastir Androw of Durysdere, Dene of Abyrdene, Mastir John Arws, Archdene of Glasgow, along with about 100 attendants. As this safe-conduct for a somewhat large party was sought concerning secret matters known to the Chancellor, and an appeal made for a sure convoy, it is probable that it was in connection with the conveyance of the Jubilee offerings from Glasgow to Rome. Then again, 31st August, 1453, another safe-conduct was

[1] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* No. 360.

[2] Dowden's *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 325.

[3] *Mun. Glas. Univ.* ii. pp. 57-8. The title "subdecanus" in the second last line of p. 57 ought to be transferred to the last line as its first word. The Rev. Prof. W. Stewart says the whole paragraph in the parchment was written "in scriptione continua."

[4] *Cal. Docts. Scot.* iv. p. 407, *circa* 5th June, 1452.

asked for three years for William, Bishop of Glasgow, Mastir Andrew of Durisdere, Dean of Aberdeen, and Arws, Archdeacon of Glasgow, and others, passing through England with fifty attendants on pilgrimage to the thresholds of the Apostles.[1]

As already stated, Andrew was provided to Glasgow, in May 1455, but not consecrated till early in 1456.[2] Not only was England then beginning to be convulsed by the Wars of the Roses, but these were troublous days for Scotland, when coronets were striving for mastery over the crown. The two great families of Douglas and Hamilton were in active rebellion against the king. In order to crush this formidable opposition, James II. came to Glasgow to make it the base of his operations against the rebels. We read that "The King, having cast down the castle of Abercorn, syne past incontinent till Glasgow and gathered the Westland men and the Areschery."[3] The Westland men were the men of the western counties, and the Areschery the Irish or Gaelic speaking men of the Highlands and Islands. With this army, computed to be 40,000 strong, James swooped down upon his enemies, and so thoroughly destroyed their power and depopulated their estates, that it was long before they again raised their heads in revolt.

What a busy place Glasgow must have been when Bishop Andrew began to rule his See in 1455, with 40,000 soldiers encamped within its borders and parading its streets, particularly about the castle and the cross. We are fortunate in having preserved some account of the costumes of the Highlanders, the "Wild Scots," as they were termed. The better part of these wore a quilted tunic and saffron-dyed shirt, while they always carried a bow and arrows, a broad

[1] *Cal. Docts. Scot.* iv. p. 257 ; also *Rotuli Scotiae*, ii. 355 and 370.

[2] Dowden's *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 326.

[3] *Auchinleck Chron.* p. 53.

KING JAMES II.

Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

sword, a small halbert, and under the belt a large dagger. In time of war they covered their bodies with a shirt of mail made of iron rings. The poorer sort of the wild Scots clothed themselves in a linen garment manifoldly sewed and smeared with wax or pitch, and also with deerskins.[1] In these days, it seems, the tartan kilt and philibeg were unknown, but as the tunic was short and the legs bare, the Highlanders were familiarly known as "Redshanks."

It would appear that the university, which had its original quarters in the Rottenrow in Bishop Turnbull's day, was removed in 1460, during Bishop Andrew's rule, to a new site granted by James, first Lord Hamilton, in the High Street, where it continued for the next four centuries.[2] Two years after its removal, we read of provision being made by the Faculty of Arts for the celebration of an annual banquet and procession on the day of the translation of St. Nicholas, 9th May. According to the statute, all masters, licentiates, bachelors, and students were to assemble at eight in the morning, under penalty of two shillings, and then hear mass in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, situated in the Trongate near St. Enoch's Church, and used apparently as a university chapel.[3] Thereafter they were to ride on horseback in solemn and stately procession, bearing flowers and branches of trees, through the public street from the upper part of the city to the market cross, and then return by the same way to the college and there take counsel for the welfare of the faculty and the removal of all discords and quarrels, that all rejoicing in heart might honour the Prince of Peace. The banquet finished, the masters and students were directed to repair to a more fitting place of

[1] Major, *De Gestis Scotorum*, i. viii. quoted by G. Gregory Smith, *The Days of James IV.* p. 64.

[2] *Mun.* i. p. 9.

[3] Renwick's *Glasgow Memorials*, pp. 232-4 ; St. Nicholas was the patron saint of boys.

amusement and there enact some interlude or other spectacle to rejoice the people.[1]

It was in Bishop Andrew's time also that Mr. David Cadyow, Canon of Glasgow, on his appointment as Rector of the University in 1460 gave twenty nobles (a gold coin of superior quality, perhaps worth about £2, or, as others, 6s. 8d.), as a contribution towards the making of the silver mace, which, however, was subsequently enlarged and improved as a work of art. It is now 4 ft. 9¾ in. in length and weighs 8 lbs. 1 oz., and bears the following inscription: "Haec virga empta fuit publicis Academiae Glasguensis sumptibus, A.D. 1465: in Galliam ablata, A.D. 1560: et restituta, 1590."[2] It is this silver mace or official rod that is still carried by the bedellus in front of the rector on ceremonial occasions.

One of the bishop's early undertakings was the improvement of the musical services of the cathedral. At this period new music patronized by royalty was fashionable in Scotland. Glasgow Cathedral having sanctioned the Use of Sarum since the middle of the thirteenth century, had, on the whole, a very satisfactory service of praise under the leadership of the precentor or chanter, a dignitary next but one in rank to the bishop. But, as it sometimes happened that canons were not gifted as singers, or were not in residence, the necessity arose for singing priests as substitutes, who should give close residence. These were termed the canons' "vicars of the choir," or "canons' stallaries," or "vicars choral."[3] It occurred to Bishop Muirhead to have these singing ecclesiastics properly trained, in order to keep up the tone and quality of the musical services. These

[1] *Mun.* ii. p. 39.

[2] *Mun. Glas. Univ.* ii. pp. 68 and 71; Cosmo Innes, *Sketches Early Scot. Hist.* pp. 248-9.

[3] Bishop Dowden's paper, *Trans. Scot. Eccles. Soc.* yr. 1908, p. 189; also *Mediaeval Scotland*, p. 66, etc.

IRISH OR HIGHLAND SOLDIERS.

Officers to the left; rank and file to the right.

From a print after Albert Dürer, dated 1521.

vicars choral accordingly, on 16th May, 1467, he formed into a college or corporation with a procurator of their own.[1] Hence he became known as the founder of the College of the Vicars of the Choir of Glasgow. These vicars choral had no voice, however, in the election of the bishop, or any share in the management of the cathedral property. When these vicars choral took their part in leading the praise, they came out from their stalls in the choir and grouped themselves round the lectern.[2] Among other duties expected of them was that they should know by heart the Psalter, and sing mass every day for the souls of all the deceased bishops. These vicars choral, originally twelve in number but afterwards increased to eighteen, resided by themselves in a house where they sat at a common table. This house, or place of the vicars choral, appears to have been situated close to the manse of the precentor on the north side of the cathedral. The little lane that passes between the cathedral grounds and the Infirmary is known to this day as the Vicars' Alley, evidently because it led to the place of the vicars choral.[3] An ancient stone with a Latin inscription was discovered several years ago, which, in all probability, was once built into the wall and over the door of their dwelling-place. Translated, the inscription reads: "These buildings Bishop Andrew erected for the priests serving in the flourishing Choir of Glasgow." [4]

But while the vicars choral resided here, they seem to have

[1] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* ii. p. 616; also ii. No. 39, for endowments granted to this college.

[2] In the choirs of cathedrals were usually two rows of stalls, the upper being appropriated by the canons or stall vicars, the lower by the vicars choral, while on the floor underneath sat the boy choristers.

[3] *Book of Glas. Cathedral*, "The Hall of the Vicars Choral," by Archbishop Eyre.

[4] This stone is now in Kelvingrove Museum. *Scot. Hist. Rev.* Oct. 1904, p. 110.

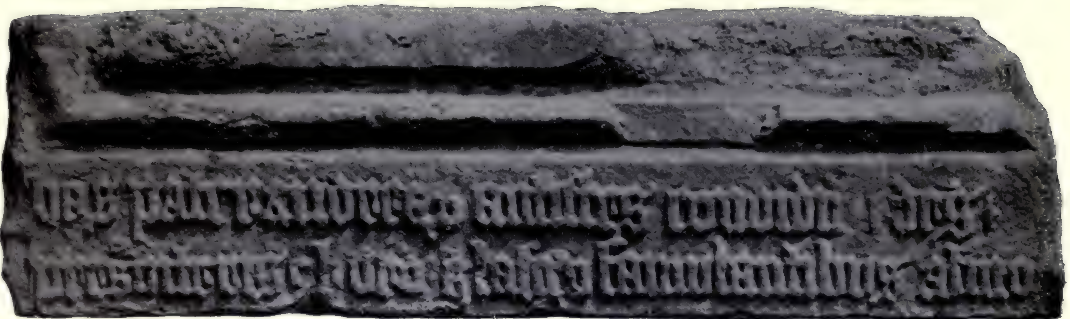
practised their music and transacted their business in the low stone-roofed building which projects near the north transept of the cathedral. Such was the opinion of the late Archbishop Eyre, who, with good reason, identified the projection as the "Hall of the Vicars Choral."

On examination it is seen that this building once consisted of two storeys, an upper and a lower. The upper apartment, reached by a stair, would probably be used as a robing-room, while the lower apartment, 36 ft. by 18 ft., would be the Sang School, from which there appears to have been an entrance direct into the cathedral. Apparently Bishop Muirhead made some alterations or repairs on the north aisle of the nave,[1] for his arms are still visible on the vaulting of the second bay from the crossing—a gold shield with red bend, upon which are three acorns with leaves. These, Mr. Cleland Harvey identifies as the Arms of Murehede of Windyhills.

It is interesting to gaze upon this hall of the Vicars Choral, for it is Glasgow's first School of Music or Sang School, where sacred music had been taught for about two centuries before the days of Bishop Muirhead. The Sang School in cathedral cities in Scotland was an ancient institution, even more so than the Grammar or Burgh School. Indeed, it may be regarded as the parent of the Burgh School.[2] It was through the influence of the Sang School, too, that the love of music spread throughout the community. Hence it has been suggested that the plaintive and pathetic quality of our most characteristic Scottish songs is due to the fact that, for so many centuries music was taught by clergy accustomed to sing the solemn and stately tones of the Gregorian Chant. We question this. Is it not rather the case that the finest and most touching songs in any language

[1] J. F. S. Gordon, *Glas. Cathedral*, p. 199, and *Book of Glas. Cathedral*, pp. 292-302.

[2] Cosmo Innes, *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, pp. 135-6.



INSCRIBED STONE OF THE VICARS CHORAL FOUND IN WALL OF 122 SALTMARKET, GLASGOW.

Has pater Andreas antistes condidit edes
Presbiteris choro Glasgu famulantibus almo.

—songs that strike the deepest chords—spring from suffering, and have all a vein of melancholy running through them, as if giving expression to " the still sad music of humanity " ?

Doubtless the institution of the College of the Vicars Choral by Bishop Muirhead gave the study of sacred music a powerful impetus in those days of the early Stewart kings, when the air was full of music.[1] And we cannot tell how much this music-loving City of Glasgow of the present day owes to the inspiration and encouragement of its music-loving bishop of four and a half centuries ago.

A passing reference to mediaeval music may not be irrelevant. While the Gregorian Chant prevailed along with the antiphonal singing of the Psalms, the mediaeval period was also the Golden Age of hymnology, when such creations came into being as the *Te Deum,* with its ' majestic omnipotence'; the *Dies Irae,* with its solemn and stately rhythm; the *Veni Creator Spiritus,* with its grave, sweet melody ; and not only these, but other priceless treasures of sacred song, the echoes of which are found lingering still in such familiar tunes as *Soldau* and Luther's Hymn, *Eine feste Burg.*[2] While most of the mediaeval music was plain song, or song in unison, it was also to a large extent unmeasured, that is, the time was left to be regulated by the words and what they suggested, for it was not till the fourteenth century that musical notation was adopted. In the early mediaeval period, too, the organ in use in cathedrals was primitive in construction, without pedals to bring out the lower bass notes, and without stops to modulate and give variety to the tones, while the keys of the key-board were so broad that they required to be played with the fists instead of with the fingers.

[1] *Treasurer's Accts.* i. preface, p. 197.

[2] For this information I am indebted to the Rev. Geo. Bell, Mus. D.

To refer to the bishop's efforts in other directions, we mention first the founding of St. Nicholas Hospital according to one account in 1456, and to another in 1471. This hospital stood in the open space now the mouth of Macleod Street, and comprised three buildings, a small chapel in the Gothic style with a belfry, and two other buildings on either side. The building to the north of the chapel is the old house standing to this day and known as the Provand's Lordship, which is believed to have been occupied by the chaplain or master of the hospital as his dwelling-place, while the building to the south of the chapel was the hospital proper, fitted up for the residence of twelve old men.[1]

So far as is known there is no foundation charter extant, but certainly St. Nicholas Hospital was founded by Bishop Muirhead, as his coat of arms visible yet on the corbel of the building next Macleod Street and the various recorded grants of tenements and lands for its endowment testify. It may also be stated that the ruins of the chapel of the hospital, with Bishop Muirhead's arms over the door, remained till the close of the eighteenth century, when the old buildings were swept away. While we have no record of the internal affairs of this hospital during the days of Bishop Muirhead, nevertheless, an interesting glimpse has been preserved of what obtained a century later, shortly after the Reformation, in the year 1584.[2]

From this we learn that the number of the inmates was twelve, dressed, according to the will of the founder, in white cloth gowns. A new white cloth gown was to be given them every three years, while upon every New Year's Day they were to receive " a pair of new doubill solit-schone with saxpence to every one for their kaill silver, togidder

[1] Chalmers *Caledonia*, iii. p. 658 ; *Trans. Glas. Arch. Soc.* i. pp. 131 and 171 ; Renwick's *Glas. Memorials*, p. 255.

[2] *Glas. Burgh Records*, i. pp. 115-6 ; *Charts. and Docts. Glas.* ii. 562.

with sufficient coillis to their fyer yearlie, with candell at evin to their prayeris." A not unimpressive sight it must have been to see these venerable figures with their white beards, and clothed in their long white gowns, enjoying such comfort in their declining years, sitting chatting with one another or with friends under the shade of the trees that flourished in front of the hospital.[1]

And although no trace remains of this old hospital, which may be truly designated "the auld house" of Glasgow, nevertheless it continues to shed its beneficent influences to the present day, for when the administration of its revenues by the successive bishops of Glasgow came to an end and other changes followed, the town council took over the management into its own hands and appointed the Lord Provost, during his term of office, its master or preceptor, who sees to the distribution of its bounties which allow an annual pension of about £3 to be given to twenty-two aged poor.[2] Thus the memory of the good bishop is perpetuated to the present day in the relief of the distress of some aged poor.

The Provand's Lordship is a house of chequered memories. During the past four and a half centuries it must have witnessed many vicissitudes. So dear is the memory of this venerable building to the inhabitants of Glasgow because of its close association with many of the most thrilling scenes in their history, that several years ago the Provand's Lordship Literary Club was formed to purchase and preserve it, that it might be handed down as the sole survivor, amid the wrecks of time, of the city's ancient domestic architecture.

Picturesque scenes must often have been witnessed in the days of Bishop Muirhead, especially in this part of the city.

[1] *Pres. of Glas. Minutes*, 25th Nov. 1595. For fuller details of Provand's Lordship, consult Dr. Wm. Gemmell's *The Oldest House in Glasgow.*

[2] City Chamberlain's Accounts, St. Nicholas Hospital.

Close beside St. Nicholas Hospital, to the south, ran in a hollow a little burn that pursued its course along what is now Macleod Street and across the Square, under the Prison Aid Society Buildings, till it joined the Molendinar. This tiny streamlet was named the Girthburn, because it marked the girth or precincts of sanctuary. Within this those pursued by avengers of blood, or debtors seeking to escape arrest from creditors, were, for the time being, safe under the protection of the Church till the case became the subject of proper judicial investigation.[1] A man, it may be, had committed theft or contracted debt, or been guilty of accidental manslaughter. In such circumstances, he might be observed in hot haste, all breathless, making for the girth, for well the fugitive knew that as soon as he crossed the Girthburn he could claim the rights and immunities of sanctuary.

Or, there might be seen passing now and then a poor leper walking alone, not on the pathway, for this was prohibited, but on the calzie or causeway-side, and crying Unclean! Unclean! A miserable spectacle he was, his face and mouth covered with a cloth, and in his hand a pair of clappers with which to warn off passers-by, lest they might approach too near and catch contagion. While lepers had a hospital for themselves—St. Ninians Hospital—near the bridge end on the south side of the river, as the name Hospital Street reminds us, they seem to have been permitted to go abroad at times to take the alms thrown into the alms-dish they carried with them. Owing to better food, change of diet, and increased regard for cleanliness, this scourge of leprosy is now almost unknown in the land, although, as we learn from the old burgh records, it was unfortunately too common.[2]

[1] *Liber de Calchou*, i. xx-xxiii, references to sanctuary privileges.

[2] *Glas. Memorials*, p. 254. ; *Scott. Antiquary*, Oct. 1898, p. 54.

GLASGOW CATHEDRAL AND RUINS OF THE BISHOP'S PALACE FROM THE WEST, *circa* 1760.

The Rottenrow and Vale of the Girthburn to the right; Dobbie's Loan and Garngadhill to the left.

Again, during a visitation of pestilence in the city, processions might be seen morning and evening twice a week, when the clergy and their attendants with banners marched through the streets chanting mournful dirges and calling upon God that He might be pleased to stay the plague.[1]

Bishop Muirhead figures as a statesman. King James II., like his father, was wont to select from among the clergy his chief ministers for the work of home and foreign administration. Of this work, Muirhead experienced his full share. In March 1450, when he was Dean of Aberdeen, as well as clerk and counsellor of James II., he was appointed procurator of the king for making requests at the Court of Rome to Pope Nicholas V.[2] On the unfortunate death of James II. in 1460, at the siege of Roxburgh Castle, he was appointed, along with Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews, one of the seven in the Council of Regency that acted with such wisdom and decision during the minority of James III.[3]

He seems also to have taken a prominent part in the affairs of Parliament in the years 1464, 1467-8-9, and 1471,[4] as well as in matters of truces and treaties with England, during the period of the Wars of the Roses.[5]

Evidently in those days there was no love lost between the two countries, for in 1467 an edict was promulgated by the Scottish Parliament that "na Inglisman in Scotland sulde have ony benefice, ony benefit, or in ony thing, ony kind of authoritie."

But in some respects the crowning act of Bishop Andrew's wisdom and tact was exhibited in 1468 when he was sent apparently as one of the leading ambassadors by the

[1] *Acts Parl. Scot.* ii. p. 46, year 1456.

[2] *Reg. Great Seal*, ii. No. 330.

[3] Bishop Leslie's *Historie S.T. Soc.* ii. p. 83; Tytler's *Hist.* yr. 1460.

[4] *Acts Scot. Parl.* ii. p. 90, and Rymer, xi. 509.

[5] *Cal. Docts. Scot.* iv. Nos. 1301, 1337, 1341, 1363, 1368.

Scottish Parliament, to Denmark to arrange a marriage between the Princess Margaret, daughter of Christian I., and the youthful King of Scotland, James III.[1]

As the crowns of Norway and Sweden were then united with Denmark, and Christian I. held court at Copenhagen, the ambassadors sailed thither. Here their residence was protracted for several months, as the king was in Sweden fighting his enemies. The negotiations, however, were eminently successful. As the historian observes, "the mater was wyslie and weil componet." Then the ambassadors, delayed for some time by storm, taking with them the youthful Margaret, a princess of great beauty and accomplishments and attended by a brilliant train of Danish nobles, at last set sail for Scotland.[2] Soon after her arrival at Leith, in July 1469, the marriage was celebrated at Holyrood Abbey amid scenes of much rejoicing and splendour. Another matter of importance, arranged at the same time, was that the Orkney and Shetland Islands, which for so many centuries had been in possession of Norway, using the Norse language, laws and customs, should, in the event of Christian I. failing to pay the stipulated dowry, be ceded to the Scottish Crown, "quairthrouch al occasione of weiris quhilk oft betuene thir peples began, was sloked and hard off na mair." This cession took place in 1472.

From having been employed so frequently and successfully in delicate negotiations, it may be inferred that Bishop Muirhead was not only a most judicious adviser, but also that he possessed a most conciliatory disposition. Vasari tells of Raphael that the power was accorded to him by heaven of bringing all who approached his presence into

[1] Leslie's *Historie S.T. Soc.* p. 88 ; Torfaeus, *Orcades*, p. 187, Rev. A. Pope's trans. p. 276 ; and Arild Huitfeld's *Danmarchis Rigis Kronike*, fol. p. 912.

[2] Some think the ballad, "Sir Patrick Spens," refers to this event.

harmony; in a somewhat similar way this might be said of Bishop Muirhead as a peacemaker. Thus, after a life of great usefulness, he died on 20th November, 1473, and was buried in the choir of the cathedral.[1]

[1] So says Nisbet, without stating his authority.

SEAL OF ANDREW MUIRHEAD,
A.D. 1455-1473.

VII.

WILLIAM ELPHINSTONE—BISHOP OF ABERDEEN.

HIS GLASGOW DAYS (1431-1478).

WILLIAM ELPHINSTONE belonged to a branch of the House of Elphinstone which some time in the fifteenth century, if we may judge from the frequency of the name in the university records, had settled in Glasgow, and become rentallers of the lands of Gorbals, playing no unimportant part in the management of civic affairs.[1]

Hector Boece, his biographer, contemporary and friend, informs us that William Elphinstone was born in the famous city of Glasgow rendered illustrious by its university.[2] There is reason to believe that he was brought up in the neighbourhood of the cathedral. A discussion has arisen over his parentage, and attempts have been made to explain away his illegitimacy, but the statement in a papal letter and other entries prove that while his father was a priest, his mother was an unmarried woman.[3] There has also been much confusion in regard to the date of his birth, but as Hector Boece—who is more accurate in his dates than is generally supposed—states that he died in 1514, there can be no reasonable doubt that William Elphinstone was born in Glasgow in 1431. His biographer narrates several

[1] M'Ure, *Hist. Glas.* ed. 1830, p. 93; Renwick, *Glas. Memorials*, p. 153; *Mun. Glas. Univ.* pp. 56-58 and 77.

[2] Moir, *Trans. of Boece*, pp. 58 and 102.

[3] Theiner, *Mon.* No. 895; Fraser's *Elphinstone*, ii. p. 234.

incidents of his boyhood which afford pleasing sidelights on the city life of the fifteenth century.

The first of these occurred when he was scarcely four years of age. Having strayed from his home which cannot have been far off, he was found after a long search prostrate before the image of the Virgin in the inner shrine—*sanctiori sacello*—of the cathedral. By the inner shrine may be meant the shrine of St. Mungo in the lower church where doubtless stood some such image, or it may have been the Lady Chapel, also in the lower church underneath the high altar. As the latter shrine was in high favour in ancient times,[1] it is probable that the little boy had followed the crowd thither. But wherever the image of the Virgin stood, the child was so absorbed in his devotions that he had to be dragged away and "could with difficulty be carried home, protesting with tears and childish cries." This recalls the story of the little boy of Abingdon who secretly took the Virgin Mary for his bride and put a gold ring on her finger. On another occasion, in his sleep, William dreamt that he was on his knees before the Virgin and entreating her not to suffer him to fall into any grievous sin, or be guilty of any base act, when it seemed to him that the Virgin herself replied, "Apply thyself wholly to virtue, and when thou attainest the mitre with which I shall present thee, consult the cause of Christ by repairing my churches."[2]

What amount of embellishment there may be in these narratives of his biographer, who is rather prone to credulity and panegyric, we shall not stop to enquire. When he reached his seventh year we read that he was delivered to the most eminent masters to be trained in morals and learning: he also made such progress in grammar that "his genius surpassed his years and gave great promise of his future eminence." In all likelihood this is a reference to his

[1] *R.E.G.* Nos. 237, 334, 384. [2] Moir's *Transl. Boece*, pp. 58-9.

education in the grammar school that existed generally in Scottish burghs in those days and the headmaster of which was always a priest.[1] Indeed, from an entry in the statutes of the Church of Glasgow, confirmed in the fourteenth century, we infer that Glasgow had a grammar school very early. The entry is as follows : " The function of Chancellor is to see to the ruling of the Schools, the correcting and repairing of the books," etc.[2]

In this connection, while William was yet a schoolboy, we are favoured with a peep into the interior of the Bishops' palace in Glasgow in 1438. Boece informs us that the boy's disposition had such charms for the Bishop of Glasgow that he had no pleasure in sitting down to supper until he had sent for William and heard him recite some verses or exercises which had been dictated by his masters, another hint that the boy resided in the neighbourhood of the cathedral.

As this incident took place in 1438 the Bishop of Glasgow was none other than John Cameron, whose reputation has suffered so unjustly, as we believe, at the hands of certain historians. It is in keeping with all we know of him that he should take a deep interest in the talented and pious young Elphinstone. Not only was he himself a scholar, one of the most brilliant students of St. Andrews, but he was a good man fired with zeal for the reformation of the Church. These interviews of an evening would cheer and brighten the lot of a bishop who at this very time was under ecclesiastical censure, if not actually under suspension.[3]

It was Bishop Cameron, too, who enlarged the cathedral establishment, and elaborated the splendour of its ritual, and young Elphinstone, who was of a pious disposition and a great favourite of the bishop, would be a regular worshipper. Glance for a moment at the interior of the cathedral as it

[1] Renwick's *Glasgow Memorials*, pp. 326-7.

[2] M'Crie's *Andrew Melville*, ed. 1819, i. p. 457.

[3] Ch. iv. p. 70, *supra*.

existed four and a half centuries ago, especially on a day of festival.[1] Instead of the bare unadorned walls and pillars and dim religious light of our own day, we see the nave hung with crimson tapestry, and the twenty altars between the pillars and the walls decked with richest ornaments. In the distance, in the chancel, we descry the high altar, its frontal resplendent in silk of scarlet or blue or ruby velvet, while upon its table stand the candelabra and the cross and costly shrines containing relics. Surrounding the high altar also are curtains of white, ruby, or green, while overhead is the carved and gilded canopy from which hangs the sacred pyx surrounded by ever-burning lights. As William Elphinstone knew it, the vast interior was a scene of illuminated splendour.

As Elphinstone is believed to have himself written several of the lives of the Scottish saints embodied in his Aberdeen Breviary of 1512, it is but natural to suppose that a youth of his " love for quietness and thoughtful silence " would often visit the spots associated with the memory of St. Mungo. Indeed, about this very period there existed a growing feeling of veneration for Glasgow's patron saint.[2] We can fancy young Elphinstone finding his way now and again down the Drygate and along the ancient footpath by the side of the Molendinar till he reached the foot of the Dewhill, or Dovehill as it is now named, to pay his devotions at St. Mungo's cave and St. Mungo's well.[3] It is difficult

[1] *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* yrs. 1898-99, and Inventory of 1432, *Reg. Epis. Glas.* No. 339.

[2] The Blackadder crypt, Little St. Mungo's at Glasgow, and the chapel to St. Thanew at Culross were all erected while Elphinstone was living.

[3] St. Mungo's cave—No trace of this seems to have been left. The City Engineer (Mr. M'Donald) reports that in February 1910, during the construction of a sewer below the bed of the Molendinar, north of Graeme Street, he came upon portions of whinstone or trap rock cropping up to the surface. The name of this hill in Cymric is Gwleth, *i.e.* Dewhill. Under the misapprehension that dew was synonymous with the Scottish

to realize the vast change that has come over the scene. As we think of the extensive network of railway lines, the shrieking of whistles and the sordid surroundings of the Dewhill now, we can hardly picture even to our minds the sweet amenities of those far-off days. In Elphinstone's time the Dewhill was a verdant knowe, at the foot of which, towards the Gallowgate, flourished a clump of trees called St. Mungo's trees, while there was also a well known as "St Mungo's Spouttis" and a road leading to it termed St. Mungo's lane.[1]

Here, by the banks of the Molendinar, immemorial tradition has pointed out the site of St. Mungo's abode, if not his *diseart* or retreat.[2] Hence Little St. Mungo's Chapel, as Elphinstone tells us, was erected here in the year 1500 to commemorate the spot.[3] According to tradition a cave in the shelving rock by the burn side was St. Mungo's bed-chamber, with a stone for his pillow. There, too, he administered the sacrament of baptism to his converts. From this spot also, clad in a goat-skin cloak with a hood, above which, says Jocelyn, he always wore a white alb with a stole. Carrying in one hand a piece of bent wood as a crozier, and in his other hand the manual book, he went forth to preach the Gospel to our Celtic forefathers. Indeed, the Dewhill—miraculously elevated according to a legend not infrequent among mediaeval biographers—would seem to have been St. Mungo's favourite pulpit. When the famous Dr. Chalmers preached in St. John's Parish Church early last century to crowded congregations,

"doo," meaning a "pigeon," the name has been Anglicized into "Dovehill." *Histors. of Scot.* v. p. 344.

[1] *Orig. Paroch.* i. p. 6; *Glas. Protocols*, No. 431; Renwick's *Glas. Memorials*, p. 33.

[2] *Historians of Scot.* v. pp. 57 and 115.

[3] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* i. p. xciii. and ii. p. 501; Dr. J. Robertson's *Scottish Abbeys*, p. 21.

BISHOP WILLIAM ELPHINSTONE.

From the original painting in King's College, Aberdeen.

electrifying them by his seraphic ardour and moral grandeur he stood on the summit of the same Dewhill where, twelve centuries previous, St. Mungo, according to tradition, proclaimed the same story of the Cross. Another scene dear to memory would recur to the imagination of the youthful Elphinstone as he sauntered about the Dewhill. It was here, by the banks of the Molendinar, where St. Kentigern abode at that time, not, as is usually supposed, higher up nearer the cathedral, that the saint was visited by St. Columba, who had travelled for this purpose all the way from Iona in the Western seas.

Jocelyn's picturesque account [1] of the meeting of the two saints in the early dawn of the history of Glasgow may be tinged with superstition, but would be devoutly believed by young Elphinstone. Each saint divided his followers into three bands, putting the youngest first in the procession, the leaders keeping in the rear. As the two companies approached each other they chanted psalms in antiphonal fashion. St. Columba, it is said, recognized St. Kentigern by something like a golden crown set with sparkling gems, descending from heaven upon his head, and again returning to the skies. Having met and embraced each other, the two saints enjoyed sweet fellowship together for several days, after which they parted, not, however, without exchanging pastoral staves in testimony of their mutual love in Christ.

When he was nearly twenty years of age, Elphinstone gave himself to the study of logic and physics. Since he was born in 1431 this brings us to 1451, the year of the foundation of Glasgow University. On searching the earliest records of the University we find among the names of students incorporated, Willelmus Elphinstoune.[2] He was

[1] *Historians of Scot.* v. pp. 106-109; *R.E.G.* i. p. xciii. office of St. Kentigern.

[2] *Mun. Glas. Univ.* ii. pp. 55-6.

thus one of the first students to join the new University. He would pursue his studies in the Auld Pedagogy in the Rottenrow. Here he made such progress as to surpass all his compeers.

Being now perfect in philosophy, says his biographer, in his twenty-fifth year he graduated M.A. and was ordained to the priesthood.[1] After graduation in 1456 he withdrew for a time from study and was appointed to manage the paternal estate. Evidently the step was taken at the suggestion of his parents, who were solicitous about his health. But even in this capacity he displayed incredible prudence and wonderful adaptability, "showing that he possessed an aptitude for the management both of public and private affairs." Tormented by his ideal and his zeal for learning, he could not remain permanently at business, so he returned to college to study canon law. Thereafter for a time he practised successfully in the Courts of Justice, and pled so zealously on behalf of equity and justice that he was regarded as "a patron of righteousness and the advocate of the poor and miserable."

Retiring, however, from the busy haunts of men he accepted an appointment to the rural parish of Kirkmichael,[2] whether in Ayrshire or in Nithsdale is uncertain, and here for the space of four years he devoted himself assiduously, not only to the performance of his pastoral duties, but to serious study, as if he took for his maxim—"So study as if you were to live for ever, so live as if you were to die to-morrow." "No hour, no moment passed in which he was not writing or dictating or making extracts." This glimpse into the country parson's study suggests a favourite pursuit of the scholars of the Renaissance, who devoted much of their

[1] Moir's *Boece*, p. 60.

[2] There are five parishes named Kirkmichael in Scotland—the two already mentioned and other three.

time to making extracts from manuscripts of the ancient classical authors. "But born as he was to a higher destiny," says his biographer, Elphinstone was not to be permitted to spend his days in the comparative obscurity of a rural parish. A wealthy uncle, Lawrence Elphinstone,[1] summoned him to Glasgow and "sternly reproved him for neglecting to exercise in some way talents so brilliant and so well calculated to advance the honour and interest of his house." He recommended the young man to travel abroad and imbibe foreign manners and learning, promising, at the same time, that he would supply liberally any necessary expenses. Acting on this suggestion he sailed for France in 1462, although the seas in those days were swarming with pirates, and sought that home of the Muses, the University of Paris. At Paris University, then the headquarters of orthodoxy, Elphinstone "listened to the greatest orators and attended the lectures on canon law." So successfully did he apply himself to his studies that he gained, according to Boece, "the admiration of all Paris," and his professors presented him to the post of first reader in canon law. For six years he attracted students in ever-increasing numbers. Thereafter he took his degree in the Sacred Decretals, graduating as Doctor of Decrees.[2]

Leaving Paris in 1468 he spent several years at Orleans, the great Law University of France throughout the Middle Ages and the true source of the influence exerted by Roman law on the law of Scotland.[3] With its learned professors he discussed the most abstruse problems of the law, and more

[1] Probably Lawrence of Selms, Midlothian. Fraser's *House of Elphinstone.*

[2] Dr. Moir's *Boece*, p. 63.

[3] Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, ii. pt. i. p. 140; *Miscell. Scot. Hist. Soc.* ii. pp. 55 and 101 informs us that he studied and taught at Orleans about this date, 1481-1484. This is clearly a mistake. The correct dates would be 1468-1471.

than once the Parliament of Paris sought his advice. During his stay in France his happy disposition won him many friends, of whom the chief was John de Gana or Gagne, first President of the Parliament of Paris and afterwards High Chancellor of France.[1]

After nine years' residence abroad (1462-1471) he was recalled by his parents to Scotland, and on arriving in his native city his first visit was to the Bishop of Glasgow, whom he knew to be in an eminent degree the patron of literature and literary men. The bishop who now resided in the palace was Andrew of Durrisdere. Having heard of his profound erudition and commanding eloquence, and having witnessed for himself a splendid exhibition of his forensic skill in the solution of intricate questions of canon law propounded to him in a public assembly shortly after his arrival, Bishop Andrew appointed him to the highest legal position in his right, viz. Official or Episcopal Judge in the Diocese of Glasgow.

In this capacity he discharged his duties with wonderful address, " conserving justice and never sparing extortioners or perverters of the law," ever acting on the maxim, " He hurts the good, who spares the bad." [2]

In 1478 Glasgow University conferred upon him, " honorifice," the degree of Licentiate in Canon Law, and in 1474 he was chosen Lord Rector.[3] Six years before, the University authorities had decreed that when the Lord Rector during his term of office went to church, or had occasion to walk through the town on holidays, he should wear his robes of office, or at least a furred hood, or one lined with silk or

[1] Innes, *Sketches*, etc. p. 262.

[2] Moir's *Boece*, pp. 64-5. Mr. Renwick informs me that a single leaf of the Court book of the Official of Glasgow, dated 21st Sept. 1475, is preserved in the Town Clerk's Office, Conveyancing Department, Glasgow.

[3] *Mun. Glas. Univ.* ii. p. 81.

taffety, and that on Sundays and minor feast days he should be accompanied by a number of attendants, a white wooden rod being carried before him ; also that on the greater feast days he should wear a richer than his ordinary rectorial dress, have a suitable retinue and the silver rod carried in front of him, his rank in procession to be next after that of the bishop.[1] The picture of the Lord Rector in his gorgeous robes with the silver mace carried before him is the parting glimpse we get of Elphinstone in his native city. In 1478 he was promoted to be Official of Lothian, in the diocese of St. Andrews, and his residence was transferred to Edinburgh, the seat of the Royal Court.[2] Thereafter he rose rapidly to the highest legal positions in the land, Lord of the Privy Seal and Lord Chancellor of Scotland. In 1484 he became Bishop of Aberdeen. He held the See of Aberdeen for the long period of thirty years and there rose to the zenith of his fame. He died greatly lamented in 1514, the year after Flodden. As his biographer informs us " the bishop's death was the cause of universal grief. Both men and matrons, as well as the clergy, long mourned for him as for a father, saying sadly that with him had perished the glory of Aberdeen." [3]

Bishop Elphinstone rendered many important services to his church and country, not to speak of his embassies to Louis XI., " the universal spider," and to Maximilian I., " the Lord of the World." He restored and beautified the fabric of Aberdeen Cathedral. He created King's College and Aberdeen University, and was mainly responsible for the introduction of printing into Scotland. One of the earliest productions of the Scottish printing press was his

[1] *Mun. Glas. Univ.* ii. p. 75.

[2] Perhaps the bishop's coat-of-arms on the south wall of Ecclesmachan Parish Church was placed here at this period.

[3] Moir's *Boece*, p. 111.

well-known Aberdeen Breviary," a veritable mine of information about the ancient church, rich in legends of a remote antiquity, and embodying the written memoirs of those saintly men, the planters of Christianity in Scotland, whose names are dear to Protestant and Catholic alike." Bishop Elphinstone has left behind him a memory fragrant with goodness and greatness. His praises have been sung by writers of various schools of thought, George Buchanan being the only historian of repute who somewhat detracts from his fame. In the words of Dr. Joseph Robertson, " the pious Elphinstone was one of those prelates who, in their munificent acts and their laborious and saintly lives, showed to the Scottish Church, in her corruption and decay, the glorious image of her youth."

SEAL OF ROBERT BLACKADDER.
A.D. 1484-1508.

VIII.

ARCHBISHOP ROBERT BLACKADDER (1484-1508).

Robert, who claimed to be of noble birth by both parents,[1] belonged to the family of Blacader or Blackadder of that ilk, near Edrom, Berwickshire, his father being a minor baron who sat in the Scots Parliament of 1464, and one of his brothers—not his father, as is often stated—being Sir Patrick, who married Elizabeth Edmonstone, heiress of Tulliallan, near Alloa.[2] Having his home near Edrom, he probably received his schooling at Coldingham Priory, about ten miles distant. Edrom Church belonged to the monks of Coldingham, and early in the sixteenth century Coldingham had two priors, cousins of each other, of the name of Blackadder.[3] Thereafter he proceeded to St. Andrews University, if we assume that he is the Robertus Blakater [4] mentioned in the list of determinants, or students preparing to take the B.A. degree in 1461. A subsequent reference suggests that he would enrol as a student of St. Salvator's at St. Andrews—a college then recently founded where young men of rank and wealth were encouraged to study. After taking his degree at St. Andrews, if we judge from the dates, he studied at Paris University, for we find one Robertus Blacatir, of the diocese of St. Andrews,

[1] Theiner's *Mon.* No. 868.

[2] *Reg. Great Seal*, 27th May, 1503, and *Reg. Epis. Glas.* No. 495.

[3] Raines' *North Durham*, App. No. cxi.

[4] Dr. Maitland Anderson's MS. List.

described as *Bacularius receptus* in 1464, recorded among the Licentiates of the year 1465, when he is styled Dominus Robertus Blakadir.[1]

For some time after his name is lost to view; he may have travelled about the Continent and studied at other Universities. Perhaps, like other scholars of his time he might be attracted to Florence. The probability is that Blackadder spent most of the period in question at the Court of Rome during the pontificate of Paul II., for when he next appears upon the scene in 1471 he is acting as Nuntius or messenger of King James III. at the Court of Rome and referred to in complimentary terms.[2] In March 1477-8 he is mentioned not only as Orator of the King at Rome and Papal Notary, but as holding, among other churches, the rectory of Lesuarde (Lasswade) in the diocese of St. Andrews, and as receiving Papal sanction to make this parish church the prebend of a canon of the Collegiate Church of St. Salvator's.[3] He proposed to erect near the church a hospital for pilgrims and sick and poor, to be known as the Hospital of St. Mary of Consolation, and the Pope, knowing his merits, granted his request as to the manner in which the hospital and the officiating chaplain should be supported. While acting as Orator at the Court of Rome, Blackadder is believed to have used his influence in procuring the elevation of William Scheves to the archbishopric of St. Andrews.[4] It is not till 5th June 1480 that his name is associated with Glasgow, when, as prebendary of Cardross, he is one of the signatories to a charter concerning the augmentation of the stipends of the Vicars Choral.[5]

[1] Denifle, *Auctor. Chart. Paris Univ.* ii. pp. 952 and 957.

[2] Theiner, *Mon.* No. 850.

[3] Theiner, *Mon.* Nos. 850 and 867.

[4] Theiner, *Mon.* No. 865; *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, Herkless and Hannay, i. p. 91.

[5] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* No. 426.

Evidently his eminent abilities as a scholar and as a man of affairs, led to his promotion first to the archdeaconry, and then, on 14th July, 1480, to the bishopric of Aberdeen.[1] Hector Boece informs us that this new appointment was made while he was by order of James III. on an embassy at Rome, and that he was there consecrated Bishop of Aberdeen. After some delay he travelled, partly by land and partly by sea, to his new diocese, where the local nobility and citizens came out to welcome him, and where also his appointment was confirmed.

While Bishop of Aberdeen he was made a member of the King's Privy Council. During his absence on one occasion from his see, the Highlanders wasted the church lands, but he vigorously attacked the marauders and compelled them to make restitution. At this period he incurred the animosity of the burgesses by withdrawing the gift of second tithes granted by his predecessor for repairing the church. The friction thus caused, continued after he was translated to Glasgow, so that in Blackadder's experience, the city of bon-accord was a city of discord.[2]

While energetically employed in making improvements in the observance of divine worship in his diocese he was in March 1482-3 promoted to the See of Glasgow and consecrated at Rome, April 1483. This, however, was not accomplished without opposition from the supporters of a rival candidate, George Carmichael, treasurer of Glasgow Cathedral, who had been elected bishop by the chapter. But Pope Sixtus IV. declared null and void the election of Carmichael as being contrary to the papal claim of the reservation of the See; not only so, but the Pope denounced, under the highest ecclesiastical censures, all who did not

[1] *Act. Dom. Con.* 49-59; *Eubel. Hierarchie Cathed.* ii. 87.

[2] Moir's translation of Boece, pp. 55-6-7; *Reg. Epis. Aber.* Preface, p. 42 for authorities.

reject George and accept Robert.[1] It would appear that Blackadder in prosecuting his translation from Aberdeen to Glasgow at the Court of Rome had involved himself heavily in debt; nor is this surprising, seeing that a bishop on his promotion had heavy expenses by reason of payments to the Pope, the cardinals, and officials of the Roman Court, not to mention the travelling expenses of himself and retinue.[2] To relieve himself of this burden of debt, he obtained power through a papal bull, dated 31st March, 1487, to compel, by ecclesiastical censures, the clergy and monastic orders without exception to supply him with a "benevolence," or subsidy. There was also granted him by the Pope half of the first-fruits of all the benefices in his diocese.[3] This latter exaction, aggravated by an earlier dispute about certain church duties[4] he sought to impose, and by an attempt to appropriate the prebend of Barlanark, engendered such bitterness of feeling between the bishop and his chapter, that the Pope sent to Glasgow Antony, Bishop of Tivoli, to mediate in his name. Mediation, however, failed, for Antony served a citation on Bishop Robert to appear by himself or proctor, within 120 days after his citation, at the Apostolic court of Causes.[5] It would seem that the bishop went to Rome in person, for, while the citation was served on 17th April, 1487, we find an entry stating that he was abroad on 30th May, 1487, and that the Chancellor, Archdeacon and Official were acting as his Vicars-General.[6] At Rome the bishop failed to establish his case and had to yield up all his claims, and allow things to remain as they had been in the days of Bishop Andrew and his predecessors.[7]

[1] Theiner, *Mon.* No. 873.
[2] Dowden's *Med. Chur. in Scot.* p. 121.
[3] Theiner, *Mon.* No. 882.
[4] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* No. 440.
[5] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* No. 448; *Regality Club*, i. p. 12.
[6] *Hist. MSS. Com.*; Sir J. S. Maxwell's MSS. p. 66.
[7] *Reg Epis. Glas.* No. 450.

About the period when Blackadder was appointed Bishop of Glasgow, Scotland was torn by civil strife. "The feudal nobility of Europe had been in a state of extraordinary commotion and tumult, in which hereditary sovereigns had been deposed and imprisoned. Scotland, on account of her frequent communications with the Continent, would naturally feel the powerful influence of such a state of things."[1] In 1482 a masterful section of the Scottish nobility, headed by Archibald, Earl of Angus, known as "Bell the Cat," dissatisfied with the conduct of James III. in neglecting the affairs of State for other pursuits, barbarously hanged over Lauder Bridge the favourites in whose company he spent so much of his time. Ever after this summary act of violence, the nobility who had taken part in the revolt felt their lives insecure. As ill-feeling and suspicion continued, a pitched battle was at last fought at Sauchieburn on 11th June, 1488, between the king, who that day wielded the sword of Robert the Bruce,[2] and the nobility, who had adopted the king's eldest son as their leader, and proclaimed him as James IV. The royalist party was defeated, and the king murdered soon after fleeing from the field.

Among those who sided with the victorious faction under the young prince was Blackadder, Bishop of Glasgow. Why he thus cast in his lot is uncertain. It might have been expected that, like Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen, he would have remained loyal to his sovereign, seeing that he had been his Orator at the Court of Rome, and had been thanked personally by him for his services, while he had also been chosen one of the King's Privy Councillors. The likelihood is that Blackadder was displeased with King James III. for interfering with the rights and temporalities of the Church, more especially in seeking to suppress Coldingham Priory by transferring its rich revenues to the upkeep of the

[1] Tytler's *Hist. of Scot.* yr. 1488. [2] *Treas. Accts.* i. pref. p. 73.

magnificent Chapel Royal which he had just erected at Stirling.[1] Although James III. had obtained from the Scottish Parliament in 1485 an Act of Annexation of the Revenues of Coldingham, as well as a papal bull in 1487 sanctioning the suppression of the priory, nevertheless Lord Hume, who considered the priory his by prescriptive or patrimonial right, along with his kinsmen and powerful allies, energetically opposed the enforcement of these measures, and compelled the Commissioners despatched to Coldingham by the See of St. Andrews to retrace their steps at the peril of their lives.[2]

When Blackadder joined the party of the victorious insurgent nobles, the young King James IV. greatly appreciated his support, for the Archbishop of St. Andrews had sided with the late king, and as the Bishop of Glasgow was second prelate in the realm, Blackadder rose rapidly in the royal favour. He was appointed one of the ambassadors to the English court, and one of a committee to proceed to Edinburgh Castle in order to inspect the treasury and jewel-house of the late king and take an inventory thereof.[3]

As is well known, the young king at this time suffered qualms of conscience for the part he had taken in bringing about his father's death. On this account he made pilgrimages to various shrines and wore an iron chain or belt close to his skin. This penance, however, was not so irksome as might be supposed, for there was worsted padding wrapped round the iron to keep it from chafing the skin.[4] In the early years of his reign, James was a frequent visitor at Glasgow, and doubtless resided at the bishop's palace to

[1] *Treas. Accts.* I. lxvi. Index, "Chapel Royal"; Dr. Roger's *Chapel Royal.*

[2] Prof. Hume Brown, *Hist. of Scot.* i. 285; Brockie, *Coldingham Priory*, p. 27.

[3] *Treas. Accts.* i. p. 79, and pref. pp. 70 and 74.

[4] *Treas. Accts.* iii. pref. pp. 42, 74, and i. p. 171.

KING JAMES III.

Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

enjoy the hospitality of his good friend, the bishop,[1] and, after supper, play with him at cards, then a fashionable pastime. While these visits were in connection with warlike expeditions, may it not be evidence of the sincerity of his penitence that James caused himself to be enrolled as an honorary canon of the cathedral? We have no authority from original documents to assume that he was more than an honorary canon, although he styled himself a canon.[2] An entry of the year 1491 shows that when the king took part in officiating at the altar, as Charlemagne did at his basilica of Aix-la-Chapelle, he wore canonical vestments like other priests, for payment of forty-eight pounds Scots was made by the treasurer for twelve ells of velvet to line "a half-lang gowne of frensche blak that the Dene of Glascow gave the King."[3]

Perhaps the greatest token of the royal regard was the king's desire to raise Blackadder to the rank of archbishop. In the Scottish Parliament of January 1488-9 it was enacted that, "for the honour and public good of the realm, the See of Glasgow be erected into an archbishopric."[4]

But the Papal Court delayed granting the request. King James IV., annoyed at the delay, wrote from Aberdeen to Pope Innocent VIII., December 1490, in the following strain: "Have written many letters to you and to the sacred College of Cardinals for the raising of the famous Church of Glasgow—which surpasses the other cathedral churches of my realm by its structures, its learned men, its foundation, its ornaments, and other very noble prerogatives—to metropolitan, primatial and born legatine rank, like the Church of York in England. . . . To my amazement you have not hearkened

[1] *Ibid.* ii. pref. xix.

[2] *R.E.G.* No. 463; Dowden, *Med. Chur. in Scot.* p. 85.

[3] *Treas. Accts.* i. p. 188. The pound Scots equals 6s. English.

[4] *Acts Parl.* ii. p. 213.

to so obedient a son, wherefore I again beseech your Holiness to expedite the said creation."

Again, on January 30, 1491, James, writing to the Pope from Holyrood Palace, and still fretting under the delay caused chiefly by the jealousy of St. Andrews, urgently presses the matter, saying: "If you decline to grant wishes so honorable and well grounded, I shall consider myself despised and scorned. I therefore implore you that Robert, the present prelate of said Church may be advanced . . . should any letters of a contrary tenor reach you, I wish to know you do not credit them and will not have the dispatch of this business delayed." Once more, February 28, 1491, the king vehemently urges his petition, adding: "Beseech you to grant this creation knowing that should my prayers be contemned and despised by you like former ones, I shall infer that the disobedience of others avails them more than my devotedness." This letter in Latin, like the others, is signed "Your most devoted Son, James, King of the Scots." [1]

While the king's petition was held in abeyance by the papal authorities, two safe-conducts for Scottish ambassadors were granted by Henry VII., one on 26th February, 1490-1, to travel through England to the court of Spain, the other on 14th June, 1491, to travel through England to France and Spain for a year.[2] Whether the former was taken advantage of is not clear, but apparently the latter was, for the Scots Parliament voted £5000 to pay the expenses of the embassy which sailed from North Berwick on board the "Katharine." [3]

According to Leslie, "There was a parliament held in the month of May 1491, when it was ordained that the Bishop

[1] *Cal. State Papers* (Venetian), i. Nos. 596, 604, 607.

[2] *Cal. Doct. Scot.* iv. Nos. 1569 and 1574.

[3] *Acts Scot. Parl.* ii. 224.

of Glasgow, Earl Bothwell, one Lord, and the Dean of Glasgow should go as ambassadors to France and Spain and other countries for the king's marriage where it should please the king best." [1] From the detail in Rymer,[2] it must have been an imposing procession consisting of Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, William (Elphinstone), Bishop of Aberdeen, Earls Bothwell, Morton and others, among whom was the poet, William Dunbar, along with a retinue of 100 horsemen conveying the baggage.[3]

Thus Blackadder and Elphinstone were *compagnons de voyage*—Blackadder lordly and commanding, Elphinstone gentle and gracious, yet both accomplished statesmen and courtly in manners. It is one of " the revenges of history " that Blackadder, who persecuted the Lollards for preaching the gospel, sailed from the Bass Rock within the dungeons of which a lineal descendant of his own house, John Blackadder, the Covenanting Minister, was imprisoned for preaching the same gospel.

At last the Pope yielded to the king's entreaties, and on January 9, 1491-2, erected the church of Glasgow to archiepiscopal dignity and jurisdiction, with carrying of the cross, and the other metropolitan insignia. . . . Also the Pope separated the dioceses of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Whithorn (Galloway), and Lismore (Argyle) from the jurisdiction of St. Andrews, and assigned them to the new archbishopric of Glasgow—issuing a Bull at the same date, exhorting the suffragan bishops to render due obedience and subjection to their metropolitan.[4]

Later, it seems, Dunblane and Dunkeld were restored to St. Andrews, leaving Galloway and Argyle as the only

[1] *Hist. Scot.* ii. p. 62, Bann. Club.

[2] *Foedera*, tom. xii. p. 446.

[3] *Poems of W. Dunbar*, S.T.Soc. i. p. xxvii.

[4] *Cal. State Papers* (Venetian), i. No. 615, and *Reg. Epis. Glas.* Nos. 457-8.

suffragans of Glasgow.[1] But although elevated to the dignity of an archbishop there is no record to show that Blackadder proceeded to Rome either personally or by postulary to receive the pallium. Hence it has been conjectured that the Pope—Innocent VIII.—owing to the opposition of Archbishop Schevez of St. Andrews, once Blackadder's friend but now his enemy, refused to confer upon him primatial and legatine rank.[2] Indeed, the erection of Glasgow to metropolitan rank was not accomplished without much opposition. Even the canons of Glasgow Cathedral were unwilling that their bishop should have increased rank and power, because they feared from past experience that their privileges and rights might be encroached upon. But both king and bishop gave ample assurance that the said rights would remain intact.[3]

The most determined opposition, however, came from St. Andrews. A jealous rivalry had long existed between St. Andrews and Glasgow. It broke out notably when St. Andrews in 1411 received from the Pope the privilege of university. Glasgow was not content till she received a similar privilege in 1451. It broke out afresh in 1472 when St. Andrews was elevated into an archbishopric, a step that provoked the opposition of the bishops of the other Scottish Sees, besides being distasteful to the king. Again, Glasgow could not rest satisfied till she was raised to similar rank. Yet even after this, the contention between the rival prelates was so bitter and the expenses incurred by law pleas at the court of Rome so heavy, that the king and estates of parliament, 26th June, 1493, threatened to order the cessation of payments of their temporalities if this strife and scandal to religion did not come to an end. While this admonition had

[1] *Scot. Hist. Rev.* v. p. 328.

[2] *The Archbishops of St. Andrews*, Herkless and Hannay, i. p. 142.

[3] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* Nos. 450, 460-6.

KING JAMES IV.

Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

the desired effect, the feeling of jealousy between the two Sees never really died down, but continued till the Reformation.[1]

While King James IV. was doing his utmost to promote Blackadder, it would appear that the bishop was no less solicitous about promoting the moral and spiritual well-being of his youthful sovereign. A letter has recently come to light, addressed by Blackadder to the Bishop of Beauvais, wherein, after describing the excellences of the young king, he expresses regret at his glaring sensuality and his being led astray by immoral companions. To counteract these evil influences he has placed among the royal attendants a young man, a secular priest, from whom he expected much, one Gulielmus Dunbar, a scholar, and also an excellent poet. So far as can be ascertained this would be about January 1490.[2] William Dunbar seems to have served in the capacity of private secretary to the bishop when on embassies to France in 1491, to Spain in 1495, and to England in 1501,[3] so that he was probably a frequent guest at the bishop's palace in Glasgow.

An event that has brought the name of Archbishop Blackadder into notoriety is his prosecution of the Lollards of Kyle in 1494. Knox has given us a somewhat piquant, if not prejudiced narrative of the trial which took place at Glasgow before King James IV. and his council, probably in the Consistory House or south-west tower of the cathedral.[4]

Thirty of these Lollards were summoned by Archbishop

[1] *Acts Scot. Parl.* ii. 232.

[2] *William Dunbar*, Famous Scots Series, p. 47, where this letter is said to be in the D'Aumale Collection. Mr. D. Baird Smith, LL.B., has ascertained from the Curator of the Musée Condé, at Chantilly, that the letter is not in the D'Aumale Collection there.

[3] *Poems of W. Dunbar*, S.T.S. i. Introd. *passim*.

[4] Knox's *Hist.* Laing's edit. i. pp. 6-12; Dr. Hay Fleming's *Reformation in Scotland*, p. 25.

Blackadder to answer the charge of heresy. Among them were several landed proprietors, Campbell of Cessnock, Reid of Barskimming, Campbell of Newmilns, Shaw of Polkemmet, and the two sisters, Lady Polkellie and Lady Stair.

Among the thirty-four articles which they were accused of maintaining were these: "That the Pope is not the successor of Peter, but where he said, 'Go behind me, Satan'—that the Mass profiteth not the souls that are in purgatory—that every faithful man or woman is a priest—that the Pope forgives not sins, but only God—that we should not pray to the glorious Virgin Mary but to God only—that the Pope is the head of the Kirk of Antichrist, etc." During the course of the trial Knox represents a spirited colloquy as taking place between the archbishop and Reid of Barskimming, the spokesman of the Lollards. "Reid," asks the archbishop, "believe ye that God is in heaven?" To which he replied, "Not as I do the Sacraments seven." Whereat the bishop, thinking to have triumphed, said to the king, "Sir, lo, he denies that God is in heaven"; whereat the king wondering said, "Adam Reid, what say ye?" The other answered, "Please your grace to hear the end betwixt the churl and me." Therewith he turned to the bishop and said, "I neither think nor believe as thou thinkest that God is in heaven: but I am most assured that he is not only in the heaven, but also on the earth . . . for if thou firmly believed that God were in the heaven thou shouldst not make thyself checkmate to the king, and altogether forget the charge that Jesus Christ the Son of God gave to his Apostles, which was to preach his evangel, and not to play the proud prelates, as all the rabble of you do this day." "And now, Sir," said Reid to the king, "judge ye whether the bishop or I believe best that God is in heaven." The king, wishing to end the controversy, said to Adam Reid. "Wilt thou burn thy bill?"

He replied, "Sir, the bishop and ye will." [1] "With these and the like scoffs," remarks Knox, "the bishop and his band were so dashed out of countenance that the greatest part of the accusation was turned to laughter."

Another event happened in 1494 which is not without interest at the present day, inasmuch as it is the first recorded attempt at Glasgow to separate public education from the control of the Church. The Chancellor of the cathedral, Martin Wan, complained that a priest, John Dunn, had set himself to instruct scholars in grammar and youths in the elements of learning, without his licence. Such licence, the Chancellor contended, was the immemorial right of his office. The case was tried before the chapter of the cathedral and decided against Dunn. Nevertheless, not long afterwards, when the question again came up, the provost and other burgesses contended for the right of the magistrates and the community to appoint teachers of public schools.[2] But if any decision was given, no record of it has been preserved.

In the following year, 1495, Archbishop Blackadder was sent as ambassador from King James IV. to the court of Spain, ruled at that time by Ferdinand and Isabella. As America had been discovered by Columbus in 1492, Spain was ringing with the fame of Columbus.

Blackadder, "the doctor of Glasgow," arrived at Tarazona, two leagues distant from the royal residence, on 24th August, 1495. His object was to arrange a marriage between his majesty the King of the Scots and a daughter of the Spanish sovereigns. During this visit Columbus was in America, and in his absence, his popularity, through the intrigues and jealousy of certain of the nobles, was somewhat on the wane.

[1] The public ceremony of recanting in those times was to bear a faggot of dry sticks and burn it, to signify that they were destroying that which should have been the instrument of their death. Calderwood's *Hist.* i. p. 109.

[2] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* No. 470, and *Glas. Memorials*, p. 327.

Nevertheless, the archbishop would learn all about the new world, the discovery of which had kindled such ardent imaginations and extravagant dreams of its fabulous resources, and had opened up such boundless fields for enterprize, which things might form the theme of many an entertaining conversation at the palace table when Blackadder returned to Glasgow. He was disappointed in his mission to Spain, but Ferdinand and Isabella urgently begged their ambassador at Rome to induce the Pope to make the Archbishop of Glasgow a cardinal, adding that the King of Scotland desired it much, as the archbishop had rendered signal service.[1] But although such powerful influences were at work, the court of Rome declined to accede. As the poet Dunbar, himself bitterly disappointed at not receiving ecclesiastical preferment, probably accompanied Blackadder to Spain, is it uncharitable to conjecture that in his poem "Of the Warld's Instabilitie," written shortly after the archbishop's death, a covert reference is made to this?

"I knaw nocht how the kirk is gydit
Bot benefices ar nocht leill devydit,
Sum men hes sewin and I nocht ane,
Quhilk to considder is ane pane.
And sum unworthy to browk ane stall
Wald clym to be ane cardinall
Ane bischoprick may nocht him gane
Quhilk to considder is ane pane."[2]

After a month's residence in Spain the archbishop leaves for Scotland on 25th September, accompanied by Archdeacon Don Martin de Torre, court chaplain, and Garcia de Herera.[3] He is next found at Stirling, two days before Christmas, 1495.[4] On April 14, 1496, he goes on an embassy to Spain,[5]

[1] *Cal. State Papers* (Spanish), i. Nos. 103, 104, 105.
[2] *S.T.S.* ii. p. 226. [3] *Cal. State Papers* (Spanish), i. No. 107.
[4] *Excheq. Rolls*, No. 308.
[5] *Cal. State Papers* (Spanish), i. No. 130, and *Treas. Accts.* p. cxxiii.

apparently for the third time. But this time also he seems to have missed Columbus, who was in America from September 25, 1493, to June 11, 1496; while Blackadder is recorded as confirming a charter at Glasgow, May 20, 1496.[1]

During his visit to the Spanish Court Blackadder probably met and conversed with one of Spain's greatest sons, Cardinal Ximenes, the munificent founder of Alcala University and the originator of the Polyglot Bible. Ximenes had been chosen confessor to Queen Isabella in 1492. On Good Friday, 1495, the queen put into his hands a papal Bull appointing him Archbishop of Toledo, a See with enormous revenues. Such promotion being averse to his feelings, he immediately fled from court, but a papal brief compelled him to accept office, and he was consecrated at Tarazona on 11th October, 1495.[2]

About two years after his return from Spain, Blackadder was sent by King James as ambassador to Ludovic Sforza, the crafty and ambitious Duke of Milan. This was the duke who engaged Leonardo da Vinci as court painter, and gave full scope to his talents. It was during the years 1496-8 that Da Vinci was painting "The Last Supper." As King James wrote a letter to the duke, dated 11th October, 1498, thanking him for the many honours which, for his sake, were afforded to Robert, Archbishop of Glasgow, his councillor and ambassador,[3] it is not unlikely that the duke, an enthusiastic lover of the fine arts, would conduct the archbishop to visit the illustrious yet fitful genius, touching and retouching his famous fresco in the convent of S. Maria delle Grazie.[4]

[1] *R.E.G.* No. 474.

[2] Hefele's *Cardinal Ximenes*, trans. by J. C. Datton, *passim.*

[3] *Cal. State Papers* (Venetian), i. No. 774.

[4] Pater's *Renaissance Leon. da Vinci.*

In October, 1500, David Cunningham, Archdeacon of Argyle, Provost of the Collegiate Church of Hamilton, and Official of Glasgow, who already in 1495 had endowed a chaplaincy for the altar of all saints in the nave of the cathedral, erected and endowed a chapel at his own expense outside the walls of the city at the Gallowgate Port. This chapel beyond the Molendinar stood near the trees called St. Kentigern's trees, and was afterwards known as Little St. Kentigern's. The charter giving an account of this foundation with the names of persons and places in Glasgow four centuries ago is replete with interest.[1] It would seem that this chapel was erected on or near the traditional site of St. Mungo's Cave at the foot of the Dewhill, and also that it was consecrated to the memory of St. Mungo at the suggestion of Archbishop Blackadder, who was a devoted admirer of the saint.[2]

During the years 1500-1 Scotland was ravaged by a terrible plague. The Bishop of Dunkeld, when the plague was raging in his diocese, caused a bone of St. Columba to be dipped in holy water and the water to be sent to the sick folk to drink, as a precaution or remedy. Whereupon, it is said, one remonstrated, "Why does the bishop send us water to drink, I would rather he had sent us some of his best ale."[3] In Glasgow, owing to the ravages of the plague, no lectures were given at the university during the greater portion of the year 1501.[4] The cathedral clergy seem also to have been affected, for at a visitation of the chapter on 17th February, 1501, several irregularities were reported. "The dean does not make continuous residence. The pre-

[1] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* No. 481.

[2] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* i. p. xciii. and *Orig. Par.* i. p. 6.

[3] Myln's *Lives of Bishops of Dunkeld*, p. 40 (Bann. Club edit.); *Dioc. Reg.* i. p. 269.

[4] *Mun. Glas. Univ.* ii. p. 278.

bendary of Stobo often goes out of the choir in time of divine service and comes in again. He of Durisdeyr is unpunctual. He of Ancrum is frequently absent from the Chapter House on Sabbath." A general complaint is that prebendaries do not give residence.[1]

Towards the end of the plague-stricken year, on 24th November, 1501, Blackadder and others were appointed ambassadors to London in connection with negotiations for a marriage between Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., and James IV. The Scottish ambassadors were lavishly entertained during their visit, for there were noble and costly banquets, splendid tournaments and disguisings "to the great consolation of the beholders."

During Christmas week the Lord Mayor gave a dinner to the bishop ambassador (Blackadder) to which were invited the chancellor and other lords of the realm. The negotiations proceeded smoothly and the marriage contract was signed at Richmond, 24th January, 1501-2. On the following day the betrothal by "hand-fasting" was publicly declared at St. Paul's Cross.[2] At the same time an Indenture of Peace and Friendship was drawn up between Scotland and England, and signed by Blackadder as Robertus Glasguensis.[3]

On 10th December, 1502, James IV., at the request of the envoys of Henry VII., in presence of Archbishop Blackadder, swore on the sacraments in the cathedral of Glasgow near the right hand of the high altar to observe the treaties of peace and marriage thus concluded.[4]

It was on his visit to London that Dunbar, the Rhymer

[1] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* ii. pp. 611-2; Dowden's *Mediaeval Church in Scot.* p. 79, on Non-residence.

[2] *The Days of James IV.*, G. Gregory Smith, p. 76.

[3] Rymer's *Foed.* xii. p. 793.

[4] *Chart. and Docts. Glas.* 1175-1649, pt. i. dxxxiii.

of Scotland, who acted as secretary to the archbishop, wrote his poem in praise of the great city :

> "London, thou art of townës A per se,
> Sovereign of cities, seemliest in sight,
> Of high renown, riches and royalty :
>
> . . . . . .
>
> London, thou art the flower of cities all." [1]

The next occasion on which Blackadder figures conspicuously was on 8th August, 1503, when amid scenes of solemnity and splendour, accompanied by the prelates all in pontificals, he performed the marriage ceremony at Holyrood Abbey,[2] a union immortalized by Dunbar in "The Thistle and the Rose," an epithalamion rich in inventive fancy and genuine poetic feeling. The royal marriage having been duly celebrated, and many years of anxious quest for a queen brought to a happy issue, Blackadder seems to have thrown his energies into the ecclesiastical and spiritual affairs of his diocese. Veneration for St. Kentigern was displayed by the building of the Fergus Aisle, otherwise known as the Blackadder Crypt.[3]

As yet no documentary evidence attests the date, but the style of architecture, the decorated Gothic, points unmistakably to the age of Blackadder ; and the carvings on the bosses show the arms of Blackadder and James IV., while upon the pillar in the centre of the south wall there is a royal crown with the initial M for Margaret the Queen.[4]

Another carving deserves attention. Immediately over the north pier there is a human figure laid prone upon a car.

[1] Dunbar's *Poems*, S.T.S. ii. p. 276.

[2] *The Days of James IV.*, G. Gregory Smith, p. 95.

[3] The contract between Thos. Tayt of Ayr and Archbishop Blackadder, on the former delivering to the latter "12 fuderis of lead," may refer to the lead required for covering the roof of the Fergus Aisle. *Dioc. Reg.* i. pp. 375-6.

[4] P. MacGregor Chalmers.

The accompanying inscription is: "This is the ile of car Fergus." Probably Archbishop Blackadder built his aisle over the traditional spot, where, according to the legend, the car containing the body of Fergus rested. If the tradition was correct, as it may well be, the Fergus Aisle is the spot of most hallowed memory in all Glasgow, for here, or near by, would be the ancient Celtic cemetery of St. Ninian, where 150 years later St. Kentigern would erect his little cell or chapel, the germ of the cathedral and the nucleus around which gathered in the course of centuries the city of Glasgow.

Further evidence of the archbishop's veneration for St. Kentigern is afforded by his erection in 1503 of a chapel and chaplainry [1] at Culross near the monastery. This chapel stood at the east end of the town close to the shore, and commemorated the spot where, according to the legend, St. Thanew, after being cast adrift and left to the mercy of the wind and waves, was washed ashore in her coracle. and gave birth to St. Kentigern.[2]

The seal of Archbishop Blackadder, which bears the date 1500, has engraved upon it some interesting details in the life of St. Kentigern, as recorded by Jocelyn. The saint is represented holding his manual between his hands, above which and within an outer garment his hair shirt is visible. While there is no mitre on his head, he wears a close hood like a fisherman's.[3]

In 1507 Blackadder founded in honour of St. Kentigern a perpetual chaplainry at the altar in the lower church, erected by his brother, Sir Patrick of Tulliallan, near the tomb of St. Kentigern.[4]

Not only is the Fergus Aisle attributed to Blackadder, but the beautiful rood-screen with its richly moulded door. On either side of the doorway are altars, or platforms for altars

[1] *R.E.G.* ii. p. 505.
[2] *Histors. of Scot.* v. ch. iv.
[3] *R.E.G.* ii. xxxii. plate iii. No. 5.
[4] *R.E.G.* No. 486.

with his archiepiscopal arms carved upon them. While this is not conclusive as to the date of the erection of the rood-screen, references in the Treasurer's accounts to masons and joiners working at Glasgow in the years 1503-7, and to an appointment anent covering the stalls of the choir in 1506, may afford some clue as to when the work was completed.[1]

As Jedburgh Abbey belonged to the See of Glasgow, it is not surprising to find the arms of the archbishop carved upon its central tower. In all probability this points to restorations effected after some devastation wrought by the English.[2]

A list of the archbishop's benefactions for various religious purposes, along with the charter he granted in 1504 to Lord Sempill for the foundation of the Collegiate Church of Lochwinnoch, will be found recorded in the register of the bishopric of Glasgow.[3]

After a strenuous career both as churchman and statesman, the archbishop turned his thoughts in his later years towards making a pilgrimage to the sepulchre of our Lord at Jerusalem. The records show that he must have left Glasgow early in the year 1508,[4] and the first glimpse we get of him on his pilgrimage occurs after his arrival at Venice. "On the morning of 16th May the ambassadors from France, Milan, and Spain came into the college (the Cabinet of the Republic), and a Bishop of Scotland, accompanied by several of the officials and guides of the Cattaveri."[5]

[1] *R.E.G.* ii. p. 612.

[2] *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 1904-5, p. 47; J. Watson, *Jedburgh Abbey*, p. 41.

[3] *R.E.G.* ii. pp. 505-519; *Glas. Memor.* pp. 49, 167; *Arch. and Hist. Colls. County of Renfrew* (1885), i. p. 73.

[4] *Dioc. Rec. Glas.* i. Nos. 322-382.

[5] *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* vol. ii. p. 222, and Casola's *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, A.D. 1494, pp. 39-40. The Cattaveri were the magistrates entrusted with the supervision of the pilgrim traffic.

Blackadder, in the eyes of the Signiory, is evidently a person of importance, for, it is stated, that he has a revenue of 2000 ducats and that he is dressed in a purple camlet. On entering the college, he sat near the Doge, and after presenting his letters of credence from King James and the King of France, he made a Latin oration in praise of the Republic and of the Doge, and of the good-will between his king and the Signiory.

At this period Venice had passed the zenith of her splendour as the emporium of traffic between the East and West. The new sea route to India round the Cape was diverting the overland trade. Besides, she was being threatened by the powers that six months later formed against her the League of Cambrai. As James IV. espoused the cause of the Doge, Blackadder, who is described as "the king's relation," would be doubly welcome. His ostensible purpose, however, in coming to Venice, was that he and the persons accompanying him might make arrangements to sail to Palestine, either by the Jaffa galley or by some other ship.

On 1st June—Ascension Day—amid universal rejoicing, the Doge sailed as usual on board the magnificently decorated state barge, the "Bucentoro," to espouse and bless the Adriatic by throwing a gold ring into the waters and exclaiming: "We wed thee, O Sea, in token of true and lasting domination." Generally a vast concourse of strangers and, among them, dignitaries of rank from other lands flocked to Venice to witness this annual pageant. On this occasion the Doge was surrounded by "the ambassadors of France, Spain, and Ferrara, and also a bishop of Scotland going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem." [1]

The next notice of Blackadder is the last of all. He sailed from Venice for Jaffa, the port of Jerusalem, but on the return of the vessel on November 14, it was found that

[1] *Cal. State Papers* (Venetian), i. Nos. 903-904.

" out of the thirty-six pilgrims on board, twenty-seven had died, including the rich bishop of Scotland." [1]

Leslie, referring to this event, says: "About this time the Bishop of Glasgow quha was passit to Jerusalem or he was come to the end of his journey, deceisit the 29th day of July." [2] It is likely that, when so many deaths took place on board, his body, along with the others, would be buried at sea. There is pathos in the thought that one who all his life had moved in the highest circles and been surrounded with earthly pomp and splendour, should at last be interred, not in a splendid tomb beside the high altar of his own cathedral, nor even in the aisle that he had erected as a chantry at Edrom Church,[3] but in the all-devouring and all-forgetful waves,[4] and that he died almost within sight of the Holy Land, the dream of his latter days unrealized.

Archbishop Blackadder was a dignified and lordly ecclesiastic. Perhaps no prelate that ever sat in the chair of St. Kentigern, with the exception of Cardinal Walter Wardlaw, had such an intimate acquaintance with the papal court. Certainly none was ever brought into contact with so many of the great rulers and thinkers of his day.

Bishop Elphinstone, his contemporary, has been spoken of as if he were the only outstanding ecclesiastic of the reign of James IV. It may be conceded that in the elements of character that constitute true greatness, Elphinstone was superior, nevertheless Blackadder occupied as high if not a higher place in the councils of his sovereign. Bishop Leslie speaks of him as one " quha in his lyfe was sa vertuous that

[1] *Cal. State Papers* (Venetian), i. No. 909.

[2] *Hist. of Scot.* Bann. Club edit. p. 78; also *S.T.S.* ii. p. 129.

[3] The aisle bears the inscription: "Founded by Robert Blacader, Archbishop of Glasgow, anno 1499."

[4] The voyage of the archbishop on a Jaffa galley and his experiences at Venice and *en route* are doubtless vividly portrayed in those of another pilgrim in 1494. Casola's *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, M. Newett, 1907.

he was mervellous to mony to sie sa divine a nature";[1] while John Knox regards him as a proud prelate who "departed this life going in his superstitious devotion to Jerusalem."[2] A modern estimate is unnecessarily severe, "Blackadder is an excellent example of the Scottish ecclesiastics, who, in the century before the Reformation, ascended to famous places, and as they rose, marked their steps by intrigue and jobbery rather than by honourable duties for the welfare of the State or spiritual services for the Church."[3] It is a blot on his escutcheon that he tried to extirpate for heresy the Lollards of Kyle, but these were not the days of religious toleration.

Through his building operations and benefactions Blackadder may be regarded as one of the makers of Glasgow. By his conspicuous ability as an ambassador to foreign courts when Scotland was feeling her way into the front rank among the political forces of the age, he increased the reputation of Glasgow and gave its name lustre in the estimation of the great nations of the Continent.

[1] *Hist. of Scot. S.T.S.* ii. p. 129.

[2] Laing's *John Knox*, i. p. 12.

[3] *The Archbishops of St. Andrews*, by Herkless, etc., i. pp. 92-3.

IX.

ARCHBISHOP JAMES BEATON I. (1509-1522).

The family to which the archbishop belonged was the Beatons or Bethunes of Balfour in the Parish of Markinch, Fife. James was the sixth son of John Beaton, who married Marjory, daughter of Sir David Boswell of Balmuto, Kinghorn. Cardinal David Beaton of St. Andrews and Archbishop James Beaton II. of Glasgow were his nephews and cousins of each other.[1] Born perhaps in 1474, James Beaton entered St. Andrews University in 1488, but did not graduate M.A. till 1494. To judge from the practical business aptitude so conspicuously displayed in after years, he probably proceeded to some continental university to study law; but of this no record has been found.[2]

His first preferment—on September 17, 1497—was to the Chantry of Caithness. In 1502 he was made provost of the beautiful Collegiate Church of Bothwell, and in 1503 he held Kirkinner, one of the richest livings in Galloway. The records of the period show that he had much to do with financial transactions, both in Church and State, so that he was virtually serving an apprenticeship for the influential positions he was afterwards to occupy—first, as treasurer, and then as chancellor of the kingdom. In 1504, although not a monk, he was promoted by James IV. to the rich and important Abbey of Dunfermline which he held "in com-

[1] Macfarlane's *Geneal. Colls.* i. p. 6.

[2] *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iii. *passim.*

mendam." While abbot he was chosen one of the Daily Council and travelled to Rome on the king's business, when a sum of £300 was allowed him.[1]

In 1505, on the death of his brother Sir David, he was appointed—while comparatively a young man—Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. On state occasions he would carry the white staff of his office, and, having charge of the king's purse, he would require to be in attendance at court. As James IV. was one of the most energetic and restless of monarchs, ever on the move throughout his dominions, administering justice, making pilgrimages, patronizing tournaments, and constantly disbursing money, his treasurer would lead a gay and busy life. From his rapid preferment he seems to have been high in the royal favour, and it was probably out of compliment to him that the king, in 1506, during the period that Beaton held this office, named one of his new ships "The Treasurer."[2]

While Beaton was treasurer he was appointed to other secular offices, such as Chamberlain of Fife and Keeper of the Palace of Falkland. Being sagacious and possessed of tact and moderation, he was most useful to the king in the transaction of ecclesiastical business, chiefly concerning the disposition of benefices. At times his conscience troubled him in the performance of such duties. Hence, in August 1506, we find James IV. writing to Pope Julius and asking liberty to choose a confessor for Beaton who would absolve him "in foro conscientiae dumtaxat."[3] The Pope also writes to him to remove his scruples of conscience in executing the king's office, in taking cognizance of causes of blood, and other crimes. But such absorption in financial matters, along with the gaiety and frivolity of court life, was by no

[1] Authorities quoted by Herkless and Hannay, vol. iii. pp. 8, 9, 10.

[2] *Treas. Accts.* iii. lxvii.

[3] *Letters, Richard III. and Henry VII.* ii. 224.

means helpful to his spiritual life. Hence we are not surprised that John Knox writes: "Mr. James Beaton was moir cairful for the world than he was to preach Christ, or yitt to advance any religion but for fassion only; and as he soght the world, it fled him nott." [1]

In 1507 Pope Julius II.—the Warrior Pope—not only proclaimed James IV. Protector of the Christian religion but presented him with a purple hat variegated with golden flowers, a sword with a golden hilt, and a golden scabbard studded with precious stones. These were handed for presentation to the king by Antonius de Initiatis and James Beaton, Abbot of Dunfermline, acting as papal legates, the ceremony taking place in the Abbey Kirk of Holyrood in presence of the whole nobility.[2] The following year, 1508, Beaton was appointed not to the Priory of Whithorn as so often asserted, but to the See of Whithorn or Galloway, with which was associated the deanery of the chapel royal at Stirling; but, although referred to as Bishop-elect of Galloway, he seems never to have entered upon the duties of the office.[3] Higher promotion awaited him later in the same year. News having reached Glasgow that Archbishop Blackadder had died and was buried at sea on 28th July, a meeting of the chapter of Glasgow was summoned at the request of the king to elect a successor. Before leaving Glasgow, Blackadder on 16th June, 1508, had appointed Dean Robert Forman one of his vicars-general; [4] but on the morning of the 9th November, 1508,[5] when the chapter assembled in the chapter-house at the ringing of the cathedral bell, Dean Forman was not present. In his absence Chancellor Martin

[1] Laing's edit. *Knox's Works*, i. p. 13.

[2] Leslie's *Hist. Scot.* ii. p. 123, S.T.Soc. The hat has disappeared, but the sword is still preserved among the Regalia at Edinburgh Castle.

[3] Dowden's *Bishops of Scot.* p. 371; *Letters, Richard III. and Henry VII.* p. 257.

[4] *Dioc. Reg.* i. pref. p. 16.

[5] *Ibid.* ii. No. 288.

Rede presided. Mr. Adam Colquhoun, Prebendary of Govan, presented royal letters signed by the king's own hand, requesting the canons to postulate the reverend Father James Betoun, Bishop of Candida Casa, Archbishop of Glasgow. When votes were called for, thirteen canons cordially agreed to postulate the said James Betoun, Archbishop of Glasgow, but one of the canons, Mr. John Gibson, Prebendary of Renfrew, on being asked for his vote replied that, in an election of this kind more time should be taken for consideration on the part of the chapter; adding, however, that he knew well that if the said Archbishop Robert, asserted to be dead, had been present and wished to resign, he would have chosen Mr. James Betoun his successor. Gibson then joined in the vote for Betoun and made it unanimous. As there was still some uncertainty about the death of Archbishop Blackadder, the chapter expressly inserted as a saving clause that their act was not to prejudice the rights of the latter should he be still alive.[1] The subsequent steps in the promotion are elsewhere given in detail, from which it appears Beaton was ordained and consecrated at Stirling, 15th April, 1509, and thereafter passed to Glasgow where, on 17th April at 9 a.m. or thereabout, in the chapter-house, in presence of David, Bishop of Argyle, the Abbot and the Prior of Kilwinning and others, he took the archiepiscopal oath by touching his breast and swearing by the word of an archbishop and on the Holy Gospels.[2] Letters having been read from Pope Julius II., entreating the chapter to receive him as their archbishop, thereafter the university and clergy, through the Rector of the University, and the citizens and people, through two of the bailies, formally received the archbishop as the father and shepherd of their souls.[3] On

[1] *Dioc. Reg.* ii. Nos. 288-9. Upwards of four months had elapsed.

[2] *Ibid.* No. 353; Dowden's *Bishops of Scot.* p. 339.

[3] *Dioc. Reg.* ii. pp. 278-9.

his promotion to the archbishopric Beaton resigned the office of Lord High Treasurer,[1] an appointment he had held for more than three years.

Passing over an amusing contest for precedence at St. Andrews in 1508, in which Beaton figured, we find the archbishop in trouble at home. The chapter of Glasgow refused to grant him the subsidy he demanded to meet expenses incurred in connection with his promotion, and an appeal to the Pope did not mend matters. He had some difference, too, with the king over the chapel royal and the Abbacy of Dunfermline, but at last Beaton gracefully resiled from his claims.[2]

When Glasgow was elevated to metropolitan rank, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, probably at the suggestion of the chapter of Glasgow, who feared the same trouble with Beaton as had happened with Blackadder, was appointed conservator of the privileges of its dean and chapter. But this again led to jealousy on the part of Glasgow lest St. Andrews should assume superiority and interfere with its independence. Hence unseemly disputes arose from time to time on the question of exemption.[3]

For instance, on April 3, 1510, we find Martin Rede, chancellor, in name of the chapter, protesting that should Archbishop Beaton out of fear of the king pay canonical obedience to the Archbishop of St. Andrews as Primate by making a procession to meet him as he was approaching the city of Glasgow, any obedience or courtesy paid by the archbishop should not prejudice them or their successors. Another instrument of June 21, 1510, reaffirms this protest on the occasion of a royal visit to Glasgow in June 1510,[4] viz.

[1] *The Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iii. pp. 41, 43.

[2] *Ibid.* iii. pp. 24-41.

[3] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* No. 487, and pref. p. 51.

[4] *Dioc. Reg.* i. Nos. 419 and 468.

the visit of James IV. and his accomplished son, Alexander, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who fell at Flodden, and whose praises were sung by Erasmus. Concerning Beaton's early days in Glasgow, the Diocesan registers[1] have little to record, but they contain several interesting glimpses into the condition of society in Glasgow and its neighbourhood.

We discover that the archbishop's office was no sinecure. He had multifarious duties in connection with the Consistorial Court over which he presided. On 1st April, 1509, not long after his accession to office, he declares "that he is ready and prepared to render justice and what common right dictates to those who desire to prosecute any ecclesiastical persons of his diocese." [2]

Among cases of legitimation of marriage is one between Lord Flemyng of Biggar, a somewhat turbulent character, and Margaret Stewart, the youthful daughter of Matthew, Earl of Lennox, whom he had abducted and subsequently divorced. These parties having appealed to the Pope to be remarried, his penitentiary commissioned Archbishop Beaton to grant the required dispensation to legalize their marriage.[3] Another instrument of 16th June, 1510, shows how in Glasgow the State was still subservient to the Church. Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, Provost of Glasgow, in name of the magistrates and citizens, compeared before the archbishop and his chapter and publicly confessed that they had imposed a fine upon one Alane of Leithame, who had appealed from the ecclesiastical to the civil court and thus committed an offence against the liberty and jurisdiction of Holy Mother Church. A satisfactory renunciation having been made and a promise never to put into execution any

[1] These registers consist of two parts, viz. The Protocol Reg. 1499-1513, and the Rental Book of temporalities of the archbishops, 1509-1570.

[2] *Dioc. Reg.* i. 360.

[3] *Ibid.* i. pref. p. 19, and No. 394.

statutes against the Church in time to come, the sentence of excommunication was rescinded.[1]

Another sidelight into the condition of the times is furnished by the somewhat amusing case of one Andrew Birkmyre who had used highly opprobrious language towards Martin Rede, chancellor and official of the diocese. In an instrument of 13th May, 1510, it is stated that Mr. Andrew Birkmyre judicially confessed in the presence of James, Archbishop of Glasgow, and the chapter sitting in judgment, that he said before Mr. Martin Rede, the chancellor and official of Glasgow, sitting there in judgment that he (the official) was partial against him and that it was not in the power of the official to fasten and bind his feet; and the said Mr. Martin protested for remedy of law for the said words. Among the witnesses was Mr. Thomas Murhede who, being sworn, declared that he heard Mr. And. Birkmyre say to the official in the Consistory of Glasgow, when the latter ordered him as an excommunicated person to leave the Consistory: "It sall pas ȝour power to fessyn my feyt: ȝe ar parcial: ȝe dou nocht to fessyn a scheip hede"—while another witness who concurred in the above, added that Birkmyre also said to the official: "I sett nocht by ȝou a fert, etc."[2]

Another instrument of the same date informs us that Mr. Andrew Birkmyre complained against Mr. Thomas Murhede and Mr. Adam Colquhoun—canons of the cathedral—that he had been maliciously annoyed by them on a certain occasion, and further that the said Mr. Adam had violently snatched an instrument concerning his chaplaincy out of his hands, and still retained it. Birkmyre's charges fell through, and the archbishop enjoined him to stand by the commands of the Church and of his grace and to perform the penances

[1] *Dioc. Reg.* i. pref. p. 20, and Nos. 503-4, 508.

[2] *Ibid.* i. No. 440.

imposed upon him, unless he obtained a dispensation therefor, and to recall the injurious and contemptuous words spoken in judgment against the official, and to abstain from similar words under a penalty of £20, and to compear in the Consistory and beg pardon on his knees from the official and archbishop in their own names and that of the Church. To this judgment Birkmyre reluctantly submitted "only" as he said, "to please the archbishop and not otherwise."[1]

Another incident—revealing friction within the chapter—is referred to in an instrument of 17th June, 1508, where Mr. John Gibson, Prebendary of Renfrew, protests against Mr. Adam Colquhoun, Prebendary of Govan, for having appropriated to himself a certain part of the prebendal manse of Renfrew . . . and unjustly occupied that part of the manse as if belonging to himself. . . . The said John also protested that he was opposed to such unjust appropriation and occupancy . . . and did not and would not consent thereto, and protested for remedy of law. The sequel is not recorded.[2]

This Mr. John Gibson, from the frequency with which his name occurs in the records, seems to have been a man of strong individuality and to have taken rather a lively interest in affairs. Indeed, he is described as a "contumacious person."[3]

In an instrument of 6th August, 1510, Gibson appears as the central figure in a somewhat dramatic incident enacted in the neighbourhood of the Provand's Lordship in Castle Street. He was setting out on a pilgrimage to Rome, but before starting he made a public declaration of his rights: "Mr. John Gibson, Prebendary of Renfrew, taking his

[1] *Dioc. Reg.* i. Nos. 441-2-3, also No. 514.

[2] *Ibid.* i. No. 323. The manses of Renfrew and Govan adjoined one another, immediately to the north of the Provand's Lordship in Castle Street.

[3] *Ibid.* i. Nos. 337, 345, 450, 451.

wallet, cloak and staff, and taking leave of the bye-standers, advancing a little distance for certain reasonable causes moving him thereto, took his journey to his Holiness Pope Julius II. and the Holy Apostolic See, committing himself, his said prebend, and all his property to the protection and defence of his Holiness and the Holy See." [1]

Yet another item of interest is an undated holograph letter in Scots of Archbishop Beaton, addressed to Mr. Steven Douglas, Commissionary of Teviotdale, concerning the trial of a priest, George Kirkhope, charged with the murder of one Thomas Pyle. This case came first before the court at a meeting in the chapter-house of the cathedral on 6th April, 1513. "Maister Stewin I commende me to ȝow for samekil as schir George Kirkhope is sowmond to the morn efter the senȝe for the crym ye knaw, his partye as I am informyt is nocht, nor ȝit belefis to be providit of ane sufficient probation in his contrar again the saide day. Herfor ȝe mon contynov the saide sowmondis quhil the xix day of October nixt followand quhilk day his saide partye purpoissis to preif thair jntent clerlie. And Gode keip ȝow. At Melros, this Fryday; and tak sik souertie as ye hade of befor." [2]

In the days of Archbishop Beaton, not long before Flodden, there was an ominous premonition that war between Scotland and England was at hand. Royal messengers were being despatched hither and thither over the land to order wappinshaws at which the citizens might practise archery and the use of other weapons.[3] Scotland was ambitious to rival England as a naval power, and the building of ships of war went on apace; indeed, the largest warship afloat, "The Great St. Michael," was a Scottish ship and the king's special

[1] *Dioc. Reg.* i. No. 481.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. No. 579. The senȝe may be the synod or the session. Other references are Nos. 627-8 and 662, but the result is not stated.

[3] *Treas. Accts.* iv. 349-350, 402.

pride. They were built chiefly on the Firth of Forth, but Dumbarton was also busy, and there is mention of a galley being constructed at Glasgow in 1512 by a shipbuilder named David Lindsay.[1] Little did Lindsay dream that in building this galley he was pioneer of an industry that would make Glasgow the greatest shipbuilding city in the world.

According to most historians, it was about the year 1510 that Archbishop Beaton fortified his episcopal residence, but the more probable date is immediately after the Battle of Flodden, when the citizens of Edinburgh, in fear of invasion from England, hastily constructed a wall round their city. Glasgow would, no doubt, follow the lead of the capital. Although it never had walls surrounding it like Edinburgh, it had fortified gates or ports defending its principal entrances. At this later date, too, owing to the splendid revenue he enjoyed from his many offices, Beaton would be a wealthy man and better able to meet the expenses incurred in such a large undertaking. Crawford tells us that Beaton enclosed his episcopal palace with a noble and magnificent stone wall—said to have been 15 ft. high—of aisler work, toward the east, south and west, with a bastion on the one corner and a tower on the other, fronting to the High Street,[2] " whereupon are fixed in different places his coat of arms." While he also augmented the altarages in the choir of the cathedral over which he affixed his arms, he laid out much money on the building and repairing of bridges [3] that were

[1] *Treas. Accts.* iv. 290-2, and iii. lxvii.

[2] This tower of considerable strength stood nearly opposite the Provand's Lordship, about 50 feet east. *Scotichron.* Gordon's edit. vol. vi. p. 502.

[3] Besides the bridge over the Clyde, mentioned first in 1285, there were several small bridges within the city erected over the Molendinar, Camlachie, and Glasgow burns, not to speak of others outside the city proper, over the Kelvin and other streams. Perhaps the Bishopsbriggs (so spelt in 1568) may refer to bridges erected there by Beaton.

The regality of Glasgow included the city proper, along with the parishes of Govan, Cadder and part of Old Monkland.

gone to decay at different places in the regality and city of Glasgow, "whereupon are his arms engraven, and which remain as perpetual monuments of his charity." "Perpetual monuments," remarks Crawford in 1726, yet not one of these bridges is known to exist at the present day.[1] This penchant for bridge-building continued to be gratified by Beaton after his promotion to St. Andrews—for he is credited with the erection of fourteen bridges in Fife.[2] The reason of this enthusiasm for bridge-building we cannot tell, unless he felt it part of the duties of his sacred office to be a pontifex, as did the pagan priests of Rome, or it may be that an indulgence had been granted to stimulate local activity in this direction.[3] In July 1513 the inhabitants of Glasgow must have witnessed with no little curiosity the entrance into the town of a noisy cavalcade—two big guns, one drawn by 36 horses, the other by 8, which had taken six days in transit from Edinburgh, a curious commentary on the state of the roads. Along with the guns came gunners, engineers, carpenters, carters, as well as large quantities of gunpowder, gunstanes and other implements requisite for siege operations.[4] This siege train, it is supposed, was to have been transhipped to Ireland to assist O'Donnel, one of the chiefs of Ulster, in a rising against the English. For some reason, the guns never reached Ireland but were taken back to Edinburgh. When James finally declared war with England, against the advice of his queen, Bishop Elphinstone and his best friends, and, as was believed at the time, against warnings from the unseen world, Flodden was the price he paid for his pride, rashness and "dallying with the evil woman at Ford Castle."

[1] *Officers of State*, pp. 61-2.

[2] Macfarlane's *Geneal. Colls.* S.H.Soc. Pubs. i. p. 6.

[3] *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, ii. p. 266.

[4] *Treas. Accts.* iv. 527, and lxxx, also i. xci.

Upon that fatal field were found the bodies of the king, twelve earls, fourteen lords, an archbishop, two abbots, with knights and gentlemen of the best families in the land; and among these the Dean of Glasgow and Matthew Stewart, second Earl of Lennox, the provost of the town, and John Elphinstone, who probably had erected in 1508, the 'battellit,' or fortified house in the High Street; also one Archibald Wilson, perhaps the bailie of that name.[1]

In the meagre list that has been preserved to us we find the names of others in the immediate neighbourhood of the city—Alan, Robert and John, three gallant sons of Lord Cathcart, whose castle, overhanging the river Cart, and even then hoary with antiquity, would be turned into a house of mourning, also John Pollok of that ilk and Ross of Hawkhead Castle.[2]

From the Rottenrow comes the voice of one Michael Fleming. In a memorandum annexed to his mother's will, dated 18th August, 1513, Michael declares that should he die in battle with the English, a certain sum of money shall be given as an obitus out of his lands in the Rottenrow for a requiem mass to be sung at the cathedral by the vicars of the choir on the anniversary of his death. But Michael returned from the war, the sole survivor of the Glasgow contingent whose name has been recorded. It was doubtless in gratitude for his escape that he and his mother founded an obit in the church of the Blackfriars in the High Street.[3] We can imagine Michael Fleming on his return to the city, summoned to the bishop's palace to tell Beaton the last news of the king. We see him visiting the widowed Countess of Lennox, granddaughter of James II., who resided in her

[1] *Dioc. Reg.* i. pp. 16 and 18; *Scottish Antiquary*, vol. xiii. pp. 101 and 108.

[2] *Scots Peerage*, ii. p. 510.

[3] *Dioc. Reg.* i. pp. 21 and 557; *Lib. Coll. N. Dom.* p. 211.

mansion of Stablegreen.[1] We see the citizens crowding around him to learn particulars of friends who had been slain and listening to him with breathless interest as if he were risen from the dead. There is material here for a "Glasgow after Flodden."

Flodden was fought on September 9, 1513, and ten days thereafter a meeting of the regency council was held at Stirling, for James IV. before marching to England had named Queen Margaret as regent, and associated with her Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, and several noblemen. As Alexander, Archbishop of St. Andrews, had been killed at Flodden, the Archbishop of Glasgow crowned the infant son of James IV. at Stirling Castle on 21st September.[2]

A few days afterwards Beaton, who had shown such aptitude for financial transactions, was promoted to the post of chancellor of the realm. Then unsettling tendencies began to show themselves. The Scottish nobles, fearing that the queen-regent would act with her brother Henry VIII. in the interests of England, met in general council at Perth on 26th November, 1513. Here the ancient alliance with France was renewed and ratified, and John, Duke of Albany, "a Gallicised Scot" and heir presumptive to the Scottish throne, was cordially invited to come to Scotland with men and arms to defend the country against English invasion.[3] His coming being delayed, Queen Margaret ruled as regent, till, by her own action, she lost her influence. Within a year after the death of her husband, thinking to strengthen her position and vindicate her authority, she married the youthful and handsome Earl of Angus. Having taken this step without consulting the council of regency, she naturally

[1] The Countess is found residing at Stablegreen three months after her husband's death. *Dioc. Reg.* i. p. 19.

[2] *Dioc. Reg.* ii. p. 337.

[3] *Acts Scot. Parl.* ii. p. 281.

provoked the jealousy of the other nobles against the house of Douglas, and Scotland was once more plunged into the bitterness of deadly strife between the rival families of Douglas and Hamilton.

As Archbishop Beaton strongly disapproved of the queen's marriage, he withdrew from her councils and sided for a time with the house of Hamilton. Thus he incurred the mortal enmity, not only of the queen, but of Angus, whom the people styled "cheeping Archie," and of his brother Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich.[1]

For some time the queen's faction was in the ascendant. Beaton was seized at Perth, between the 2nd and 26th August, 1514, and the Great Seal taken from him. Shortly afterwards he regained his liberty and had the seal restored.[2]

In the turmoil that existed between the Hamilton faction and that now led by Archbishop Beaton in favour of calling John, Duke of Albany, from France to the regency, John Mure of Caldwell, acting on behalf of the Hamiltons, invested Glasgow Castle on 20th February, 1515-16. From the charge brought against Mure two years later, it appears that it was chiefly the interior furnishings and stores of the castle that were despoiled on this occasion, although some damage was done by the artillery to the exterior fabric.[3] It would seem also that Mure shortly afterwards evacuated the castle and left the archbishop in possession. Three months later, on March 20, Albany, with a well-manned fleet of eight ships, landed at Dumbarton. Thence he was convoyed by the

[1] Macfarlane's *Geneal. Colls.* i. p. 6; Leslie's *Hist.* S.T.Soc. ii. p. 151.

[2] Dowden's *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 341, for the struggle between Beaton and Gavin Douglas for the possession of the Great Seal.

[3] *Caldwell Papers*, i. p. 54; Hamilton of Wishaw's *Description of Lanark*, etc., p. 194. Buchanan, Leslie and Drummond take no notice of Mure's investment of Glasgow Castle in 1516, while some recent writers confound it with the siege of 1517.

nobility of the west to Glasgow, where no doubt he met Archbishop Beaton, who proved his staunchest supporter throughout the regency.

Halting for a few days at Glasgow, presumably at the castle, Albany soothed the troubled minds of the nobility, or, as it was quaintly expressed, "Thair the fyrie flame burneng throuch the hail countrie he sloknet."[1]

Then, along with his friends from the west, a great retinue, he passed to Edinburgh, where on 26th May he was received with great enthusiasm and proclaimed not only regent, but guardian of the young princes. Very unwillingly Queen Margaret delivered the princes into his hands at Stirling Castle, and then with Angus fled across the Borders.

Another contest disturbed the peace of Scotland at this time, viz. that for the vacant primacy of St. Andrews. The leading competitors were Andrew Forman, the Pope's nominee, Gavin Douglas, nominated by the queen, and John Hepburn, by the canons. James Beaton, too, entered the lists but subsequently withdrew in favour of Forman who was successful. He was astute enough, however, to obtain from Forman at the time important exemptions for his See from the jurisdiction of St. Andrews—exemptions which Forman afterwards regretted.[2]

Gavin Douglas, although disappointed as to the primacy, obtained the See of Dunkeld. But prior to his consecration his political enemies charged him before the council with scheming for ecclesiastical preferment and enlisting the help of England. Douglas was declared guilty and consigned to prison.[3] Through the influence of the Pope he was liberated

[1] Leslie's *History*, S.T.S. ii. p. 156; *Henry VIII. Letters and Papers*, ii. No. 494.

[2] *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iii. pp. 53-5.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 57.

after a year's confinement and duly consecrated—one account says by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, another and more likely, by the Archbishop of Glasgow.[1] According to the latter account, Beaton, remembering that it was chiefly to the influence of a Douglas, a kinsman of Gavin, he owed his early ecclesiastical preferment at Bothwell, invited him to Glasgow where he performed in the cathedral the ceremony of consecrating Gavin, Bishop of Dunkeld. Well aware also that Gavin's funds were low from his many misfortunes, he not only paid the expenses of his consecration, but hospitably entertained the bishop and his retinue. Besides, he gave him presents of jewels, doubtless those usually worn by a bishop as befitting the dignity of his office.[2] It is pleasing to recall this generous hospitality shown in Glasgow Castle by Archbishop Beaton towards his rival Gavin Douglas, himself the son of "Bell-the-Cat," and one of that remarkable group of Scottish poets who shed such brilliant lustre on the court of James IV.

The Duke of Albany's success, and his determination to punish oppression and wickedness in the government of the country, was so conspicuous that it incensed the Hamilton party, composed of the Earls of Arran, Lennox and Glencairn, who sought to oust him from the regency. In this connection, Pitscottie remarks,[3] "All the westland and some of the northland lords, along with the Earls of Angus and Lord Hume, who were dissatisfied with Albany as regent, met in council at Glasgow. Learning that three French ships had landed at the west sea, with men, money and artillery for Albany, they sent immediately 1000 men to prevent their landing, but were too late. However, they seized several carts with powder and bullets and brought

[1] *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, ii. pp. 166-7.

[2] Myln's *Vit. Epis. Dunkeld*, p. 73.

[3] *Chron. of Scot.* i. p. 292, S.T.S.

them to Glasgow, and for spite cast them into a great draw-well at Glasgow." [1]

Buchanan tells us that in the beginning of the spring (1517) John Stuart, Earl of Lennox, with a great many of his friends and vassals seized upon the Castle of Glasgow.[2] Having captured it, "they staid there with Hamilton himself expecting the regent's coming."

Shortly afterwards Albany, hastily gathering a strong force at Edinburgh "to ding down his audacitie," marched west and occupied the Castle of Glasgow, so that Beaton once more came into possession.[3]

One gunner, a Frenchman, was punished as a deserter. The rebel lords were pardoned, says Pitscottie,[4] by the intercession of Archbishop Forman who "spuritt haistalie to Glasgow." Leslie affirms, on the other hand, that Beaton acted as mediator between the regent and the Hamilton party.

Archbishop Beaton subsequently (4th March, 1517) raised an action for damages against Mure of Caldwell, and was awarded 200 marks. The record of the case is interesting from the information it gives concerning the interior furnishings and provisions requisite for domestic use in the grandest mansion house of Glasgow in the early sixteenth century.[5]

About this time also, Albany, to please certain discontented

[1] The draw-well referred to is difficult to identify. Mr. Thos. Lugton is of opinion that the Townhead or Castle Well, and which was nearly opposite the Provand Lordship, may be meant here. *Old Ludgings of Glasgow*, p. 66. Cleland, writing in 1816, enumerates thirty draw-wells as then in use in the city, the two of greatest depth being the Castle Well, 42 ft. deep, and the Deanside, 35 ft. *Annals*, i. pp. 392-396.

[2] At this time too, if not from 1509, Glasgow Castle had been used as a depot for the king's artillery. *Treas. Accts.* v. pp. 17, 18, 30, 47, 71; Leslie, *Hist. of Scot.* ii. p. 162.

[3] *Hist. of Scot.* bk. xiv.; Leslie gives a somewhat different account. *Hist. Scot.* ii. p. 162.

[4] *Chron. Scot.* i. pp. 293-4—Pitscottie.

[5] *Caldwell Papers*, i. 54, and chap. on Glasgow Castle *infra.*

nobles and churchmen, made a distribution of certain benefices at his disposal. Among others, James Beaton received the temporality of Arbroath (March 1517-18) as he had previously obtained that of Kilwinning.[1] While praising Regent Albany for his great liberality in this respect, Leslie, writing in 1578, cannot help moralizing that it had been better for the Church had he enquired concerning each of the several presentees "quhat maner of lyfe he lyvet . . . gif his sheip he culd leid about the myre: quhilk gif he had done . . . perchance this fyrie flame of heresie quhilk now occupies the gret parte of Christianitie had nocht consumet our nation sa sair."[2]

The two years during which Albany was regent were beset with bitter civil strife fomented chiefly by Lord Dacre, the English ambassador, who had spies everywhere, and boasted that he had four hundred Scots in his pay. Beaton all the while kept faithful to Albany and, knowing that the prosperity of his country demanded it, he sought a conference with Dacre to establish peace or a truce with England.

Apparently he suspected that the influence of Forman, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had ingratiated himself with Henry VIII., was not always for the highest interests of Scotland, for we find him in a letter to a friend declaring Forman to be "a mischievous person."[3] This was in March 1519. On 28th May following, after Forman had besought the influence of Henry VIII. with Pope Leo X. to annul the exemption he (Forman) had granted a few years previously to the See of Glasgow, we find James V., then a mere child, or some one in his name, begging the English king not to write to the Pope against the Archbishop of Glasgow, who is his preceptor, and daily remains about his person, although

[1] *Scot. Hist. Rev.* v. p. 449.

[2] *Hist. Scot.* S.T.Soc. ii. p. 163.

[3] *Letters and Papers Henry VIII.* vol. iii. pt. 1, No. 111.

the Archbishop of St. Andrews has written to Henry against his exemption.[1]

In 1517 Albany, before sailing for France to renew the ancient alliance between the two countries, named the two archbishops, along with four of the nobility, as vicegerents to carry on the government. During his absence the opposing factions of Douglas and Hamilton stirred up strife. Archbishop Forman sided with Angus and the Douglasses, while Archbishop Beaton, strange to say, now sided with Arran and the Hamiltons.[2] The Douglas headquarters were at Edinburgh, the Hamiltons at Glasgow. Albany, when he set out for France, expected to return in six months, but it turned out to be four and a half years. During Albany's absence there occurred in April 1520 the episode known in Scottish history as "Clenze Calsay," or "Cleanse the Causeway." Buchanan and Leslie give perhaps the most accurate accounts. To follow the former, an assembly was summoned to be held in Edinburgh to compose differences between the rival factions. The nobility of the west who favoured the Hamiltons came to Edinburgh and held frequent meetings in the house of Beaton the chancellor, where they designed to seize the person of Angus, alleging that his power was too formidable for the public weal. Angus, hearing of their designs, sent his uncle, Gavin, Bishop of Dunkeld, to pacify them and come to terms "without the force of arms." Gavin did not succeed in his mission, but returned to Angus, acquainted him with the arrogance of his enemy, and then caused his whole family to follow Angus. Thereafter, being a priest and infirm by reason of age, he retired to his own lodging. Beaton, who ought to have been a pro-

[1] *Letters and Papers Henry VIII.* vol. iii. pt. 1, No. 269.

[2] The Chancellor (Beaton) takes part with the lieutenant (Arran) because he has put away his wife and married Janet Beaton, his brother's daughter. *Letters, etc. Henry VIII.* vol. iii. pt. 1, No. 1091, dated 10th December, 1520.

moter of peace, flew armed up and down, like a firebrand of sedition.[1] Pitscottie [2] gives some interesting details of the interview between Beaton and Douglas, which recent criticism is inclined to discredit. This interview, he says, took place in the Blackfriars Church. When Douglas appealed to Beaton to use his influence for peace between the rival parties, he pressed him, saying, "me lord ȝe have the wit." Beaton "ansuerit him agane with ane aith, schapin on his breist," and saying, "me lord, be my conscience I knaw not the matter." When Douglas heard "how Beaton chappit on his breist, and persaiffit the plaittis of his jake (underneath his rochet) clattering," he replied, "I persave, me lord, ȝour conscience be not good for I heir thame (the plates of his armour) clatter." [3] Whereupon Beaton ashamed, excused the matter—"sa far as he could saiflie with his honestie."

In the skirmish that took place, the Douglas party were the victors. Between 70 and 80 of the Hamiltons were slain, others escaped from the city. Beaton fled for sanctuary to the Blackfriars Church and was taken out behind the high altar, "his rokit revin off him and (he) had been slaine had (it) nocht bene (that) Mr. Gavin Douglas requistit effectuslie ffor him, saying it was a sin to put hand in ane consecrat bischope quhairfor they saiffit him at that tyme." [4] Beaton, who by no means figures heroically in this incident, left Edinburgh in disguise by the Nor Loch and made for Linlithgow.[5]

The next reference to Beaton is on 6th December, 1520,

[1] Buchanan, *Hist. of Scot.* bk. xiv. yr. 1520; Leslie, S.T.S. ii. p. 177.

[2] *Chronicles*, S.T.S. i. pp. 281-3.

[3] The *double entendre* here is that "clatter" in Scotch signifies not only "to make a noise," but "to tell tales."

[4] Chambers' *Traditions of Edinburgh*, v. p. 264, furnishes the local colouring of the episode. Drummond's *Hist. of Scot.* says, "The Chancellor and his retinue took Sanctuary."

[5] Calderwood, *Hist.* i. p. 62.

when the chancellor is spoken of as being "sore affrayed with pestilence which had hindered his meeting with the lords of the regency." [1]

The Douglas party were now in the ascendant to the delight of Henry VIII., who pled earnestly with the King of France to keep the Duke of Albany with him. But when Albany heard of the great discords among the nobility of Scotland, and that there was no end of pillaging and killing, he set sail from France, after much delay, with "a fleet of fifty ships, on board of which were 3000 foot and 100 cuirassiers." He reached the Isle of Arran on the 24th September, 1521, which happened to be the same day on which the English burnt Jedburgh. Albany chose the west coast for landing because all along the eastern seaboard the English fleet were on the outlook for him; besides, Beaton, his chief supporter, resided in the west.[2]

Leslie tells us in the Latin version of his history that Albany landed on 19th November, 1521, at Garlochus (Gareloch), a bay (*Sinus*) on the west coast where he rested for a time. But the original Scottish version is Gawrathe [3] which inclines us to surmise that Gourock, or, as it was also termed "The Goraik," may be meant, a haven in those days of rising importance highly commended by Sir Andrew Wood, one of James IV.'s naval commanders.[4] "Albany sent his warlike provisions up the River Clyde to Glasgow and there mustered his army," so that the streets of Glasgow would be astir with French soldiers, among them a hundred cuirassiers—cavalry armed with breastplates.

At Glasgow Cross Albany published a proclamation that the nobility should attend him at Edinburgh to defend the

[1] *Letters, etc. Henry VIII.* iii. pt. 1, No. 1087.

[2] Buchanan, *Hist. Scot.* bk. xiv. yr. 1521.

[3] *S.T.Soc.* ii. p. 178; Latin version, 1578 A.D. p. 378.

[4] *Act. Dom. Cons.* yrs. 1478-95.

ancient alliance with France and dismiss the overtures for alliance with England.[1]

Albany rode to Edinburgh, which he entered on 30th December, 1521, "convoyet with the quene, Archbishop of Glasgow and utheris specialis." The tide had turned. The Douglas faction was driven out of office, and Angus and his brother Sir William were exiled to France, while Gavin, Bishop of Dunkeld, fled privily to the court of England.

Forman, Archbishop of St. Andrews, having died on 12th March, 1520-1,[2] Albany, writing from Stirling Castle on 1st December, 1521, to the Cardinal of Ancona and to the college of cardinals, recommended Beaton for the vacant See.[3] But a few hours after Albany affixed his signature to the letters, the Pope, Leo X., was dead. Some little time elapsed before his successor, Adrian VI., was appointed,[4] and it was not till October 1522 that Beaton was provided to St. Andrews. On 10th December, 1522, he received the pallium, but the actual translation was delayed till June, 1523.[5]

But before this consummation was effected we find Gavin Douglas, who had recently arrived in London and was once again a candidate for the primacy, writing frequent letters to Wolsey and making serious charges against both Beaton and Albany. He accused Beaton of virtually setting aside the claims of the young prince James to the Scottish throne and looking instead to the eldest son of Arran, for when he baptized this child he was heard to remark, "Quho wayt then I may leyf till I see and put the croune on this childis hede." [6]

On 6th January, 1522, Gavin writes to Wolsey his views

[1] Buchanan, *Hist.* bk. xiv. The Clyde then would not be navigable for Albany's ships further than Dumbarton.

[2] Rev. John Anderson, *Notes to Laing Charters.*

[3] *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* iii. Nos. 1820-1821.

[4] The aristocratic Leo X. of the Medici family was succeeded by Adrian VI., son of a poor bargeman.

[5] Dowden's *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 340.

[6] *Letters, etc. Henry VIII.* iii. pt. 2, No. 1898, 24th December, 1521.

concerning the visit of a Scotch priest, Sir John Duncanson, who "presented writings to the king and the cardinal for a safe-conduct yesterday." This Duncanson "came from Scotland with great diligence in seven days." "He is right familiar with Albany," continues Gavin, "and has long been a special servant of the Archbishop of Glasgow." "He has brought writings and directions from Albany and Glasgow to be sped into France, Flanders and Rome." If Wolsey had seen these papers he would have learnt much; "and gif your prudence thinks speedful at salve conducts be sped here at the instance and subscription of the said Duke I report me to your great wisdom, or ȝit that the said Bishop of Glasgow's matters and promotion for St. Andrews should prosper, considering he is the most speciall man, that manteinys and all wayshis manteinyt ye said Duke."

Evidently Gavin dreads that Duncanson has been sent to London to oppose his candidature for St. Andrews, which was supported by Henry VIII., so he beseeches Wolsey to refuse to give Duncanson passage till he knows his instructions,—"but so that no one may know this is done by the writer's desire, with whom Sir John fancies himself familiar." There is "none more double in our realm than he." [1]

While Gavin is assiduously cultivating the friendship of Wolsey in order to advance his interests with the Pope, the Duke of Albany and the Estates write to the Pope on February 6, 1521-2, informing him that Gavin has fled to their enemy the King of England, and praying him accordingly not to promote Gavin.[2] On the very same date Chancellor Beaton and the Three Estates request the Pope that he will not dispose of any prelacies at the request of factious persons out of Scotland.[3]

[1] *Letters, etc. Henry VIII.* iii. pt. 2, No. 1939.

[2] *Epis. Reg. Scot.* i. 325; *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iii. p. 82.

[3] *Letters, etc. Henry VIII.* vol. iii. pt. 2, No. 2025.

To the charges that Gavin had made against Albany, Beaton on February 11, 1522, wrote a spirited reply. The English king is asked not to allow the Bishop of Dunkeld to be received in England, nor to believe reports against Albany, "quha has bene nuryst with sa grete honor and had sa tender familiarite with popes and gretest princes." [1]

Later, on 15th February, we have a letter from Beaton. Since the English king demands that Albany be dismissed from the regency, the Clarencieux herald (Henry's messenger to the Scottish Estates) has been told that as the Scots unanimously invited the Duke of Albany to Scotland, they will not dismiss him but will live and die with him "though the king's highness, the French king, and the emperor should be against him." [2]

On 21st February, Beaton, as chancellor, affixed the great seal to a decree which denounced Gavin's candidature, declaring him a traitor and sequestrating the fruits of his See of Dunkeld.[3]

It is strange how often James Beaton and Gavin Douglas, the poet-bishop, crossed each other's paths. As young men they were students at St. Andrews and graduated together in 1494. Later, Beaton owed his early preferment at Bothwell to a relative of Gavin's. Later still, they were competitors for the chancellorship, and upon two occasions rivals for the Primacy of Scotland. Beaton hospitably entertained Douglas at Glasgow Castle, when he consecrated him Bishop of Dunkeld; while Douglas, if Pitscottie's narrative be accepted, generously stepped in and saved Beaton's life at Edinburgh in a moment of extreme peril. But while Beaton attained his ambition and became Primate of all Scotland, Douglas, whose latter days were clouded by misfortune, died

[1] *Letters, etc. Henry VIII.* vol. iii. pt. 2, No. 2039.

[2] *Ibid.* No. 2054.

[3] *Ibid.* No. 2063.

of the plague in London in September 1522, an exile from his native land.

Archbishop Beaton may justly be regarded as one of the makers of Glasgow, who added to its prestige and fortified the bishop's palace as a castle, encircling it with a battlemented wall, which gave it an imposing appearance. He made the castle an arsenal for the king's artillery. He erected several bridges throughout the regality, and repaired and strengthened the ancient bridge over the Clyde.

It cannot be claimed that Beaton was a spiritually minded man. He was chancellor as well as archbishop, and the statesman was more conspicuous than the pastor. He was fond of amassing wealth and clung tenaciously to what he considered his rights, but he gave to the service of his country eminent ability and great force of character, and he did not neglect the duties of his See.

After the disastrous defeat of Flodden he guided the destinies of Scotland during the long minority of James V., a service for which he has received from historians but scant acknowledgment.

As his career is traced both at Glasgow and St. Andrews, he deserves the highest credit for guarding jealously the interests of his country at a critical period in her history, when the Scottish nobility rent the nation with incessant strife, and the King of England was threatening her independence.

Indeed, the English ambassador regarded " Beaton as the greatest man in both lands and experience within the realm of Scotland, and noted to be very subtle and dissimulating." [1] It was Beaton who checkmated and thwarted the astute Cardinal Wolsey in his designs against Scotland. This was why Wolsey resorted to such scheming in order to have Beaton removed out of his way.

[1] *State Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. iv. p. 286.

Thus in the early sixteenth century, as two centuries previously, Glasgow was the headquarters of Scottish patriotism.[1]

[1] For severe strictures on the character and conduct of Beaton when Archbishop of St. Andrews, see letter in 1534 addressed by James V. to the Pope. Herkless and Hannay, *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, vol. iii. p. 228.

SEAL OF GAVIN DUNBAR,

A.D. 1524-1547.

X.

ARCHBISHOP DUNBAR (1524-1547).

GAVIN DUNBAR was a "south country Dunbar"—a son of Sir John Dunbar of Mochrum, Wigtownshire, by his second wife, Dame Janet Stewart of Garlies.[1] He was a nephew of Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen—"a prelate whose power in the State and zeal for his church would have secured him the highest panegyric of the church historians had he followed less closely Bishop Elphinstone." [2]

The date of Gavin's birth has not been ascertained, but would be somewhere towards the close of the fifteenth century. If reared at Mochrum he doubtless received his schooling at the neighbouring Priory of Whithorn—famous in ancient times as a seminary of learning.

Crawford, who waxes eloquent over his pregnant parts and elevated genius, says that, "while very young he became a student of the University of Glasgow." [3] But his name is not mentioned in the existing lists of students of Glasgow University; while in the early records of St. Andrews University there are three alumni of the name of Gavin Dunbar. Perhaps the one referred to in the following entry is the future archbishop: "Magister Gavinus Dunbar prebendarius de Crechtmont Aberdonensis diocesis nacionis

[1] Macfarlane's *Geneal. Colls.* ii. p. 527.

[2] *Reg. Epis. Aberdon.* pref. p. 52. Gavin, Bishop of Aberdeen, is often confounded with his nephew of Glasgow.

[3] *Lives of Officers of State*, p. 75, edit. 1726.

KING JAMES V.

Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

Britanie,"—incorporated 1515. Should this refer to the archbishop, as seems likely, it implies that Gavin had graduated in Arts somewhere else, and that he was incorporated at St. Andrews for some special purpose, possibly to hear lectures on theology and canon law.[1] It also shows that when he proceeded to St. Andrews to extend his studies, Gavin held the prebend of Crechmont or Crimond, in connexion with St. Machar's Cathedral, which preferment, no doubt, he owed to the good offices of his uncle Gavin.[2] If the prebendary of Crechmond was the future archbishop, he would probably be a graduate of King's College, Aberdeen,[3] and this conjecture is strengthened by the statement of Crawford "that after his academical learning he applied himself to the study of theology and canon law, which he pursued with uncommon application, and taking holy orders from his uncle, Bishop Dunbar of Aberdeen, was made Dean of Murray in 1514."[4]

His stay at St. Andrews must have been short, for in February 1516-7 he was acting as tutor to the young prince, James V. Leslie tells us that Dunbar "was maid the Kingis maister in his tendir ȝeiris to instruct him in maneris and lettiris," and that "the King luvet him sa weil that he communicat with him the leist secreit of his hart."[5] Buchanan describes Dunbar as "vir bonus et doctus."[6]

He taught his royal pupil in a chamber in Edinburgh Castle, well secured with locks and bolts, evidently to protect

[1] This is the opinion of Dr. Maitland Anderson.

[2] John Cardno was collated to the vicarage of Crechtmond in 1505, erected by Mr. Gavin Dunbar (perhaps uncle of Gavin), vacant by the death of Sir John Sanchak. *Reg. Epis. Aberd.* i. p. 351.

[3] Unfortunately the volume, *King's College Officers, etc.*, contains no list of the early graduates.

[4] *Lives of Officers*, p. 75. Crawford's date, 1514, is probably incorrect. Gavin Dunbar, senior, was not made Bishop of Aberdeen till 1518.

[5] *Hist. Scot.* S.T.S. ii. p. 182.

[6] *Hist. of Scot.* bk. xiv.

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the royal person from sudden seizure by the Douglas party.[1]

Sometimes the young prince and his tutor were taken to Craigmillar Castle for change of air, or, it might be, when pestilence prevailed in the city. Here De la Bastie, the French knight with the golden locks, who acted as his guardian, gave him riding lessons, as one may infer from references to the "king's mule." [2]

The prince, it seems, was also fond of playing at cachpuyll or tennis with his tutor and friends, and still fonder of "casting eggs to bikker the castell," that is, of using eggs as missiles to aim at a mark on the castle wall.[3]

While Gavin was the king's preceptor and Dean of Moray "in commendam," he was recommended by Regent Albany, in a letter written from Edinburgh Castle on 12th December, 1518, to Pope Leo X. for the Praemonstratine Priory of Whithorn, whose monks followed the rule of Augustine and wore robes entirely white. In a second letter to the Pope, it is added that Whithorn, where St. Ninian is buried, is a place of great importance, visited by pilgrims from England, Ireland and the Isles. The Cardinal of Crotona, the Pope's datary, was desirous of securing the priory for himself, but Albany insisted that it ought not to be given to a foreigner.[4] After some delay, a compromise was effected, and Dunbar, on certain conditions, was appointed prior "in commendam." In a letter to the Cardinal of Crotona, dated 28th May, 1519,[5] Dunbar states "that the priory of Whithorn was given him 'in commendam' by the three estates of Scotland and conferred by the Governor." Evidently he continued to act as

[1] *Treas. Accts.* v. p. 111, p. xlix. [2] *Ibid.* v. p. xxii.

[3] *Ibid.* v. p. 275; *Excheq. Rolls*, xiv. p. 129. Dunbar was paid a salary at the rate of £100 per annum.

[4] *Letters, Henry VIII.* vol. ii. pt. 2, Nos. 4645-6-7. The datary is an official who registers the dates of appointments to benefices.

[5] *Ibid.* vol. iii. pt. i. No. 270.

the king's preceptor until his promotion to Glasgow.[1] But though Dunbar was "ane ȝoung clerk weill learned," the prince did not make rapid progress with his studies. "At the age of twelve James could not read an English letter without assistance, and in manhood he could speak very little French." [2]

These five years (1518-24), during the regency of Albany, when Dunbar was Prior of Whithorn, were troublous times for Scotland. Not to speak of the continued feud between the Hamiltons and the Douglasses, and the bitter rivalry among the three leading churchmen for the primacy, Henry VIII. was threatening war against Scotland, while Albany in return sought to invade England. Indeed, Henry VIII. decreed that all Scots residing in England should have a white cross sewn upon their uppermost garment to distinguish them from Englishmen, and then be expelled the realm.[3] After Albany sailed for France in May 1523, Queen Margaret, with the consent of Arran and some of the leading men of the nation, brought her son, then twelve years old, from Stirling to Edinburgh and had him "erected" or proclaimed *de facto* King of the Scots on 26th July, 1524.[4]

Archbishop Beaton, having been translated from Glasgow to St. Andrews on 15th October, 1522, "To the Archbishopric of Glasgwe succeidet ane worthie man Gawin Dunbar; quha because of his gret cunning, sinceire lyfe, and grave counsel, he was commendet." [5] Although the vacancy in the See of Glasgow occurred on 15th October, 1522, it was not till 8th July, 1524, eighteen days before the "erection" of the young king, that Dunbar was provided to Glasgow by Pope Clement VII. This long delay, if we may judge from

[1] *Reg. Privy Seal*, i. No. 3224.

[2] P. Hume Brown, *Hist. of Scot.* i. p. 374.

[3] Leslie's *Hist.* S.T.S. ii. p. 183.

[4] P. Hume Brown, *Hist. Scot.* i. p. 369.

[5] Leslie, *Hist. Scot.* S.T.S. ii. p. 182.

the sequel, arose from the conflicting claims of the rival archbishoprics. The pall was granted on 29th July, 1524, and at Edinburgh next day, we find Dunbar, "postulate of Glasgow," taking the oath of fealty to the young king.[1] On the day of his provision to Glasgow, Pope Clement VII. sent a bull granting to Gavin and his suffragans such exemption from the primatial and legatine jurisdiction of St. Andrews, as had been granted to his predecessors, Robert Blackadder and James Beaton.[2] Then on 5th February, 1524-5, he was consecrated at Edinburgh as Archbishop of Glasgow.[3]

But this bull of Pope Clement giving perpetual exemption to the Archbishopric of Glasgow was highly displeasing to James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who, ever tenacious of his rights, employed all his influence with the young king, still a minor, to have the exemption cancelled by the Pope. On learning later that the letters of the young king had been extorted from him contrary to his own wish, the Pope went back to the original arrangement.[4]

Meantime, on January 13, 1525, James V. wrote thanking the Pope for the promotion of Gavin Dunbar, his tutor, to the See of Glasgow, with exemption from the primacy and legatine authority of St. Andrews. Queen Margaret, too, on 19th February, 1525, wrote to Wolsey that she and the king had written to the Pope for the promotion of "Glasgow, hyz master that lerd him," while (on February 20, 1525), Dunbar himself wrote Wolsey to beg Wolsey's interposition on behalf of his perpetual exemption from the primacy of St. Andrews.[5] It was not, however, till 1531 that Gavin regained

[1] *Letters, etc. Henry VIII.* vol. iv. pt. i. No. 540; Calderwood, *Hist.* i. p. 67.

[2] *R.E.G.* ii. Nos. 494-6-7-9.

[3] *Dioc. Reg.* ii. p. 337.

[4] *Scot. Hist. Rev.* v. p. 453.

[5] *Letters, etc. Henry VIII.* vol. iv. pt. i. Nos. 1012, 1103, 1104.

all the immunities enjoyed by his predecessors, Blackadder and Beaton.[1]

Thus, at last, to the discomfiture of Beaton, who contended that the exemption should cease with the present archbishop, Dunbar was confirmed in his claim to perpetual exemption. Nevertheless the bitter rivalry between the two archbishops continued until the Reformation came and swept away the old order of things.

About the time when Archbishop Dunbar began his rule, Glasgow received the gift of a new hospital. The earliest of the pre-Reformation hospitals was the hospital for sick poor and wayfarers, and was erected in the thirteenth century at Polmadie. About the same time probably arose the Leper Hospital at Gorbals. Then in the fifteenth century St. Nicholas' Hospital for old men was founded by Bishop Andrew of Durrisdere.[2] To these three was added a fourth about the year 1524 by Rolland Blacadyr, Prebendary of Cadder and Subdean of the Cathedral, a post with considerable revenues. This Rolland was a nephew of Archbishop Blackadder.[3] The site of the hospital was near Stable Green, in close proximity to the present Barony U.F. Church. In ancient times this spot, where the roads from the north and north-west converged, was one of the chief entrances into the city. According to the will of the founder, this hospital was built and endowed on behalf of the poor and needy coming into the town, a kind of night asylum for the casual poor. Perhaps the most interesting items of this will are those which give some insight into the religious beliefs and customs of the time. The chaplain is enjoined to pay to the vicars of the choir every year 44 shillings for an obit on behalf of the founder and his parents. At the time of the founder's obsequies the major sacrist is to spread a table

[1] Herkless, etc., *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iii. p. 214.

[2] Renwick, *Glas. Memorials*, chap. xvii. [3] *Dioc. Reg.* i. p. 307.

above his sepulchre with becoming drapery and two wax lights, and do the same for his parents at their sepulchre in the lower church, receiving for his trouble four shillings. The minor sacrist for ringing the bells at the obit is to receive fourteen pence, while the ringer of the bell of St. Kentigern through the town on the occasion of the obit receives fourpence. The said chaplain, with the advice of the procurators fiscal of the vicars, is to choose sixty honest householders in the city of Glasgow to take part in the church at the celebration of the founder's obit, and pray for his soul, and that of his parents, and of all the dead. On the morrow after these obsequies eight pennies are to be given to each of the sixty.[1]

This Blackadder Hospital continued to exist after the Reformation.[2] Blackadder also left £300 towards the building of a nunnery to St. Katharine of Siena, near the church of St. Thanew, and £100 for building a hospital near the Collegiate Church of St. Mary. Owing probably to the advent of the Reformation, neither monastery nor hospital came into existence.[3]

In the same year, 1525, a new church as well as a new hospital was founded in Glasgow, viz. the Collegiate Church of St. Mary and St. Anne, better known by its later name—the Tron Church. The founder was James Houston, Vicar of Eastwood and successor of Rolland Blacader in the office of subdean, also for several years Rector of the University. At a meeting held in the chapter-house on 29th April, 1525, Mr. James Houston's pious and laudable offer was cordially approved, and authority granted to erect the church whose foundations had recently been laid, also to celebrate divine worship therein, provided the said James Houston furnish sufficient endowment for the same.[4]

[1] *R.E.G.* No. 495.

[2] *Glas. Memorials*, p. 265.

[3] *Glas. Memorials*, p. 242, and *Lib. Coll. N. Dom.* p. lxxii.

[4] *Charts. City of Glas.* II. p. 494.

On 3rd August, 1525, Archbishop Dunbar, the Earl of Angus and others were appointed a commission to treat with England in the interests of peace and also to deal with the marauders on the Scottish Borders.[1] In consequence of this Dunbar, at the recommendation of Cardinal Wolsey, issued his "terrible cursing" against Border thieves and reivers. During the minority of James V., when there were "wars and rumours of wars" between Scotland and England, murder, burnings and depredations had been committed by the Borderers, especially the Armstrongs, to an unprecedented extent. The issue of this curse by the Church was expected to remedy the evil. It was expressed in Scots that the illiterate may the more easily understand it and be smitten with the greater terror. In the light of our times this cursing is decidedly unchristian, but its language was in full accord with the spirit of those days. Sir David Lindsay, John Knox and others tell us that "warying" or excommunication, or, as it was sometimes termed "God's horn," had come to be the main occupation of the Scottish clergy before the Reformation.[2]

As a specimen of this curse to be fulminated by the priest or other religious at the market cross, and all other public places in the Borders of Scotland, take the following. After an invocation of the Blessed Trinity, Archangels, etc., the priest, addressing the Border thieves and robbers, exclaimed: "I curse yair heid and all ye haris of yair heid. I curse yair face, yair ene, yair mouth, etc. I curse everilk part of thair body, fra the top of thair heid to the soill of thair feet. . . . I wary yair cornys, yair catales thair woll, swine, horse, sheep, etc. All the malesouns and waresouns that ever gat warldlie creatur sen the begynning of the warlde to this hour mot licht upon yaim. The malediction of God yat

[1] *Acts Parl. Scot.* ii. p. 297.

[2] Dr. D. Patrick, *Stat. of Scot. Church*, intro. lxxi-ii.

lichtit upon Lucifer and all his fallowis, that straik yaim fra the hie Hevin to the deip Heil mot licht upon yaim, etc., quhill (until) yai forbere and mak amends. The thunnour and fire-flauchtis yat ȝet down as rane upon the cieties of Zodome and Gomora and brunt thaim for yair vile synns mot rane upon thaim. I dissever and partis yaim fra the Kirk of God and deliveris yaim quyk to the Devill of Heil as the Appostill St. Paul delivert Corinthion. And as thir candillis gangs fra yair sicht sa mot yair saulis gang fra the visage of God and yair gude fame fra the warld quhill yai forbere yair oppin synns forsaidis and ryse fra this terribill cursing and mak satisfactioun and pennance." [1]

For the most part the curse followed the formulas then in vogue, but a touch of local colour appears in the prayer that "the river Tweed and other waters where they ride may drown the reivers as the Red Sea did the Egyptians."

In 1526 the archbishop was named one of the King's Council and was selected by the king himself to be of his secret council for the spiritual state. On 15th November following, he was chosen one of the Lords of the Articles for the Clergy.[2]

On 29th February, 1527-8, Archbishop Dunbar, along with the Dean and Subdean of Glasgow, was present at St. Andrews at the trial of Patrick Hamilton, "who had souked verie deidlye poyson out of Luther and otheris archheretikis." [3] A few months after this noble martyr was burnt, a letter was addressed by the doctors of Louvain University to Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the doctors of Scotland commending them for their zeal in putting to death the wicked heretic Patrick Hamilton; and while compli-

[1] The Scottish text and accompanying documents in Latin are printed in the *State Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. iv. pt. iv. pp. 417-419, edit. 1836.

[2] Brunton and Haig's *Senators, etc.* p. 2.

[3] Leslie, *Hist. Scot.* S.T.S. ii. p. 215.

menting Scotland, its king and primate, it mentions, among others deserving praise, "the Reverend Bishop of Glasgow of whose erudition we have here given us partly to understand." As we shall discover later, the burning of heretics was against the will of Dunbar; nevertheless, and as Bellesheim reminds us, such rigorous measures were the logical carrying out of the principle recognized in those times by Protestants and Catholics alike, viz. "the right and duty of the secular arm to draw the sword in defence of the Church." [1] John Knox informs us that the chief accuser of Hamilton at his trial was one Alexander Campbell, said to be Prior of the Blackfriars of St. Andrews. Hamilton, when in the fire, charged him with being at heart a believer in the Reformation teaching, and solemnly summoned him to the tribunal seat of Jesus Christ on a certain day for judgment. Before that day arrived, Campbell, it is said, suffering remorse of conscience, came to Glasgow, "where he died in a phrenesye as one dispared," or, as Buchanan says, "in a fit of madness." [2]

This year, 1528, in which Hamilton was burnt, is memorable as the year in which the young King James V. escaped from the domination of the Douglasses and appointed Archbishop Dunbar Chancellor, giving him the Great Seal in place of the Earl of Angus. Buchanan remarks that Dunbar was "a good and a learned man, but some thought him a little defective in politics."

In the year 1530 an oath of obedience was taken by Henry, Bishop of Whithorn and Dean of the Chapel Royal of Stirling, to his metropolitan, Archbishop Dunbar. It appears that the archbishop had administered ecclesiastical censure to his suffragan Henry Wemyss, for we read that Henry being absolved and restored against certain sentences

[1] Bellesheim's *Hist.* Blair's transl. ii. p. 136.

[2] Knox, *Refor.* i. 18, 19; Calderwood's *Hist.* i. 80.

of the archbishop—and his protest anent preserving the rights of his chapel being admitted—on bended knees and with his joined hands actually placed between the hands of the most reverend father the archbishop, made and offered his due obedience.[1]

In 1532 a new honour awaited the archbishop. He was already one of the King's Council and a Lord of Articles as well as Lord Chancellor, but when, in 1532, the College of Justice, better known as the Court of Session, was instituted, he was appointed its first principal, with Abbot Myln as president; the Chancellor of the Realm, when he is present, to be above the president.[2] By the institution of the Court of Session, modelled after the Parliament of Paris, "our king," says Leslie, "has obtained eternal glory"; but others give the credit of its origin to Archbishop Dunbar. On the question of its support, a serious difference arose between the king and the clergy, and in this dispute Archbishop Dunbar took a leading part. Ultimately it was agreed that the money should be found by the imposition of an annual tax upon the clergy.[3]

At this period it is evident that the principles of the Reformation, for which Hamilton suffered, were making headway in Scotland, for in March 1533, Walter Stewart, brother to Andrew Stewart, Lord of Ochiltre, was accused before Archbishop Dunbar at Glasgow. The charge brought against him was that of "casting doun an image in the Kirk of Aire" (Ayr). Recanting at his trial, he was acquitted, but on returning homewards he fell from his horse into the water of Calder and was drowned. Efforts to rescue him were made by the friends who accompanied him, but in vain.

[1] *R.E.G.* No. 498; C. Innes, *Sketches, etc.* p. 497.

[2] Brunton and Haig's *Senators Coll. Justice*, introduction and p. 2.

[3] *Acts Scot. Parl.* ii. p. 336. In the great stained glass window of the Parliament House, Edinburgh, Archbishop Dunbar is one of the prominent figures.

While holding on to a great stone in the stream before he sank, he cried to his friends and exhorted them not to redeem life by recanting the truth, for experience there proved it would not be sure. He protested he was "there to dee in the truthe which he professed; and that being sorie for his recantation, he was assured of the mercie of God in Christ." [1] "Heresie was sprouting out round about," says Leslie; or, as Calderwood puts it, "the knowledge of God did wonderfullie encrease within this realme partlie by reading and partlie by conference, which in these dangerous days was used to the comfort of manie."

On the 27th August, 1534, Archbishop Dunbar was present with the king, "all clothed with reid," at Holyrood, at the trial of James Hamilton, brother of the martyr, and Sheriff of Linlithgow; but Hamilton, having fled, was condemned as an heretic and his goods confiscated.[2]

Next year, 1535, Peter Swave or Suavenius, ambassador of Christiern III. of Denmark, visited Scotland. His diary (February-July) contains the account of a conversation he had with Archbishop Dunbar, and also of the strange things he saw and heard of during his sojourn in Scotland. Although he did not visit Glasgow, he remarks in passing, that "the wild Scots live like Scythians—they know nothing (of the use) of bread." [3]

In November 1535, the rivalry between the prelates of St. Andrews and Glasgow again became acute. Archbishop Beaton visited Dumfries, when he had his archiepiscopal cross carried in procession and blessed the people. Seeing that Dumfries lay within the diocese of Glasgow, Dunbar, through the Rector of Annan, his official, uttered a strong protest there and then in the church of the Franciscans,

[1] Calderwood, *Hist.* i. p. 104.

[2] *Letters, etc. Henry VIII.* vol. vii. No. 1184.

[3] *Ibid.* vol. viii. pp. 467-473, also P. Hume Brown's *Early Travellers*, p. 55.

telling the Archbishop of St. Andrews, in presence of the notaries public and other witnesses that he had acted contrary to the Apostolic indult granted to the Metropolitan Church of Glasgow. To which Beaton at once replied, "I am Primate of Scotland. . . . I intend to raise and carry my cross even were your master present in person."[1]

In the year 1536, when King James proceeded in person accompanied by several of his nobility to France on his matrimonial adventures, Chancellor Archbishop Dunbar was appointed one of the lords of regency to govern the country in the king's absence.[2] About the same time, the king gave him "in commendam" the well-endowed Abbey of Inchaffray in the fertile valley of Strathearn.[3] James was married to Madeleine, one of the daughters of the French king, at Notre Dame, Paris, amid great pomp on 1st January, 1537; but to the great grief of all the new queen died a few months after her landing at Leith. Thereafter David Beaton, subsequently created cardinal, was despatched as an envoy to France to seek another princess. He returned with a young widow, Mary of Guise, who landed at Fifeness and was solemnly married to James in the Abbey Church of St. Andrews on 11th June, 1538. "After having had seventeen young ladies of the best families in Europe to choose from,"[4] James made Mary of Guise Queen of Scotland, and the union was fraught with destiny, for she became the mother of the beautiful but ill-fated Mary, Queen of Scots.

While these events were occurring in high places, the Reformation doctrines continued to spread throughout the land, and persecution was renewed.

[1] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* No. 500; also No. 502 for a similar episode in November 1539.

[2] *State Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. v. p. 61.

[3] Keith's *Catal.* edn. 1824, p. 257; Brady says in 1538; Charts of Inchaffray, S. H. Soc. p. 256.

[4] *Trans. Glas. Arch. Soc.* 1906, p. 90.

In March 1539 five persons, all churchmen but one, were burnt for heresy on the Castlehill of Edinburgh—Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop Dunbar and Bishop Crichton acting as judges. Later, in the same year, two were burnt at Glasgow. One was Jerome Russell, a Greyfriar, a young man of meek nature, quick spirit and good letters. The other was a young man scarcely eighteen years of age "of excellent injyne in Scotish poesye." To assist Dunbar, "who was thought cold in the business," the cardinal sent three assessors—Lawder, Oliphant, and Maltman, "sergeantis of Sathan." And so, continues John Knox, "the two poore sanctis of God war presentit befoir those bloody bowcheouris." "At first, Kennedy became faint and would gladly have recanted, but reinforced by the Holy Spirit he recovered himself and confessed his adherence to Christ Jesus as his only Saviour," boldly exclaiming: "Now, I defy death: do what you please: I praise my God, I am readdy." Russell never winced throughout. When the prisoners had made their defence, the judges were at variance as to the verdict. The archbishop said, "I think it better to spayr these men, nor to putt thame to death." Whereat the assessors asked, "What will ye do, my lord? Will ye condemn all that my lord cardinall and the other bishops and we have done? If ye do so, ye shew yourself enemy to the Kirk and us and as so we will repute you be ye assured." Hearing these words, Dunbar yielded under pressure and adjudged the innocents to die. These two martyrs are said to have been burnt at the east end of the cathedral, Russell comforting his young friend Kennedy in the midst of the fire.[1] Knox says of Kennedy the martyr that he was of excellent skill in Scottish poetry. It is thought that his poetry was of the nature of

[1] Knox, *Hist.* i. pp. 63-66. The death sentence was usually carried out by the secular courts; also p. 533. Dunbar presides, May 1539-40, at trial of Sir J. Borthwick.

hymns or spiritual songs, such as were then in vogue. While George Buchanan and Sir David Lindsay fearlessly exposed the vices of the clergy and the friars, the one in elegant Latin, the other in homely Scottish verse, the chief writers of the spiritual songs were the brothers James and John Wedderburn of Dundee, the latter of whom had travelled in Germany and translated many of Luther's "dytements" (writings), as well as many of the Psalms of David into Scottish metre. About the years 1542-6, these brothers gathered into a collection the hymns and psalms that were ringing to popular melodies throughout the land, and published them in a volume known as the *Wedderburn* or *Dundee Psalms*, or still more widely as *The Guid and Godlie Ballatis*.[1] As a specimen of these ballads that were sung, doubtless in Glasgow as well as in other places in Scotland, we quote the following :[2]

> "Quho is at my windo, quho, quho?
> Go from my windo, go, go.
> Quha callis thair, sa lyke ane stranger?
> Go from my windo, go.
> Lord I am heir ane wratcheit mortall,
> That for thy mercy dois cry and call,
> Unto the' my Lord Celestiall,
> Se' quho is at my windo, quho.
> How dar thow for mercy cry?
> Sa lang in sin as thow dois ly.
> Mercy to haif thow art not worthy,
> Go from my windo, go."

Then after the sinner has experienced several apparent repulses, the Lord, persuaded that his repentance is genuine, gives him a hearty welcome to his door, and so the hymn concludes :

> "Quho is at my windo, quho?
> Go from my windo, go;
> Cry na muir thair, lyke ane stranger,
> Bot in at my dure thou go."

[1] *A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs*, S.T.S. [2] *Ibid.* p. 132.

Not only did these "airy messengers" spread the knowledge of the Gospel; morality plays, comedies, tragedies and satires lashed the vices of the clergy. Among the most notable was Sir David Lindsay's *Satire of the Three Estates*, which was enacted before the king at Linlithgow Palace on the Feast of Epiphany, 1540. The coarseness and ribaldry of much of the dialogue can hardly be credited, but evidently the play had touched the conscience of the king and roused his indignation against the clergy, for as soon as the play was over he "called upon the Bishop of Glasgow, being Chancellor, and diverse other bishops exhorting them to reform their fashions and manners of living, saying that unless they did so, he would send six of the proudest of them unto his uncle of England." [1]

Two years later, on 13th December, 1542, King James V. died at Falkland Palace of a broken heart. A few days previously, at Linlithgow Palace, the queen had given birth to a daughter—Mary, Queen of Scots.

At this time gold was discovered at Crawford, Clydesdale, and Germans came to work it,[2] but something more precious had been discovered in the Holy Scriptures which were being studied with remarkable zeal—the death of so many martyrs causing the people to enquire into the nature of the beliefs for which they suffered. In order to gratify the popular desire to read the Scriptures in the vernacular, Lord Maxwell brought the matter before the Scottish Parliament, and an Act was passed on 15th March, 1542-3, proclaiming that "halie write may be usit in our vulgar tongue and that na cryme should follow thairupon throw the using thairof." [3] This displeased the clergy so much that, in the absence of Cardinal

[1] *State Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. v. p. 170.

[2] Leslie's *Hist.* ii. p. 248, S.T.S.

[3] *Acts Scot. Parl.* ii. p. 415; Calderwood's *Hist.* i. p. 156.

Beaton, who was then detained in prison by his enemies, the Archbishop of Glasgow for himself and in the name of all the prelates of the realm, entered his protest against the Act and asked instruments till it should be discussed in the Provincial Council.[1] Two days later, Dunbar, along with Cardinal Beaton and others, was appointed to the Council of Regency under James Hamilton, second Earl of Arran.[2]

We enter once more upon a period of heart-burning strife among the Scottish nobility during the minority. On the one side was Regent Arran who had adopted the Protestant faith and was in favour of alliance with England. On the other was Cardinal Beaton and Queen Mary of Guise standing up for the old faith and the ancient alliance with France. Later, Arran recanted and joined forces with the cardinal's party. Then Matthew, Earl of Lennox, who had been invited by Beaton himself to leave France for Scotland, formed a new party against the cardinal. It is difficult to expiscate facts from the historians of the period, since the accounts of the two sides—the Protestant and the Catholic—are so variant; but we gather that after the infant Mary was crowned Queen of Scots at Stirling, 9th September, 1543, the strife of factions became more pronounced. At the coronation, Regent Arran, Cardinal Beaton and Archbishop Dunbar were present, but the Earls of Lennox, Glencairn and Angus refused to attend.[3] In October 1543 five, others say seven ships, arrived in the Clyde at Dumbarton, bringing from the King of France a large sum of money, some say 60,000 gold crowns—along with munitions of war—to strengthen the French party and assist the Scots against the threatened English invasion. Accompanying this treasure were two ambassadors from France and "a bishop of notable piety," not Contarini of Venice, as Leslie says, but

[1] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* No. 506. [2] *Acts Scot. Parl.* ii. p. 442.
[3] Keith's *Church and State*, i. p. 80.

Marco Grimani, patriarch of Aquileia, near Venice, who acted as papal nuncio to Scotland.[1]

This patriarch, on reaching Glasgow, was honourably entertained by Cardinal Beaton and the bishops of the provinces. His chief commission was to dissuade the Scots against any alliance, by marriage or otherwise, with England, and to promise substantial assistance from the Pope should war break out between the two countries. He was so pleased with the reception he met with everywhere in Scotland, that wherever he went afterwards he still spoke of the magnificent civilities of the Scottish nation, and represented them in a particular manner to the King of France, the State of Venice, the College of Cardinals and to the Pope.[2] Dunbar, still Chancellor, was present at a meeting of the Lords of Council held at Edinburgh, 3rd December, 1543,[3] but when Parliament met on 13th December, 1543, at the desire of the Regent and the Estates, the Great Seal was taken from Archbishop Dunbar and placed in the hands of Cardinal Beaton, who thereupon became Chancellor of the Realm and virtual head of both Church and State.[4]

The cardinal's party being now in the ascendant, Lennox, although he had faithfully promised at Edinburgh to stand by the regent, nevertheless, seeing that mischief was brewing against him, travelled secretly in the night time to Glasgow, where he fortified the Bishop's Castle with a garrison and sufficiency of provisions, and then proceeded to Dumbarton.[5] As soon as the regent was assured of what Lennox had done, he summoned an army to meet him within ten

[1] Leslie's *Hist.* ii. p. 270 ; *Hamilton Papers*, ii. pp. 92 and 103.

[2] Keith's *Church and State*, i. pp. 96-7.

[3] Unpublished MSS. reign of Mary, Queen of Scots, p. 2, by Joseph Stevenson.

[4] Keith's *Church and State*, i. p. 85, note 3.

[5] Buchanan, *Hist. Scot.* bk. xv.

days at Stirling, and thereafter marched to Glasgow.[1] On 1st April, 1544, the regent, the cardinal, the Earls of Argyle, Bothwell and many other lords "convenit be oppin proclamation at Glasgow," besieged the castle and battered it with brass guns in vain. A truce being granted for a day, and the guards tampered with, the castle was surrendered; and although quarter and indemnity were promised, the whole garrison, except one or two, were cruelly put to death.[2] While the siege of the castle was going on, there occurred within the cathedral another altercation between the archbishop and the cardinal. Beaton was with the regent in Glasgow, and when he went to worship in the cathedral he made his usual claim for precedence over Archbishop Dunbar. Whereupon Dunbar, on Palm Sunday, 5th April—surely the cannonading would cease that day—went up to Cardinal Beaton in the choir in front of the high altar in presence of Lords Setoun, Livingstone, Borthwick and others, and protested that the carrying of Cardinal Beaton's cross in the Metropolitan Church of Glasgow or elsewhere in his diocese should not be granted to the prejudice of the exemption granted by the Pope. To this the cardinal courteously replied, that he did not carry his cross or give benediction within the church to the prejudice of the exemption, but solely by reason of the good-will and courtesy of the Archbishop of Glasgow—an illustration of the proverb that a soft answer turneth away wrath.[3]

While the regent with his army was still in the west, he

[1] Buchanan, *Hist. Scot.* bk. xv.; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 31.

[2] Pitscottie's *Chron.* ii. pp. 23-4, says: "28 persons were hanged—one who escaped was Alexander Hare—on being set free from his bonds, Hare heard a gentleman remark—'Gif thow be ane hair thow sould be speidie thairfor schaw thy strenth at this tyme for thow hes this mekill advantage, thy handis ar lous.' Needless to say, he took the hint."

For further details, cf. *Treas. Accts.* viii. pp. li-liv.

[3] *Reg. Epis. Glas.* No. 504; *Scot. Hist. Rev.* v. p. 453.

sent to entreat peace with the English who, in the previous December, had proclaimed war against Scotland, but because of the war with France had not yet begun active hostilities. The English, however, " wald on nawayiss tak nor give." [1]

After the garrison capitulated, Arran retraced his steps towards Edinburgh, but when he perceived the great strength of the English fleet that landed at Leith on Sunday, 4th May, " the Regent, the Cardinal and the army retreated, and thereafter approached not within twenty miles of the danger." [2]

Taking advantage of Arran's departure, Lennox, forsaken by the French king, resolved to appeal for assistance to Henry VIII. of England. But before going thither he was desirous of ravaging the Hamilton possessions in Clydesdale. This design he communicated to the Earl of Glencairn. Meantime he proceeded to Dumbarton to recruit his forces, while Glencairn assembled at Glasgow an army composed of his friends and retainers and the citizens favourable to his cause, among the latter being the provost, John Stewart of Minto, and some of the kirkmen.

Learning that the English fleet had departed about the middle of May, and that the regent was again approaching Glasgow with an army, Glencairn withdrew his forces from the town to the fields, where he awaited the enemy. The fields referred to are described also as " the mure of Glasgow "—" about a mile to the east "—and as this was near the spot where the butts for archery practice stood, the sanguinary conflict that took place here on the 24th May, 1544, became known as "The Battle of the Butts." [3] Leslie tersely says : " Baith sydes yokis baldlie, is fercelie fochtne, followis

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 31-2.

[2] Knox, *Hist. Refor.* i. p. 120.

[3] The Butts were barely half a mile east of the cross ; later it was the site of the old barracks.

great slauchter." Buchanan states that 300 were slain on both sides, and adds that the greatest mischief fell on the citizens of Glasgow, for the victorious regent's soldiers plundered the houses, took away the valves and shutters and iron bars from the gates and windows, and set fire to the houses. The devastation indeed had been complete, but fortunately Lord Boyd's intercession prevailed with the regent. The regent, who had summoned to Glasgow the cardinal and the whole nobility of the south, then besieged with his great guns the castle and the kirk steeple, which had been fortified, and these were soon taken. Eighteen of the gentlemen whom "Lennox luvet weil" were hanged at the cross and the rest of the garrison pardoned.[1]

Lords Angus and Maxwell, who had come to Glasgow to effect, if possible, a reconciliation between Lennox and the regent at a conference in the Blackfriars' Convent, were themselves taken prisoners, "while their dependers were attending them at the foregate, they were sent out by a postern gate, by advice of the governor's chief counsellors, to Hamilton."[2]

On 3rd June, 1544, shortly after the Battle of the Butts, a large number of the nobility, discontented with the government of Arran, met in convention at Stirling and conferred the regency on the Queen Mother. Dunbar, it is said, was one of the Secret Council of this regency, which, however, did not last long.[3]

If the year 1544 was eventful in the annals of Glasgow, 1545 was none the less remarkable. On the 7th June a meeting of that august body, the Privy Council, was held at Glasgow, probably within the castle, by this time repaired

[1] *Hist. Scot.* ii. pp. 272-3; *Diurnal*, pp. 32-3; Pitscottie's *Chron.* ii. p. 26, S.T.S.

[2] Calderwood's *Hist.* i. p. 167.

[3] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 33.

from the damage inflicted during the last siege. Among those present were the Queen-Dowager, Regent Arran, Cardinal Beaton and Archbishop Dunbar. *Inter alia* it was ordained that the provost and bailies of Glasgow should fix the prices of the provisions such as bread, flesh and ale sold to the French soldiers recently arrived in the town under command of Captain Lorges de Montgomery, and that no extra charges be made.[1]

About this date occurred the well-known struggle for precedence in the cathedral between the cross-bearers and servants of Archbishop Dunbar and those of Cardinal Beaton. The various historians are not agreed as to the precise date of the episode. The *Diurnal* gives the 4th June, 1545, while John Knox refers it to the end of the harvest, 1545. Leslie, on the other hand, goes back to October 1543, as if it were synchronous with the visit of the patriarch Grimani.[2] But whether a similar struggle took place in 1543 or not, there can be no doubt about the scandal in June 1545, for Cardinal Beaton, writing to the Pope on 5th July, 1545, narrates that when he went to Glasgow, accompanied by the regent and the queen-dowager, the archbishop insisted on having his cross borne before him and blessing the people, in defiance of the well-known law that neither archbishop nor patriarch is entitled to use his cross in presence of a legate of the Holy See.[3] Dunbar, however, would not listen to this argument. He maintained that he was archbishop in his own diocese and in his own cathedral seat and church, and therefore ought to give place to no man. "Unquestionably," says a Roman Catholic writer, "the cardinal had right

[1] *Privy Coun. Reg.* i. p. 3; Keith, *Church and State*, i. p. 118. The date is variously stated.

[2] *Hist.* ii. p. 275.

[3] Theiner, *Mon.* p. 617; *Scot. Hist. Rev.* v. p. 454 for Regent Arran's letter to the Pope and its date. Arran and the cardinal probably wrote to the Pope about the same time.

on his side in this disedifying wrangle."[1] From arguments, the rival cross-bearers and retainers came to blows at the choir door of the cathedral, near the rood screen. Knox, in a vein of caustic humour, for which he begs to be excused, says: "Yf we enterlase merynes with earnest materis," describes vividly how "rockettis war rent, typpetis war torne, crounis war knapped and many of thame lacked beardis, and that was the more pitie: and therefore could not bukkill other by the byrse, as bold men wold haif donne." Dunbar, "in his foly as proud as a packoke, wold lett the Cardinal know that he was a Bishop when the other was butt Betoun, befoir he gat Abirbrothok." In the scuffle that took place, the crosses of both metropolitans were broken.[2]

Not long after this, Cardinal Beaton, alarmed because "innumerable nefarious heresies swarm on all hands throughout the kingdom," summoned a Provincial Council to meet at St. Andrews; and specially addressed a letter to Gavin, Archbishop of Glasgow, threatening excommunication if he refused to attend. Dr. Patrick thinks the cardinal assumed that, after what had happened at Glasgow, Dunbar would not meekly accept from him this authoritative summons, and that this explains why the summons is couched in language of the most comprehensive, cumulative and reiterative kind, suggesting the style of "The house that Jack built," the whole culminating in the dreadful interdict to be inflicted on any village or house that might give shelter or food to the said Archbishop of Glasgow.[3] Of the meeting of the council, there is no record.

Sometime in the summer of 1545, George Wishart, the

[1] *Bellesheim*, ii. p. 171, Blair's translation.

[2] Knox, *Hist.* i. p. 145. Struggles for precedence frequently occur in church history, for example, between the prelates of Canterbury and York, Armagh and Dublin, while a similar case happened at Rome in the Jubilee of 1675.

[3] *Statutes of Scot. Church*, p. 253, note and p. lxxiii.

reformer, who had been preaching up and down Scotland, visited Ayr and was gladly received. Whereupon Dunbar, at the instigation of the cardinal, also proceeded to Ayr and occupied the parish church. Wishart's friends, among them the Earl of Glencairn, proposed to oust the archbishop from the church that Wishart might preach there instead. "But this Maister George utterlye repugned, saying: 'Lett us go to the Merkate Croce'—and so they did—and here a notable sermon was preached that confounded their enemies." "The bischope" (Dunbar), continues Knox, "preached to his jackmen and to some old bosses of the toune." The sum of his sermon was "Thei say that we suld preach: why nott? Better late thrive, then never thrive: had us still for your Bischop, and we shall provid better for the next tyme." This was the beginning and end of the bishop's sermon, who hastily departed, but never returned to fulfil his promise.[1]

On 28th February, 1546, occurred the trial of George Wishart at St. Andrews. To this, Cardinal Beaton summoned all the bishops and clergy that had any pre-eminence that they should bear the burden with him and subscribe what he did. The first to whom the cardinal wrote was the Archbishop of Glasgow, craving that he would assist him with his presence and counsel. Knox adds that Dunbar was not slow to respond, that he sat next the cardinal and voted and subscribed first, and that afterwards he lay over the east blockhouse with the cardinal till the martyr of God was consumed with fire. Thus Beaton and Dunbar, formerly enemies, "entered into a Pilate and Herod friendship" over the condemnation of the reformer.[2] The statement of Knox that Dunbar exulted in the death of the martyr has been contradicted, for it is said that Dunbar advised the

[1] Knox, *Hist.* i. p. 127.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 148. The blockhouse was the eastern tower of the castle.

cardinal to request the regent to appoint some member of the nobility commissioner for this cruel purpose that the odium of the murder might not rest entirely with the clergy.[1]

Wishart was burnt on 1st March, 1546, and within three months Cardinal Beaton was assassinated. Those who had conspired in this tragic act were summoned to appear before Parliament at Edinburgh on 30th July on a charge of treason. They had shut themselves up within the castle of St. Andrews, but were not averse to appear, provided that a remission were granted them under the Great Seal. To this the regent and the Estates gave ear; but Archbishop Dunbar, who, as representing the "spiritualitie," took a prominent part in the proceedings, protested that no remission be granted unless they should first obtain the absolution of the Pope for the murder they had committed. The protest was effective, and when Parliament met on the 14th August the remission was ordered to be destroyed. When the absolution granted from Rome proved unsatisfactory, negotiations were broken off, and the murderers were proclaimed traitors; but Dunbar, once more acting for the clergy, declared that although they had found the crimes contained in the summons to be treason, nevertheless they intended not to judge upon blood and lives that may follow thereupon.[2]

Finally, on 21st July, 1547, the conspirators capitulated to the regent on condition that their lives be spared and their persons sent to France or any other country more desirable, Scotland only excepted.[3]

During the period St. Andrews Castle held out, Scotland was sadly distracted by conflicting factions. So great was the feeling of unrest and unsettlement that

[1] *Senators Coll. of Justice*, p. 4.

[2] *Acts Scot. Parl.* ii. pp. 466-470.

[3] Keith's *Church and State*, i. p. 125.

Archbishop Dunbar, in 1546, removed his treasures and personal effects from Glasgow Castle and Cathedral, and put them into the hands of his intimate friend, Abbot Kennedy of Crossraguel, concluding that they would be safer in this quiet retreat, among the wilds of Carrick, especially as the abbey was under the protection of the powerful Earl of Cassilis. The inventory discloses a large amount of wealth entrusted to the abbot's keeping, richly embroidered vestments, gold and silver goblets, rare jewels, a valuable library and nearly £4000 in money.[1]

One of the last public transactions in which the archbishop was engaged was his granting, with the consent of the dean and chapter, a tack of the Tron customs of the city to one Henry Crawford, parish clerk of Cadder. This instrument is dated at Glasgow, 16th April, 1547. A fortnight later, on 30th April, the archbishop died.[2] Dunbar was interred in the chancel of the Cathedral Church in the tomb he had caused to be built for himself; but of this tomb there is now not the least vestige remaining,[3] although according to his will a stately sepulchre of brass was to be erected over it.

In 1856, when repairs were being executed within the choir, the workmen discovered a sarcophagus containing an entire skeleton in a state of perfect preservation, which was believed to be that of Dunbar. The bones were reinterred within the cathedral at the foot of the steps leading from the western door.[4] Besides the erection of a sepulchre of brass, the archbishop enjoined in his will the endowment and regular celebration every year of obsequies for the repose of his soul. He also left sums of money for the repair of a belfry, the casting of bells and the purchase of pontifical ornaments,

[1] Blair's *Crossraguel Chart*, i. pp. xxxi and xxxix, and pp. 108-116.

[2] *Charts. and Docts. Glas.* ii. p. 511.

[3] Crawford's *Lives of Officers of State*, p. 77.

[4] Dr. Gordon's *Glasghu Facies*, i. p. 78.

which he desired to bequeath to the cathedral.[1] The massive battlemented gatehouse, which stood at the south-east corner of the castle wall, and which bore the arms of the archbishop as well as those of King James V. and of Subdean Houston, seems to have been erected at the joint expense of Dunbar and Houston, but whether after the sieges of 1544 or previous to the death of James V. in 1542 is uncertain.[2]

Archbishop Dunbar lived in troublous times. During a large part of his life the sovereign was a minor and the nobles formed contending factions, each struggling for the mastery. One faction deemed that Scotland should enter into alliance with England and Protestantism; the other was for maintaining the ancient alliance with France and Catholicism. Dunbar was intimately concerned in the political movements of the time and, like some of his predecessors, must have often left his spiritual duties to humbler men. At the same time, he does not seem to have neglected them altogether. We have an interesting glimpse of his visitation of his diocese which he carried out on horseback.

The rentallers of the manor of Columby, Carstairs, were bound to show hospitality to the archbishop and his retinue whenever he should choose to repair thither; and while his lordship was to remain there at his own expense, it was stipulated that the tenants should provide "fyre, weschelle (plate), and tyn (jugs) wyth sax furnist beddes, stable for viii horss with hay feirand thar to and fewale upon thair expens." [3]

Dunbar seems to have been particularly obnoxious to John Knox, who uses opprobrious epithets concerning him, calling him "Good Guckston Glakstour" and "a glorious

[1] *Lib. Coll. Nost. Dom. Glas.* p. xiii; *Book of Glasgow Cathedral*, pp. 278-9.

[2] *Book of Glasgow Cathedral*, p. 331.

[3] *Dioc. Reg.* i. p. 195.

fool." He also ridicules his preaching at Ayr in 1546, and blames him for willingly consenting to the condemnation of Wishart and taking pleasure in seeing him burnt to death. But Knox seems to have known Dunbar only when the latter had become old and frail.[1] George Buchanan who knew him in the zenith of his powers celebrates his qualities in the highest terms. From various sources we learn that he was a cultured and accomplished scholar. From his wide knowledge of law he was appointed Chancellor of the Realm, and from the interest he took in the administration of justice he is credited with being the founder of the College of Justice. He did not hesitate to maintain his rights if these were called in question, but he seems to have been a man of amiable character and of gentle disposition.[2] Instead of sympathizing with the burning of heretics, we have reason to believe that he was opposed to such extreme measures. George Buchanan, who, during the years 1535-9 acted as tutor to James Stewart, natural son of James V., enjoyed the prelate's hospitality at Glasgow Castle, and who must often have met him at court, speaks of him with great respect and sings his praises in choice epigrammatic Latin verse. His greatest admirer, says Cosmo Innes, could not wish him a more elegant panegyric :

> Praesulis accubui postquam conviva Gavini,
> Dîs non invideo nectar et ambrosiam.
> Splendida coena, epulae lautae ambitione remotâ,
> Tetrica Cecropio seria tincta sale ;
> Coetus erat Musis numero par, nec sibi dispar
> Doctrina, ingenio, simplicitate, fide, etc.[3]

[1] The latest entries in the Rental Book show the failing handwriting of the archbishop. *Dioc. Reg.* i. 140, note.

[2] *Dioc. Reg.* i. p. 129 and p. 133. Cf. his paternal care for his bedridden rentaller and his prayer when recording the death of his chamberlain.

[3] G. Buchanan's *Poems*, Epigram, Lib. i. No. 43 ; P. Hume Brown's *George Buchanan*, pp. 98-9, translation.

XI.

ARCHBISHOP BEATON II. (1551-1560).

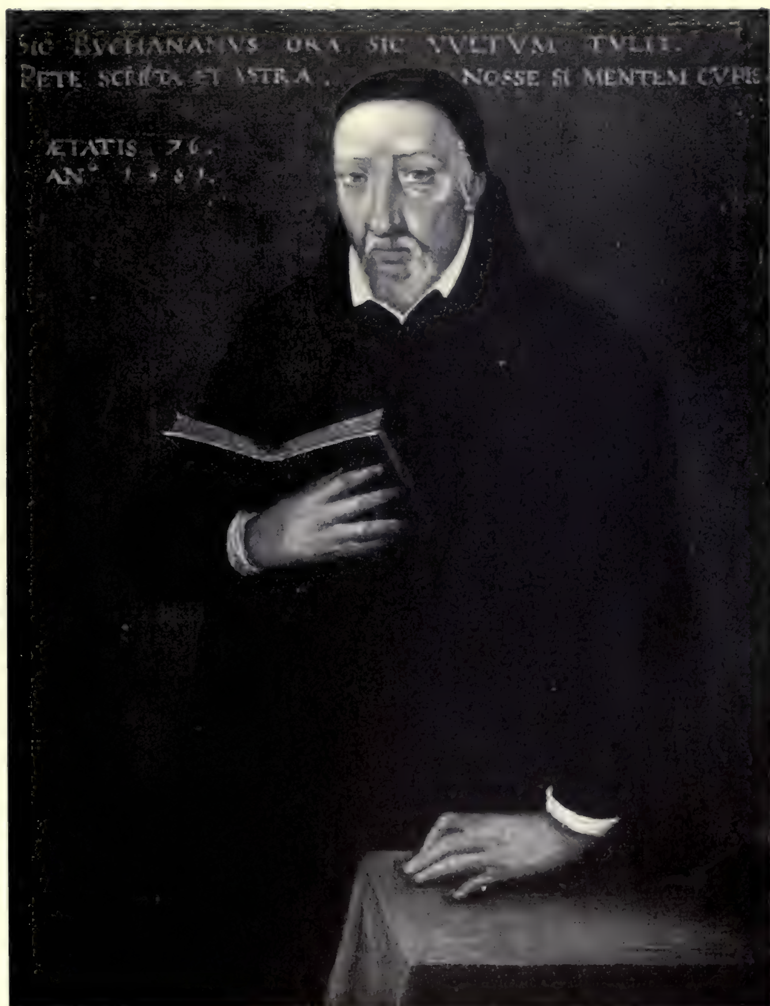
On the death of Archbishop Dunbar in April 1547, some time elapsed before a successor was appointed, indeed it was not till 5th March, 1550, that Alexander Gordon, described as of noble birth, was elected by the chapter, and, although he received the pallium at Rome as Archbishop of Glasgow, yet, as James Beaton's influence at Rome was greater, he was never consecrated, but resigned in the following year, 1551. Latterly, Knox tells us, he joined the reforming party.[1] James Beaton, the second of that name to occupy the See,[2] was provided by Pope Julius III. on 4th September, 1551. He was a Beaton of Balfarg, springing from the Beatons of Balfour, Markinch, Fife, and was the son of an elder brother of Cardinal David Beaton and therefore a great-nephew of Archbishop Beaton I. of Glasgow and St. Andrews.

So far as can be discovered, he was born in 1523.[3] It might have been expected that he would spend his student days at St. Andrews, not far distant from Markinch, but Dr. Maitland Anderson says there is no mention of his name in the early records of that university.

[1] Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 349; Keith's *Church and State*, i. pp. 236 and 250. Alexander Gordon, and Bothwell Bishop of Orkney, were the only two prelates of the Catholic Church who became Protestant at the Reformation.

[2] The name is variously spelt Betoun and Bethune.

[3] *R.E.G.* ii. p. 568.



GEORGE BUCHANAN.

Bronckhurst, 1580. *St. Andrews University.*

M'Kenzie, without stating his authority, informs us that, when very young, James was sent by his uncle, the cardinal, to France where he studied Belles Lettres and Philosophy at the Universities of Paris and Poictiers.[1] At the age of twenty he was employed by the French king on a mission to the Queen-Dowager of Scotland.[2]

The next mention of his name is when Pope Pius III., through the influence of his uncle, appointed him on 22nd March, 1545-6, postulate Abbot of Arbroath, an office held *in commendam*. Arbroath was one of the grandest conventual houses in Scotland.[3] The subprior and convent agreeing to receive the *venerabilis vir, magister J. Beaton* as abbot he was admitted *yconomus monasterii*—administrator of the monastery on 28th July, 1546.[4] While postulate of Arbroath two entries of November 1549 inform us that Mr. James Betoun was charged with treasonable intercommuning with Dudlie, sometime English captain of the fort of Broughty.[5]

To understand this reference, it will be well to take a passing glance at the condition of Scotland. When Archbishop Dunbar died in April 1547, Scotland was in the throes of preparation against a threatened invasion of the English. Nobles who had been at feud with one another agreed to lay aside their animosities and combine against the common enemy. Henry VIII. had died in January of the same year, but Protector Somerset was resolved to carry out the late king's policy of the invasion of Scotland.

To resist this, on 5th July the Earl of Argyle landed near

[1] *Lives of Scots Writers*, iii. p. 460, Edin. 1722.

[2] *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*—Beaton, James.

[3] *R.E.G.* No. 505. "Postulate" implies some canonical impediment which, unless dispensed prevented the person chosen from lawfully taking office.

[4] *Ibid.* Nos. 507-8.

[5] *Treas. Accts.* ix. pp. 356-7 ; for similar charge preferred against others, pp. 293-4.

Glasgow with 4000 men of the Isles and "campand" awaiting other 2000. These West Highlanders or Irishmen were most unwelcome visitors to Glasgow, for we read "Great is the moan poor men make for thir Irismen; thay waistis and destroyis all menis gudis of quharever thay cum."[1]

Somerset crossed the Border with an army of 18,000, and, giving battle to the Scots at Pinkie, 10th September, 1547, inflicted upon them a disastrous defeat.

At this time, too, the Earls of Lennox, Glencairn, Sir George Douglas and others conspired and sided with England against their countrymen.[2] Indeed, Douglas, in October 1547, drew up a "device" by which he thought the invasion of Scotland might be accomplished within a month or six weeks, part of his scheme being to seize and occupy Glasgow Castle.[3] But Somerset, suspicious of Douglas,[4] condemned his device as folly.

Following up the victory at Pinkie, several of the more important strongholds of the east of Scotland were captured by the English—among them Broughty Castle near Dundee.[5] In order further to strengthen their position here, the English fortified a neighbouring eminence, "erecting a certain timber graith there." The regent, hearing of this, sent a force and besieged the place, but in vain. As the English were now endeavouring to occupy Scotland and render its invasion complete, appeal was made to France when, in response, a French fleet arrived in June 1548 bringing contingents of French, German and Italian soldiers—6000 in all. The Scots thus assisted drove the English gradually southwards over the Border.

The last but one of the strongholds they relinquished was

[1] *Cal. Scot. Papers*, i. p. 9.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 5.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 28.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 31-2.
[5] Numerous references to Broughty Castle or Crag in *Cal. Scot. Papers*, i.; also Keith's *Hist. Church and State*, i. p. 230, note

Broughty Craig, the garrison of which, seeing resistance to be hopeless, surrendered and "war blyth in hart that thai escapit with their lyffis." This took place on 6th February, 1549.[1] It was in this connection that "James Betoun, Postulate of Arbroath, was ordered to find surety to underly the lawis for tressonable intercommunyng with Schir Jhone (Andrew) Dudlie, Inglisman, sumtyme Capitaine of the Fort of Brochty," and persons were sent "to Aberbrothok to requyre the place thairof to be gevin oure to my Lord Governouris Grace, becaus Mr. James Betoun wes at the horne,"[2] *i.e.* outlawed. But the accusation on the part of Beaton's enemies, Regent Arran and George Douglas, his rival for the abbacy, would seem to have fallen through, for, outlawed though he was, Beaton contrived to hold the abbacy till his promotion to Glasgow. At this time also he is referred to as clerk of the diocese of St. Andrews.[3]

Meantime controversy had arisen between opposing parties as to who should be appointed to the See of Glasgow. On 26th March, 1548, in reply to letters of the Queen of the Scots, Cardinal Alexander Farnese writes that the Pope cannot grant her prayer, for if the See were granted to others than he has designed, there would be no end of strife to the great disturbance of her realm whose tranquillity and safety is the chief care of the Holy See.[4]

About a year later, the dean and fourteen of the canons of Glasgow postulated the Pope to appoint James Beaton, then holding the Abbacy of Arbroath, Archbishop of Glasgow in succession to Gavin Dunbar deceased.[5] At the time this petition was disregarded. In November Beaton was

[1] *Diurnal*, pp. 45 and 49; Knox's *Hist.* i. pp. 214-215; Leslie's *Hist.* ii. pp. 303 and 317.

[2] *Treas. Accts.* ix. pref. xl. and pp. 356-7; Knox's *Hist.* i. p. 181, note, and p. 252, note.

[3] *R.E.G.* ii. pp. 566, 568.

[4] *Cal. Scot. Papers*, i. p. 103.

[5] *R.E.G.* No. 509.

charged with treasonable intercommuning with the English at Broughty Castle, and in the following March Alexander Gordon, brother of the Earl of Huntly, was elected by the chapter Archbishop of Glasgow. But he resigned the following year, 1551. Meantime James Beaton had visited Rome, no doubt in furtherance of his own claims. In an entry dated 11th July, 1550, we read "James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, was detained in England because of his crossing to it from Rome without letters of safe-conduct. On condition that he found sureties for 20,000 crowns he would be permitted to go about the city (London) at his pleasure. It was not till the French king appealed to the King of England for the release of Beaton, on the ground that he had merely omitted a formality, that he was set free."[1] To prevent similar misunderstandings in the future, safe-conducts were procured. On 20th March, 1550-1, a safe-conduct was requested for Beaton and his retinue to go and return from Scotland through England.[2] Again, on 17th October, 1551, the Queen of the Scots requests from Edward VI., for a year, a safe-conduct and commission for post-horses to Beaton with eight persons in company, returning from France to Scotland through his realm.[3]

On 4th September, 1551, the reply of Rome to the Glasgow petition of 1549 was issued in the form of a papal bull, providing James Beaton to Glasgow and absolving him *per cautelam*, from ecclesiastical censures.[4]

Another bull of the same date grants a dispensation from the canonical law regarding age, inasmuch as Beaton was only in his twenty-seventh year, while the canonical age for a bishop was thirty and not under.[5] The Pope on the same

[1] *Cal. Scot. Papers*, i. pp. 50-55.

[2] *Cal. State Papers* (Foreign), p. 79, years 1547-53.

[3] *Cal. Scot. Papers*, i. p. 188.

[4] *R.E.G.* p. 565.

[5] *Ibid.* No. 512.

day sent a letter to his beloved daughter, Mary, Queen of Scots, then in France and only nine years of age, to inform her of Beaton's appointment. He also sent a mandate to the suffragan bishops of Glasgow exhorting them to show him the reverence that was his due. Similar mandates were forwarded to the chapter, the clergy, the people and vassals of the diocese.[1]

James Beaton was not only under age when he was appointed to the archbishopric of Glasgow, he was a layman and had never been ordained to the priesthood. Such was the laxity of the times in matters ecclesiastical. To remove all obstacles and satisfy his scruples, Beaton proceeded to Rome in 1552, where he was promoted through the several orders of the priesthood within five days and consecrated archbishop a month afterwards on Sunday, 28th August, 1552, by John James Barba, Bishop of Abruzzo, assisted by two other bishops, while John Dominic, Cardinal Archbishop of Ostia, for the Pope, gave the letter of authority incorporated in the certificate of consecration.[2] On returning to Glasgow, and following the ceremonies customary upon such occasions, the archbishop was received first by the chapter under letters apostolic, addressed by the Pope thereto, then by the university, the clergy, and lastly by the bailies in the name of the citizens. Subsequently he took the oath of office in the chapter-house, by touching his breast and swearing on the word of an archbishop and on the Holy Gospels.[3]

While in Rome for consecration, Beaton was successful in persuading the Pope to issue a bull (dated 26th October, 1552) making the exemption of Glasgow from the juris-

[1] *R.E.G.* pp. 567-574.

[2] *Ibid.* Nos. 520-1. Beaton's Oath of Consecration is recorded in No. 521.

[3] Dr. J. F. Gordon's *Glasgow Cathedral*, p. 211.

diction of St. Andrews perpetual.[1] While rivals in the Church were fighting for the See of Glasgow, the country as a whole was suffering from the contentions between the English and French factions. After the Battle of Pinkie, Mary, Queen of Scots, scarcely five years old, had been sent for safety to the lonely seclusion of the priory of Inchmahome in the Lake of Menteith.[2] Then she resided at Stirling, then at Dumbarton—from which she sailed to France, 27th July, 1548, "to be brought up in the fear of God"—so says the *Diurnal*, but John Knox has an opposite opinion: "And so was she sold to go to France, to the end that in hir youth she should drynk of that lycour, that should remane with hir all hir lyfetyme, for a plague to this realme, and for hir finall destructioun." [3]

On 8th August, 1550, her mother, the queen-dowager, sailed from Leith for France, not so much, says Calderwood, to visit her daughter as she pretended, as to procure the government of the realm to herself. Accordingly, to induce Arran to resign the regency, she persuaded the King of France to grant him as a bribe the Dukedom of Chatelherault. Returning home about the end of November 1551, she used all her influence to make Scotland a dependency and the catspaw of France. In those days the Church was bestirring herself to check the glaring abuses, so rife among the clergy, and the neglect of worship and sacraments on the part of the people. A provincial council had been held in 1549, and many excellent canons enacted for reform.[4] In 1551, says Calderwood, quoting John Foxe, there was a dangerous schism in the Kirk of Scotland over the question as to whether the Paternoster should be used in prayer to the

[1] Quoted Dowden's *Med. Ch. in Scot.* p. 17.

[2] D. Hay Fleming, *Mary, Queen of Scots*, p. 12.

[3] *Hist. of Scot.* i. p. 218, Laing's edition.

[4] Bellesheim's *Hist.* Blair's trans. ii. p. 200, etc.

saints or to God alone. Not only the clergy, but the whole people was divided among themselves, so that when they met each other, their usual interrogation was: "To whome say you your Pater Noster?"[1]—a query, doubtless, not uncommon on the streets of Glasgow, a city all along keenly interested in religious questions. Feeling ran so high that a provincial council was held at the Blackfriars Church, Edinburgh, January 1552, to discuss this and other matters, when also the more important canons of the previous council, along with other new statutes, were sought to be enforced.

When Beaton returned to Glasgow from Rome in the autumn of 1552[2] he must have found considerable arrears of diocesan business to transact, since the vacancy had continued for practically five years. In the Rental Book of the Barony of Glasgow this gap of five years actually occurs, after which numerous entries of rentallers or "kindly tenants" are duly recorded.[3]

Also Beaton had state business on hand, for, being one of the Lords of the Privy Council, we find him attending a number of its meetings. On 15th May, 1553, along with the queen, the governor and others, he was present at a meeting of the council held at Stirling, when the exorbitant prices charged for corn, beef, mutton, etc., during the late dearth, and by reason of the multitude of strangers that had been in the realm, were under consideration. An enactment was passed that reasonable prices be fixed and enforced, and that searchers be appointed to visit the markets of the burghs and see the commands of the council carried out.[4]

On 30th October, 1553, occurs the well-known scene in the

[1] *Hist.* i. pp. 273-6; *The Actes and Monuments*, vol. v. pp. 641-4, Cattley's edit. 1836; D. H. Fleming, *The Reformation*, p. 142, note.

[2] *R.E.G.* No. 522.

[3] *Dioc. Reg.* i. p. 29, p. 140 (note); *Charts. and Docts. Glas.* ii. p. 512.

[4] *Reg. Privy Coun.* i. p. 139, etc.

inner flower garden of the palace at Glasgow, when the provost—Andrew Hamilton of Cochnay—and the rest of the council had an interview with the archbishop, and presented to him, in accordance with the annual custom, a list of names of worthy and excellent citizens, with the request that he would select therefrom the two he wished to nominate as magistrates or bailies for the coming year. On this occasion the two chosen were Master Hall and John Mure. Whereupon the provost and councillors replied: "We shall do your lordship's will." So saying they retired to the Tolbooth. "After they went away the archbishop said to the canons standing beside him, for the removal of all further contention respecting the nomination and election of magistrates that shall happen to arise in time to come, it will be wise to have what has just taken place confirmed by an instrument; which accordingly was done, the canons being witnesses." [1] Evidently the archbishop feared that the ancient church and her privileges were being threatened, for a decree of the lords of secret council, dated 10th December, 1554, shows that he had sued the magistrates and community of Glasgow for payment of certain duties, but was unsuccessful in his suit.[2]

Mary of Lorraine, having assumed the regency sometime in 1554, immediately set herself to promote Frenchmen to the chief positions of honour in the government of the realm, a proceeding which gradually provoked the resentment of the Scots, and *inter alia* prompted them to break off completely the ancient alliance with France.

While this spirit of discontent was spreading, John Knox returned to Scotland from the Continent in the autumn of 1555. He visited Angus and Lothian, where he preached the doctrines of the Reformation and won many adherents. Summoned by the ecclesiastical authorities to meet them at

[1] *R.E.G.* No. 523; *Glas. Charts.* i. pt. 2, p. 120.

[2] *Glas. Charts. and Docts.* i. pt. 1, p. 76.

Blackfriars Church, Edinburgh, on 15th May, 1556, to answer charges for breaking the laws against heresy, he appeared with such a powerful following of the leading Protestant gentlemen that his enemies deemed it prudent to abandon procedure against him. That same month Knox's friends persuaded him to write a letter to the queen-dowager in which "he placed before her what he considered to be her duty in the present circumstances of religion." Having read this letter, the queen delivered it within a day or two, says Knox, to that proud prelate, James Beaton, Bishop of Glasgow, and said in mockage: "Please you, my lord, to read a pasquil." [1] The archbishop's reply is not recorded, but the silence is significant.

In the same year, 1556, a letter was addressed by Cardinal Sermoneta to Pope Pius IV. denouncing flagrant abuses in the Scottish Church, and naming certain prelates considered most capable of executing the necessary reforms. These were Archbishop Beaton, Bishop Reid of Orkney, along with Bishops Hepburn of Moray, Chisholm of Dunblane and Durie of Galloway.[2] To those who are acquainted with the history of the period it is marvellous that men of such questionable reputation, as the three last mentioned, should have been appointed for this purpose—the first two, however, were of irreproachable character. And here it ought to be stated that however much may be said against the morality of many of the pre-reformation clergy of Scotland, the Bishops of Glasgow stand out conspicuously with a clean record.[3]

At this juncture, in July 1556, Knox was recalled to Geneva, and he did not return to Scotland till May 1559. Meantime the new doctrines were spreading fast and every

[1] Knox's *Hist.* i. 252.

[2] Pollen's *Papal Negotiations, etc.* pp. 528-9; D. H. Fleming's *Reformation*, p. 65.

[3] *Lists of Legitimations*, pp. 546-569.

day the numbers of their adherents increased. On 3rd December, 1557, the Protestant lords, viz. the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn and Morton, with Lord Lorn and Erskine of Dun, formed themselves into a band or bond to maintain what was called "The Congregation." This has been described as the "First Covenant" and as the "first manifesto of Protestantism in Scotland," the signatories binding themselves never to rest till they had set up as the national religion, the faith which they themselves had adopted.[1] The bond was a most important step in hastening the Reformation; and while it was signed at Edinburgh, yet the chief signatories were the Westland lords. Indeed, it becomes clear as we study the sequence of events, that while Edinburgh was the headquarters of the Conservative or Catholic party, Glasgow, on the other hand, took its place as the headquarters of the Reformation movement.

On 14th December, 1557, at a meeting of the Scottish Estates, nine commissioners were appointed to make arrangements for the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, with the Dauphin of France, as well as to protect the interests of the queen and safeguard the liberties of Scotland; and Leslie mentions first the names of Archbishop Beaton, and Reid, Bishop of Orkney, as if they were the chief commissioners.[2]

On the 6th February, 1558, the Duke of Chatelherault, then also bailie of the regality of Glasgow, entered into a bond for nineteen years with the Archbishop and Chapter of Glasgow, "to mantayne, supplye and fortifie . . . the Kirk of Glasgow, also to defend the archbishop and specially to assist him in expelling of heresies within the diocy of Glasgow and punising of heretykis within the samyne . . . to the honour of God and our patron St. Mungo." Notwithstand-

[1] P. Hume Brown's *Hist. Scot.* ii. p. 48; Knox's *Hist.* i. p. 274; Bellesheim's *Hist.* ii. p. 231 (note).

[2] *Hist. Scot.* ii. p. 378, S.T.Soc.

ing the assurances thus solemnly given, "Inconstant Arran," as his contemporaries described him, eventually joined the lords of the congregation.[1]

Two days after this bond was signed, viz. on 8th February, 1558, Beaton and most of the other commissioners sailed for Leith and experienced very tempestuous weather in crossing to France, one of the fleet being wrecked off St. Abb's Head and another off Boulogne, the latter carrying "meikle riches necessar to the solemnitie of that marriage . . . with monie noble men." On the 24th April, Mary, Queen of Scots, was married to Francis, the Dauphin, at Nôtre Dame, Paris, amid scenes of solemnity and splendour, and banquettings in the palace of the Louvre, such as had not been witnessed in France for many years.[2]

But the perfidiousness of the French court in connection with the marriage negotiations has become patent in our own day, through the publication of Labanoff's *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, i. 50.[3] From these letters it is clear that fifteen days before signing the public treaty, Mary, Queen of Scots, had been induced to sign secretly three papers which virtually handed over Scotland to the King of France in event of her dying childless. The third of the papers was the most damning of all, for it distinctly specified that whatever treaties had been, or should be made, this secret compact should be regarded as the only valid arrangement between the two countries. This third paper, too, was signed by the Dauphin as well as by Mary. Probably, as Dr. Hay Fleming remarks, the young queen signed these deeds without fully realizing their import.[4] But even in the marriage contract

[1] *R.E.G.* No. 526. This bond is recorded not in Latin but in the vernacular.

[2] Leslie's *Hist.* ii. 378-81, S.T.S.; Pitscottie's *Chron.* S.T.S. ii. p. 124, vividly describes the storm.

[3] D. Hay Fleming's *Mary, Queen of Scots*, p. 211.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 22-24.

it was stipulated that the Dauphin should hold the title King of Scotland, and that the commissioners, in the name of the Scottish Estates, swear allegiance to him while the marriage subsisted. This oath was actually sworn in French by Archbishop Beaton, Bishop Reid, and five of the commissioners.[1]

Before leaving Paris, after twenty days banquetting, the suspicions of the commissioners were aroused when they were requested, at a meeting of the Royal Council of France, by the chancellor, to have the Scottish crown and sceptre sent immediately to France that the Dauphin might be crowned therewith as King of Scotland. To this the commissioners replied with spirit that they had no such commission and declined to travel further than their instructions.

On the journey homewards, four of the nine commissioners mysteriously died, as it appears, those who had resisted the French chancellor, viz. the Earls Cassilis and Rothes, Lord Fleming and Bishop Reid. It was an ominous ending to the marriage bells, and there were grave suspicions, according to Pitscottie and others, that poison had been administered at a parting banquet.[2] Beaton and the remaining commissioners landed at Montrose and, at the meeting of Parliament in Edinburgh on 29th November, reported with satisfaction on the marriage negotiations at Paris. Then the French ambassador preferred the request that the Scottish crown be sent to the Dauphin.[3] Through the persuasion of the queen-regent, this was reluctantly granted, but the crown was never sent. The Archbishop of Glasgow, the Prior of St. Andrews and the Earls of Argyle and Morton, who were appointed to convey it to France, refused the commission.[4]

[1] Keith's *Church and State*, i. pp. 363-64.

[2] Calderwood, *Hist.* i. pp. 330-1; Leslie, *Hist.* ii. pp. 384-5, gives details of sickness and death; Pitscottie, *Chron.* ii. pp. 126-7.

[3] Calderwood, *Hist.* i. 416.

[4] *Cal. State Papers* (Foreign), 1558-9, No. 826 (5).

The year 1558 was memorable for its ominous portents. Leslie, voicing the superstition of the times, informs us that a fiery comet appeared as if specially threatening the land, rivers were dried up in midwinter and overflowed their banks in summer. Whales were stranded in the Firth of Forth, and large hailstones destroyed the corn, while in the Lothians and the Merse a monstrous dragon was seen spouting fire.[1]

The discontent of the nobility and people with the conduct of many of the clergy, as witnesses from within the Church itself testify,[2] led the congregation to present two petitions to the queen-regent. The first urged her to bring about an immediate reform of the State ecclesiastical, and the second, named the Protestation, claimed absolute freedom of worship. To these there was no response.

We come to the years 1559-60, during which occurred momentous events pregnant with destiny for Scotland. The part which Glasgow took in shaping these events is not sufficiently acknowledged, and we shall emphasize the details which bring Glasgow into prominence.

On 1st January, 1559, a manifesto called "The Beggars' Summonds" was found placarded on the gates of the friaries all over Scotland, and doubtless also on the gates of the Blackfriars and the Greyfriars at Glasgow among the rest. This summons brought severe indictments against the Church and breathed the spirit of revolution.[3] Unable to resist such appeals any longer, the primate summoned a provincial council to meet on 1st March at Edinburgh. The clergy were dilatory in coming forward, for three weeks later, on 18th March, Archbishop Beaton issued a mandate

[1] *Hist. Scot.* ii. pp. 387-9, S.T.Soc.

[2] Boece, Major, and Sir D. Lindsay. P. Hume Brown, *Hist. Scot.* ii. p. 53.

[3] Knox, *Hist.* i. p. 320, note.

in peremptory terms to the clergy, abbots, priors, etc., in his diocese to be in attendance.[1] At this council many "articles of reformation" were enacted that would have proved eminently effective in purging the Church of abuses; but it was felt that the hour for reformation had passed, and that revolution was in the air.

This was virtually the last provincial council of the Pre-Reformation Church. The Roman hierarchy did not meet again in Scotland till the provincial council at Fort Augustus in 1886.[2]

Among the statutes of the council of 1559 one is specially notable in view of future developments. "The Queen Regent caused proclaim at the Market Crosses at Edinburgh and other places . . . that no manner of person should take upon hands to preach or minister the sacrament except they were thereto admitted by the ordinary, or bishop, under no less pain than death." [3]

On 7th April, 1559, Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel, esteemed by the Church in his day one of her ablest defenders, wrote to Archbishop Beaton a full account of his correspondence with ex-Friar Willock, whom he had challenged to meet in a public religious discussion. The public discussion never took place.[4]

On 2nd May, John Knox arrived in Edinburgh from the Continent. At this moment the regent was at Glasgow, residing probably at the Bishop's Palace. The momentous news was conveyed to her post-haste, whereupon she "caused him to be blown loud to the horn the third day after." [5] So from the platform of the Market Cross of Glasgow, after three blasts from the horn, John Knox was denounced by the messenger-at-arms, as a rebel and an outlaw.

[1] Dr. Patrick, *Stats. Scot. Church*, p. 153.

[2] Bellesheim, *Hist.* ii. pp. 251-2.

[3] Wodrow, *Miscell.* i. p. 56.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 261-77.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 57.

Knox having spent two nights in Edinburgh, proceeded to Dundee and thence to Perth, at this time the headquarters of the congregation. Being a commanding personality, his presence put new life and vigour into its proceedings. "He could, by his voice, put more life into his hearers than five hundred trumpets blustering in their ears." Shortly after Knox's arrival, the regent summoned the Protestant preachers to appear at Stirling on 10th May. Instead of the preachers appearing, Erskine of Dun was sent by the Protestant party to lay their demands before her. Aware that the Protestants were assembled in great force at Perth, the regent temporized, and Erskine was instructed to inform his friends that the summons of the preachers was postponed, and that there was no occasion for their appearance at Stirling.

Such is the Protestant version of the story. Catholic writers give it quite a different complexion. The latter maintain that when the preachers were summoned, they did not appear, and were declared rebels according to law.

Whatever the truth be, the Protestant party held that the regent's conduct in declaring the preachers outlaws was a distinct breach of faith. This so roused their indignation that John Knox the next day, viz. 11th May, with his burning eloquence, preached a sermon in the parish church of Perth denouncing the doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome. At the close of this sermon, when feelings were excited to the highest pitch, began the uproar that led to the destruction in Perth by "the rascal multitude" of the monasteries of the Blackfriars, Greyfriars and Carthusians, the last of these being one of the most magnificent edifices in the land.[1]

The next mention of Archbishop Beaton occurs when the regent, highly incensed by the news from Perth, commanded

[1] P. Hume Brown's *Hist. Scot.* ii. pp. 56-7 ; Bellesheim, *Hist.* ii. p. 264.

certain nobles with all haste to meet at Stirling on 24th May, and along with her troops convey her to Perth "to stay the audacity of the rebels." "To thair companie on this jornay," says Leslie, "joined thir persounis, the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow," etc. Thus Beaton, along with the regent and her army on May 29th or 30th, entered Perth, from which the Protestant leaders had felt it expedient to retire.[1]

Meantime ovei the country the congregation received fresh accessions, so that by the 29th June Edinburgh and the principal towns were in their possession. When the Earl of Glencairn and his friends, assembled in the church of Craigie, near Ayr, heard through letters from the congregation what had taken place at Perth, Glencairn exclaimed: "Lett everie man serve his conscience; I will by God's grace see my brethren in Sanct Johnstoun. Yea, albeit never man sould accompanie me, I will goe, if it were but with a pick upon my shoulder: for I had rather dee with that companie than live after them." "The rest[2] were so encuraged with these words, that all resolved to goe forward which they did so stoutlie that when Lyon Herald in his coat armour commanded"—evidently in the regent's name—"all men under the paine of treasoun to returne to their houses, by public sound of trumpet in Glasgow, never man obeyed."

Proceeding to Glasgow shortly after, Glencairn and his friends destroyed the altars and images in the churches of the city, for we read that "on the third day after the arrival of the congregation at Edinburgh, viz. the 29th June, Lord Glencairn, with the gentlemen of the west country, came to Edinburgh, after that they had purged the churches in Glasgow of idolatry."[3]

[1] *Hist. Scot.* ii. p. 402, S.T.Soc. [2] Calderwood, *Hist.* i. p. 452.

[3] Wodrow, *Miscell.* i. p. 62; an entry in *Privy Council Reg.* i. p. 202, shows that on 15th February, 1561-2, the friaries in Glasgow were then standing "undemolissit"; D. Hay Fleming's *Reformation*, p. 417; also *Lib. Coll. Nost. Dom.* p. lxvi.

As the congregation seemed now to be triumphant, the regent, with her French and Scottish soldiers, left Edinburgh and took refuge in the Castle of Dunbar.[1] But reaction soon set in. The wanton destruction of so many religious edifices, and other acts of violence done in the name of religion, alarmed the minds of law-abiding citizens, for, as Keith observes, "'Tis an easy matter to raise the devil, but few know how to lay him again." Other influences also were at work that militated against the congregation. The regent, learning by means of her spies "that the congregation was skaillit," acted on the advice of the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and leaving Dunbar with her troops, passed on 24th July to Leith.[2]

The leaders of the congregation, then at Edinburgh, seeing that the regent's forces were twice their own in number, proposed a conference, which met at the Quarrel Holes at the east end of the Calton Hill, and drew up a treaty. Among the terms agreed to were, that the congregation depart from Edinburgh within twenty-four hours; that freedom of worship be conceded to the Protestants, and that they in turn abstain from acts of violence against the Catholics.

Next day the lords of the congregation left Edinburgh and proceeded to Stirling, where they drew up a bond of mutual defence for religion, and at the same time agreed to appeal for help to England, now under the Protestant queen, Elizabeth. After the signing of this bond on 1st August, the Earl of Argyle and Lord James Moray journeyed westwards, and appointed the Earl of Glencairn and the Lords Boyd and Ochiltre and others to meet them at Glasgow, in order to concert measures for defeating the queen's projects in the western counties.[3]

It was in this connection the regent wrote to the Duke of

[1] Calderwood, *Hist.* i. p. 474. [2] Knox, *Hist.* i. p. 373.

[3] Keith, *Church and State*, i. p. 224; Calderwood, *Hist.* i. p. 497.

Chatelherault that "she is informed the Lords of the Westland Congregation intend to make a convention of their friends upon Govan Muir, near Glasgow, on 21st August, for some high purpose against herself."[1] So she requests him and all other lords and barons in whom she has confidence, to convene with their followers to whatsoever place she should advertise by her proclamation.[2]

About the middle of August, in response to an appeal from the regent, 1000 French soldiers arrived at Leith and were immediately employed in fortifying that town. Thereupon the lords of the congregation, realizing that the time for vigorous action had come, met at Stirling on 10th September. Here they were joined by Arran, eldest son of the Duke of Chatelherault. Having, while in France, accepted the reformed faith, and expressed himself rather freely at court, he felt his life endangered and fled to his native country. The congregation, learning that the regent was fortifying Leith "al stronglie and stoutlie" at the instigation of the Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and "utheris sage and verie grave men quha war ther present,"[3] objected to this as a distinct breach of the treaty lately entered into. Accordingly, they wrote calling upon the regent to dismiss the Frenchmen out of the country, informing her at the same time that the congregation would next meet at Linlithgow on 11th October.[4] Leaving Stirling, the lords of the congregation proceeded to Hamilton Palace. There, through the influence of his son Arran, and of the Earl of Argyle and others, the duke himself was persuaded to cast in his lot with them, or, as Leslie puts it, "to mak defectioune."

[1] *Cal. State Papers* (Foreign), 1558-9, Nos. 1181 and 1132. Keith and Calderwood say 28th August—not 21st.

[2] Keith, *Church and State*, i. p. 226.

[3] Leslie, *Hist.* ii. p. 424, S.T.Soc.

[4] Knox, *Hist.* i. pp. 377-9.

On their way to Hamilton the congregation visited Glasgow Castle, the archbishop being then with the regent. Ransacking it for money, of which they were in great need, they were disappointed, for in a letter, dated 12th October, we read: "There was no money found in the Bishop of Glasgow's coffers." [1]

The regent, receiving on 29th September another letter, one of many from the congregation, calling upon her to desist from fortifying Leith and to dismiss the Frenchmen, was moved with great displeasure and cried out: "Treason, Traitors." In a reply to the lords defending her conduct, she placed herself, says Keith, in the situation of a harmless bullfinch, surrounded by a crowd of ferocious hawks. Her language is not without a touch of pathos, "and like as a small bird still pursued, will provide some nest, so her majesty could do no less in case of pursuit, but to choose the town of Leith, a place convenient for that purpose . . . and also because in former times it had been fortified." [2] When the lords met in Linlithgow on 11th October, she sent a messenger enjoining them to desist from their enterprise, but this was of no avail.

Next day, 12th October, the lords set out for Edinburgh, and arrived there two hours after the regent had departed from Holyrood for Leith, accompanied by the Archbishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow and others.[3] At Edinburgh on 23rd October, the lords drew up an Act of Deprivation, deposing Mary from the regency. But they had miscalculated their power, for in besieging Leith they found themselves unable to capture it. Again and again, too, they were harassed by unexpected sallies of the French garrison of Leith, from which they suffered severely. To

[1] *Cal. State Papers* (Foreign), 1559-60, No. 76 (3).

[2] Keith, *Church and State*, i. pp. 228-9.

[3] Wodrow, *Miscell.* i. p. 68.

make things worse their own soldiers were disaffected at not receiving their pay, and numerous desertions took place.[1]

Accordingly, on 6th November, the congregation found it necessary to retire in haste from Edinburgh and make for Stirling, where they held further consultation. Maitland of Lethington, who had recently come over from the regent's party, was sent by the congregation to Queen Elizabeth to ask her help against the regent and the French. It was also agreed to meet again at Stirling on 16th December following.[2]

On the 9th November, when departing from Stirling, the lords divided themselves into two parties; the Westland Lords to take up their residence at Glasgow in order to give advice as occasion required, while the remaining leaders made St. Andrews their centre.[3]

The Duke of Chatelherault, at his coming to Glasgow in November, says Keith, "caused all the images and altars in the churches there to be pulled down, and seized on the castle which belonged to the archbishop."[4] Or, as Leslie puts it, "The Captane of Castelheralde, the Erles of Argile and Arane and others cumis to Glasgwe and profane the sacred things hitherto unviolated, and put great fear into the archbishop's servants, canons and religious men; they also occupy the castle and begin to fortify it."[5]

When this news reached the regent, she immediately sent French troops along with Archbishop Beaton for the recovery of the castle. These were assisted by Lords Seton, Sempill and Ross. The duke's people having left the town upon notice of their approach, the castle was soon regained; and the French, along with the archbishop, immediately returned

[1] Keith, *Church and State*, p. 242.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 244-5.

[3] Wodrow, *Miscell.* i. p. 73.

[4] *Church and State*, i. pp. 245-6.

[5] *Hist. Scot.* ii. p. 428, S.T.Soc.

to Edinburgh.[1] But soon thereafter the duke repaired to Glasgow where, on 29th November, he issued two public proclamations in the names of Francis and Mary, King and Queen of Scots—" forged proclamations," Bellesheim calls them—abolishing the ecclesiastical courts, and ordering all the Catholic clergy to join themselves to the congregation, or have their benefices taken from them.[2] Manifestly, Glasgow was at this time, as it had been for some months previously, the headquarters of the Protestant party.

On 10th November we learn that the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow are with the regent, and, on 10th December, in answer to questions asked by the English Privy Council, Maitland of Lethington replied that " The Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow have declared themselves openly with the French." [3]

On the 15th December the lords of the congregation met at Stirling to consider the reply brought by Maitland of Lethington from Queen Elizabeth. When it was announced that she would cordially support them, there was great rejoicing. But the regent, having obtained reinforcements from France, sent against them an expeditionary force of 2500 men ; so on Christmas Day, the day before the Frenchmen reached Stirling, the lords precipitately fled from the town. It seemed as if the regent's cause were once more triumphant. Her success, however, was short-lived, for at this juncture, about the middle, or, as some say, the end of January 1560, an English fleet, whereof thirteen were warships, appeared in the Firth of Forth; and shortly afterwards

[1] This appears to have been the last occasion on which the archbishop was within the walls of his own palace—for he never returned to Glasgow. If so, he then took with him the records and valuables which he afterwards carried to Paris.

[2] For severe strictures on these proclamations, Keith, *Church and State*, i. pp. 248-50 ; Bellesheim, *Hist.* ii. 284-5.

[3] *Cal. State Papers* (Foreign), yrs. 1559-60, No. 240 (13) and No. 392 (4).

a powerful French fleet, designed to overthrow all opposition to the regent in Scotland, met with such a succession of disastrous storms that it never arrived, but was driven back again to France.

Meantime, about the end of January, the Duke of Norfolk arrived at Berwick with an English army, and sent to the lords of the congregation at Glasgow a request that some of their number, instructed with full powers, might meet with him at some time and place convenient. The Lord James was appointed on 4th February as one of the commissioners, and later, at Cupar-Fife, others were added to their number. Accordingly the commissioners on both sides met, and a treaty was signed on February 27 between England and Scotland. This treaty was virtually an alliance offensive and defensive against France, and was an event of the greatest significance in the history of Scotland, for Scotland gave up her ancient alliance with France and entered into a lasting friendship with her "auld enemy" of England.[1]

When it got abroad that the English army would not be in readiness to come to Scotland till the 25th March, the regent, seeking to take advantage of the delay, engaged in a high enterprise.[2] Determined to attack the lords of the congregation at Glasgow, she sent thither a force of 2000 well-equipped foot-soldiers and 300 horsemen. The duke, who then held the castle, being apprised of their coming, which was quite unexpected, departed with a small company on the previous night. A letter, dated 21st March, written by the duke to the Duke of Norfolk, gives a glimpse of Glasgow and its castle on the eve of the Reformation. "Before leaving Glasgow we left some soldiers in the Bishop's Palace and Stepill[3] to drive time for 48 hours

[1] Keith, *Church and State*, i. p. 257, etc. [2] Wodrow, *Miscell.* i. p. 80.

[3] The steeple, probably the north-west tower, was fortified, as earlier and later references show.

till we assembled our friends. But they surrendered to the French, a company of whom entered to spoil the 'graith,' and in a tower of the palace, where a barrel of powder was hid, 'it fyrit through one of the luntis (matches) and burnt a great many (French) men whereof 13 are dead, one a principal captain.' The French horse, seeing 30 of our men left in the town, charged them; they stood at the brig, slew 8 French; part were defeated and part escaped. The French soon after, knowing we determined to give them battle, left the town for their 'strenth' without sound of trumpet or 'tamberoun.'" [1]

Another narrative of this attack on Glasgow Castle gives additional particulars. "Notwithstanding after that the Frenchmen had taken by force the Bishop's Castle, and had cruelly hanged a part of the soldiers that were therein, and had chased the rest that made resistance in the town, the second day after their coming to Glasgow, there came a writing to them from the queen, containing in effect that she was surely informed that the English army was already come from Berwick and within Scotland: wherefore she willed them with all possible expedition to return again; which they did immediately. The damage which they did was not so great as men supposed: for they had no time sufficient." [2]

Alarmed at this threatened invasion by a united Scottish and English army, and already stricken with the disease of dropsy that was so soon to prove fatal, the regent left Leith on 10th April, and, for the safety of her own person, proceeded first to Holyrood Palace and then to Edinburgh Castle, accompanied by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Dunkeld and several high officers of State. But "all the Frenchmen, both legates and captains and soldiers, with the

[1] *Cal. Scot. Papers*, i. p. 336, dated 21st March.

[2] Wodrow, *Miscell.* i. p. 81.

Archbishop of Glasgow, Lord Seton and some other companies of Scots, went to Leith." [1]

The Scots and English, having joined forces on 4th April, began to besiege Leith, but it had been strongly fortified by the French engineers, and after several unsuccessful assaults they were repulsed. During the siege of Leith, and while the shot rattled continuously, there occurred, what Leslie calls, a "merviellous maitter," viz. that when the leading people, and, doubtless, the Archbishop of Glasgow among them, were attending high mass in the high kirk on Easter Sunday, "a gret cannoun bullat cam in at the kirk winnock," where the altar stood. But not one was hurt, "a wounderful thing in sick a multitude . . . quhilk was al referit to the misterie and utterlie appliet to the actioune of the haly sacrifice of the mes." In this connection Andrew Leith, a Dominican monk, "quha than dependet" on the Archbishop of Glasgow, and who acted as celebrant priest on this occasion, was highly commended, for he stood "in sick a turmoyl and truble" without fear at the altar and thought of nothing but the performance of his office.[2]

While the siege of Leith still continued, the regent, Mary of Lorraine, died at Edinburgh Castle on 10th June, 1560. The Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Dunkeld, several officers of state and leading members of the nobility on both sides, were present at her death-bed, yet, strange to say, Archbishop Beaton, her faithful friend and counsellor, does not appear to have been there. Duty seems to have demanded his presence with the French garrison at Leith.[3]

The regent's death appears to have hastened negotiations in the interests of peace. For on 6th July, 1560, after many

[1] Leslie, *Hist.* ii. pp. 432 and 435, S.T.S.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 436.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 435, 439, 441 ; cf. Keith, *Church and State*, i. p. 278.

difficulties had been overcome, the three realms of England, France and Scotland, through their representatives, concluded a treaty at Edinburgh which, so far as Scotland was concerned, may be regarded as the central point of her history.[1]

By 19th August, to the no small astonishment of the Roman hierarchy, the reformed faith became the established religion of the Scottish realm,[2] and the mediaeval church, which might be said to have dominated Scotland for a thousand years, was dethroned.

Archbishop Beaton, Lord Seaton and others embarked on 18th July at Leith in the "Mynyon," one of the French transport vessels.[3] They arrived in Paris on 3rd August, 1560.[4] Thus, after eight years' residence in Glasgow, Beaton left never to set foot in Scotland again—the last of an illustrious line of prelates who sat in the chair of St. Kentigern, and the last archbishop to survive of the ancient Church in Scotland.

When the archbishop departed for Paris, he rendered a service which has earned for him the gratitude of all who are interested in the history of their native land, especially in the ancient documents that furnish the material of accurate history, for he carried with him the original writs of the See from the reign of David I. till his own time, "about 400 original charters granted by kings and nobles, and some 16 volumes of transcripts of charters, rentals, and registers of deeds concerning the temporalities of the See of Glasgow."[5] Cosmo Innes tells the story of the

[1] P. Hume Brown, *Hist. of Scot.* ii. p. 70; Keith, *Church and State*, ch. xii.

[2] *Cal. State Papers*, i. pp. 466-7; Bellesheim, *Hist.* ii. pp. 304-6.

[3] *Cal. Scot. Papers*, i. p. 455.

[4] *Cal. State Papers* (Foreign), yrs. 1560-1, No. 411.

Miscellaneous Papers, Maitland Club, p. x.

vicissitudes of these archives and their narrow escape from destruction.[1]

Beaton also carried with him the other "valuable things that belonged to the See, crucifixes of gold and silver, chalices, platters, candlesticks of gold and silver, and a great many vestments richly wrought. All these, along with the image of Our Saviour in beaten gold and the twelve Apostles in silver, he deposited in the hands of the Carthusians at Paris, to be restored when Glasgow should become Catholic."[2]

With the passing of the Mediaeval Church in Scotland, Beaton retired to Paris, where he spent the remaining forty-three years of his life. At the close of 1560 he is referred to as "one of the principal doers about the Scottish Queen for the affairs in Scotland."[3] In the following year Mary appointed him her ambassador at the court of France, and after her death James VI. confirmed this appointment.

Beaton continued to enjoy the temporalities of his See from 1560 to 1570.[4] In 1574 his name is found at the head of a list of Catholic prelates and clergy declared outlaws,[5] but in 1598 he was formally restored to the temporalities of the Regality of Glasgow,[6] "notwithstanding, he has never acknowledged the religion professed within this realm," a remarkable testimony of respect to his character.

[1] *R.E.G.* preface. They are still preserved in the keeping of Canon Kyle, Presholme, Enzie, Banffshire. Recently two volumes belonging to Beaton's library, having his heraldic arms stamped thereon in gold, were secured for Kelvingrove Museum. One dated 1552, and bearing the autograph of Andrew Melville, is a bulky folio by Prof. John Diedro, dealing with the religious controversies of the times. The other is a copy of the Bible, with notes in favour of Calvinistic doctrine, published at Paris in 1545 by Robert Stephens. Cf. article in *Glas. Herald*, July 5, 1912.

[2] *Memoir of Beaton*, by Archbishop Eyre, p. 21; M'Kenzie, *Scots Writers*, iii. p. 465.

[3] *Cal. State Papers* (Foreign), yr. 1560, p. 472.

[4] *Dioc. Reg.* i. p. 29, p. 140, note. [5] *Reg. Privy Council*, 15th February.

[6] *Acts Parl.* iv. p. 169, etc.; *Dioc. Reg.* i. p. 31.

While in Paris he naturally associated himself with the House of Guise.[1] Whether he was personally implicated in the massacre of St. Bartholomew is uncertain; but when Andrew Melville, in 1574, passing through Paris on his way to Glasgow, became involved in a religious disputation with Father Tyrie of the Jesuit College, Archbishop Beaton let fall some threatening expressions, which induced Melville to leave the place as speedily as possible.[2]

The archbishop remained "the trusted friend and counsellor of Mary, Queen of Scots," from her landing in Scotland till her death in 1587; and in her will he was nominated the "chief manager and disposer of her worldly concerns." After the murder of Darnley he wrote beseeching her to clear her character of the calumny that she was "the motive principal of the whole."

So handsomely did he endow the Scots College at Paris that he was called its second founder. He encouraged exiled Scottish priests to return to their country and win it back to the ancient faith—"a result for which," he says, "we have laboured with tears and prayers for many years." The revenue of the archbishop was increased by the incomes of the Abbey de la Sie, Poitou, the priory of St. Peters, and the treasurership of St. Hilary, Poictiers.[3] His death took place at Paris on 25th April, 1603, in his eightieth year,[4] and he was buried in the Church of St. John Lateran. Over his tomb an inscription in Latin verse eulogized him in the exaggerated language of the times.[5] Archbishop Eyre, in concluding his *Memoir*, remarks: "He died an old man, full of days and of honour."

[1] *Cal. State Papers* (Foreign), yr. 1560, p. 303.

[2] M'Crie, *Andrew Melville*, edit. 1819, p. 56.

[3] *Memoir of Beaton*, by Archbishop Eyre, pp. 27, 30, 33, 40.

[4] Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 350.

[5] MacFarlane, *Geneal. Colls.* i. p. 17. His will is contained in the *Dioc. Reg.* i. p. 229.

XII.

ST. ROLLOX AND HIS CHAPEL.

WHO was St. Rollox? He was a real and not merely a legendary saint, and his name in its original form was St. Roche. His biography was first written in 1478, about a century and a half after his death. By this time tradition and legend had so magnified his fame that it became difficult to separate fact from fiction, truth from poetry.[1]

It would appear that Roche was born of wealthy parents at Montpellier, in the south of France, about the year 1295.

He had a birthmark upon his breast which, at times, became so lustrous, that his parents fondly imagined it resembled a red cross. Arguing therefrom his future sanctity, they brought him up in innocence and piety, and gave him the best education the times afforded. Upon the death of his parents in his twentieth year, he resolved to devote himself to the service of God, and sought to dispose of the property he had inherited for the benefit of the poor. But this the law of his country would not permit. Leaving his affairs in the hands of an uncle, he set out on a journey to Rome, attired in the garb of a pilgrim.

He had not as yet discovered his particular vocation, but just as John Howard, four centuries later, was led to his life-work through being captured by a French privateer and cast into a miserable French prison, so when Roche, in his

[1] Stadler's *Heiligen-Lexicon*, vol. v. Rochus; also *Bollandist Lives of Saints*.

travels, came to a plague-stricken city in Italy, his sympathy was so aroused that he volunteered his services to the governor of the hospital on behalf of the suffering. His offer having been accepted, and success having attended his labours, he was led to consecrate his life to the praiseworthy, albeit hazardous, occupation of caring for the plague-stricken. As he laboured in several plague-stricken cities, infection seemed to fly before him. Learning that the fatal distemper had reached Rome, he hastened thither, and there spent three years in the service of the sick.

Desirous of returning to France, he revisited on the way the cities in which he had previously laboured. Wherever he went he seemed as one who led a charmed life, and was proof against contagion. But on reaching Piacenza, where the plague was specially virulent, he devoted himself with so much ardour and self-forgetfulness to his labours that he caught the infection. Instead, however, of being grieved, he lifted up his heart to God, and thankfully accepted his condition as a token of divine favour. But alas, he, who had spent the best years of his life in caring for the plague-stricken, was in his own hour of distress deserted and uncared for, and, though scarcely able to move, was compelled to quit the town and seek shelter in a poor hut in a neighbouring forest. But God raised up a kind friend named Gothard, who lovingly tended him and generously supplied his wants. After his recovery, Roche set out once more for home, and arrived at Montpellier, but, being attired as a poor pilgrim, and having suffered so many hardships, his nearest relatives failed to recognize him. Arrested as a spy, he died in prison, but not before he had obtained as he believed from God the favour that all plague-stricken persons who invoked his aid should be healed. He died on the 16th August, 1327, aged only 32 years, and was buried at Montpellier. Miracles were believed to have accompanied his

death—a divine proof of his sanctity according to mediaeval biographers; his body was translated to Venice in 1485, one hundred and fifty-eight years after his death. At Venice it was received with great rejoicing, and a large church was erected to his memory and for the preservation of his relics. This church of Santo Rocco contains several pictures of scenes from the life of St. Roche, painted in exquisite colours by Tintoretto.

His fame so spread after his death that the Church of Rome canonized him, and set apart the day of his death, the sixteenth of August, as his day in the Saints' Calendar. Ever after this he was regarded as the patron saint of the plague-stricken. So indissolubly is his memory associated with the plague, that in France the plague came to be known as the Mal St. Roche, or St. Roche's sickness. In pictures and statues the saint is usually represented as dressed in pilgrim garb, and pointing with his finger to an ulcer or plague-spot on one of his limbs. Hence Sir David Lindsay, speaking of such representations in his day in Scotland, says: [1]

> "Saint Roche weill seisit men may see
> Ane byill new broken on his thye."

In Quimper Cathedral in Brittany, there is an image of St. Roche, dressed in a brown-coloured habit, and wearing a broad-brimmed, low-crowned hat. Underneath the image, and suspended on a cord, are votive offerings, models in wax of arms, legs, or other members of the body, believed to have been healed of disease through the intercessions of the Saint.

Not only in France and Italy was St. Roche venerated, wherever the plague went, churches and chapels were erected in his honour—in Belgium, the Tyrol, Germany, Switzerland, Spain and Portugal. Indeed, two of the most richly endowed churches in Europe, one at Paris, the other

[1] Laing's edit. iii. p. 27, line 2297.

at Lisbon, are dedicated to St. Roche. Scotland also felt the spell of the Saint, and chapels dedicated to St. Roche were erected not only in Glasgow, but in Edinburgh, Stirling, Dundee and Paisley.

In 1502 a French friar brought a bone of St. Roche as a sacred relic to King James IV., for which he received fifteen French crowns—about £10 10s. Scots money.[1] It was believed that when St. Roche's body was transferred to Venice, pieces of it were stolen as relics, and bones of St. Roche are exhibited, even at the present day, at Antwerp, Arles and elsewhere. No doubt the purchase of this relic of St. Roche by the king stimulated the veneration of the Saint and the erection of chapels to his honour ; but the real reason, both of the chapels and of the royal purchase, was the terrible visitations of plague from which the country suffered. In Edinburgh a chapel was erected to St. Roque on the Boroughmuir and was resorted to by victims of the plague. These encamped in huts surrounding the chapel that they might reside as near the Saint's Shrine as possible, to invoke his intercessions.[2] As Sir David Lindsay, writing about 1500, tells us : [3]

> "Superstitious pilgrimages
> To monie divers images,
> Sum to St. Roch with diligence
> To saif them from the pestilence."

With regard to St. Roche's Chapel at Dundee, we have some interesting particulars recorded by John Knox.[4] When George Wishart went to Dundee in 1544, during the visitation of plague, he stood on the parapet over the archway of the Cowgate Port, and addressed an audience that was partly inside and partly outside the gate. Those who were in health sat or stood within, while the sick or suspected were

[1] *Treas. Accts.* ii. p. 154.
[2] *N.S.A.* Edin. p. 657.
[3] Laing's edit. vol. iii. p. 29, l. 2359.
[4] *Ibid.* i. pp. 129-30.

without. His text on this occasion was Psalm cvii. v. 20: "He sent his word and healed them." After preaching a most comforting sermon, it is said "the plague-stricken and all who heard him cared not whether they were spared to live any longer in this world."

The Chapel of St. Roche in Dundee was long known as the Chapel of Semirookie, a double diminutive for St. Roche. The spot is now termed St. Roche's Lane. At the approach of the plague the people of Dundee used to gather at the altar of this chapel to pray for protection, while lodges were erected for those afflicted.[1] When the walls and gates of the city were removed about 1780, out of respect to the memory of George Wishart, and the services he rendered to the town, the Cowgate Port was allowed to stand.

At Stirling the chapel dedicated to St. Roche, or Marrokis, was situated immediately to the south-side of the old bridge. This chapel was perhaps the first in Scotland, for already on the 19th April, 1497, James IV. made his devotions there and left an offering of 15s. 6d. Scots;[2] while as late as July 1645 there is an entry in the Stirling Town Council Records anent the erection of lodges at Chirmerland, some hundred yards from the same bridge, for housing those infected with the plague, while those who succumbed were to be buried at the Chapel Well.[3]

We return to the Chapel of St. Roche at Glasgow. There are various spellings of the Saint's name, Roche, Roque, Marrokis, Semirookie, Rowk; but in Glasgow the form that ultimately prevailed was Rollack or Rollox, the latter probably arising from the pronunciation of Ro-ok in two syllables, as it is said Pollok arose from Po-ok.[4]

[1] Maxwell's *Old Dundee*, p. 20.

[2] *Treas. Accts.* ii. pp. 68 and 249.

[3] J. Ronald, *Landmarks of Old Stirling*, p. 166.

[4] *N.S.A. Renfrew-Paisley*, p. 209. Roche is spelt Rock.

The Chapel of St. Rollox at Glasgow was situated on the Boroughmuir to the north of the city, a considerable distance outside the Stable Green Port on the way to Cadder.[1] With the help of the City Records, the exact spot has been identified.[2] The chapel stood in Castle Street, near the point where it crosses the canal, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the offices of the United Alkali Company. Formerly there was a little loch to the south of the chapel, called St. Rollokis Loch, known afterwards as Plummer's Hole.[3] This loch has long been drained, but it was close to where Parliamentary Road diverges from Castle Street. It was about the year 1506 that the chapel was erected, with a cemetery attached.[4] Like those in Edinburgh, Dundee and elsewhere, it stood outside the city gates, a precaution against contagion from the plague-stricken who resorted thither.

In 1508, a short time after its erection, Thomas Muirhead, one of the canons of the cathedral, provided the chapel with an endowment, so that mass might be offered for the soul of the founder.[5]

The provost and council were to be patrons, and these appointed Sir Alexander Robertson[6] as chaplain. Subsequently the Town Council requested the Collegiate Church of St. Mary and St. Anne to appoint one of its prebendaries to St. Roche's Chapel, "to say mass thrice a week, and perform the other offices for the soul of the Founder." [7]

[1] The *Diocesan Registers* contain several references to the chapel. Cf. Index—St. Roch.

[2] The credit of this discovery is due to Mr. R. Renwick. *Glasgow Memorials*, p. 134.

[3] *Extr. Glas. Records* (1663-1690), p. 54.

[4] On 20th June, 1506, an instrument speaks of the Church of St. Roche founded, and about to be built in the territory of Glasgow. *Dioc. Reg.* i. p. 349.

[5] *Charts. and Docs. Glas.* ii. p. 479.

[6] "Sir" then used for "Reverend."

[7] *Lib. Coll. Nost. Dom.* Maitland Club, p. 18 introduction.

Four hundred years ago, when the dreaded plague was in the city, we might have seen the inhabitants in their alarm and excitement converging from many quarters towards the Stable Green Port, and hastening along the road that led to St. Rollox Chapel. Around the chapel the wretched victims were encamped in wooden huts or lodges, too often neglected by their own kith and kin, and all of them without the comforts that the fever-stricken poor enjoy in our city hospitals to-day. And twice every week, so long as the plague lasted, the clergy with their banners marched through the principal streets of the city, chanting dirges, and offering prayers that God in His mercy might be pleased to stay the awful pestilence.

Plagues or pests were then all too frequent, and wrought frightful havoc. Nor need we be astonished when we recall the conditions that prevailed. The streets were narrow, dirty, and ill-paved, and the houses insanitary and badly drained. Butchers slaughtered their cattle in the open street, and every householder had his pig-sty and rubbish heap, with its offensive odours, at his own door. When the plague actually broke out, the regulations were stringent enough. The plague-stricken had to be removed at once; no communication was permitted with suspected persons or places; and servants might not take a washing from suspects. A curious entry tells "that no pipers, fiddlers, minstrels or other vagabonds shall remain in this town from this time forth during the time of the pest." [1]

The little suburban chapel of St. Rollox, erected about 1506, was resorted to by victims of the plague till the Reformation in 1560. Though the chapel fell into ruins and gradually disappeared, M'Ure,[2] writing in 1736, says there was no vestige remaining of the building, but the yard that was round it was still conspicuous, and persons of distinction

[1] *Glas. Records*, i. p. 29. [2] *Hist. Glas.* edit. 1830, p. 62.

in the city, who died of the pestilence about 1645-6, were buried there. In this connection it has been surmised that the stone built against the wall on the east side of the N.B.R. line, a little to the north of Queen Street tunnel, and bearing the date 1647 and the inscription, "His Brother William," was a tombstone that somehow got transferred from its original site in St. Roche's churchyard.[1]

In the year 1665 a tack for nineteen years was granted by the provost and council of "that Kirkyaird called St. Rolloks Kirkyaird and haill grase thereof. . . . The Kirk-yaird was not to be digged or tilled, but was to lie in grass, and the town council were to be entitled to use it as burial ground. Rent 30 shillings Scots yearly." [2]

But in the eighteenth century, when the town's commons were sold to individual proprietors, the churchyard of St. Rollox had lost its sanctity, and the prohibition against digging or tilling was conveniently forgotten. Messrs. Tennant & Company acquired an extensive area about the site of the old chapel, and there erected the famous chemical works of St. Rollox.

Strange, that on the very spot on which stood the ancient chapel of the Saint, whose intercessions were invoked on behalf of the plague-stricken, there should be erected, three centuries later, works, the chief business of which was to manufacture chemical products such as ward off pestilence and destroy its power.[3] In this way the labours of St. Rollox are being carried on after another fashion, and the chimney, no less than the chapel, is a monument to the Saint!

[1] Such is the opinion of Mr. T. Lugton. The late Dr. J. O. Mitchell thought the stone was a memorial of the Killing Times; but the date suggests the former conjecture.

[2] *Charts. and Docts. Glas.* ii. p. 342.

[3] Mr. A. Fleming, St. Rollox Chemical Works, informs me that chloride of lime proved very beneficial in the St. Rollox district during the cholera epidemic last century.

XIII.

THE BISHOP'S PALACE, OR GLASGOW CASTLE.

In endeavouring to picture the Townhead of Glasgow in the distant past, let us sweep from our vision the Cathedral, the Royal Infirmary and all the houses in the neighbourhood, and imagine instead this corner in a state of nature ; trees here and there on the grassy slopes, and two streamlets, one to the north, the other to the south of the Infirmary, making their way through little fern-clad dells to the ravine of the Molendinar.[1] Here, upon a gentle eminence now levelled, a site at once beautiful and imposing, stood the original Celtic fort or circular earthwork called Cathures, and here St. Kentigern preached the gospel to our pagan ancestors.

Five centuries passed, and on the same spot David I., then Earl of Cumbria or Strathclyde, erected, in all likelihood, a stockade or palisaded enclosure, the typical stronghold of those early days.[2]

It was David, too, who appointed John Achaius, his former tutor, first Bishop of Glasgow ; and who, about the year 1124, caused to be drawn up an inquest or list of the possessions belonging to the Church of Glasgow from the days of St. Kentigern onwards.[3]

If Glasgow Castle was erected within the Celtic fort by

[1] For description of site in 1792, cf. Buchanan's *Glasgow Royal Infirmary*, p. 4.

[2] Blind Harry's *Wallace*, vi. 803, viii. 1035, xi. 680, for description of early castles.

[3] *R.E.G.* Nos. 1, 3, 5.

GLASGOW CASTLE AND CATHEDRAL IN 1790.

David I., it would remain one of the royal castles; and we have mention of a castle in the year 1258. Immediately after the death of Bishop Bondington, "at a meeting of the chapter, the canons agreed that if any of them be elected bishop, he should remove his palace which stood without Glasgow Castle, and give its site with other ground adjoining as houses for the canons." [1] Ten years later the canons came to the same resolution, showing that nothing as yet had been done.[2]

Thus there was a palace as well as a castle in 1268, and in this palace the earlier bishops no doubt resided. About this time the term "palace" disappears from the records and "castle" is used instead,[3] so that it may reasonably be inferred that the Bishops of Glasgow acquired the castle as their palace. The proximity of the new cathedral, recently erected by Bondington, would necessitate a more imposing residence for its bishop.

From 1272 the Bishop of Glasgow was Robert Wishart, who, in the earlier years of his rule, threw his energies into building. He erected the two western towers of the cathedral, perhaps completed the nave left unfinished by Bondington, fortified the rural manors of Ancrum and Castel Tarris or Carstairs,[4] and in all probability strengthened his principal residence, the castle of Glasgow, by building a square stone keep.

These were the days of Sir William Wallace, and the excavations made in 1853 for removing the mound in front

[1] "Pallacium suum quod est extra castrum Glasguense." "Pallacium" perhaps here signifies a large house rather than a palisaded enclosure. Cf. *Du Cange*.

[2] *R.E.G.* Nos. 208, 213.

[3] *Ibid.* No. 237.

[4] *Catal. Docts. Scot.* ii. p. 433; *Lib. de Calchou*, pp. 267-334. Possibly Carstairs is the "certain castle of stone and lime" built between 1287-1290. Cf. *Dioc. Reg.* pref. p. 33.

of the Royal Infirmary enable us to reconstruct the castle at that time. Traces were found of an ancient and somewhat circular trench or ditch with which the castle had been surrounded. There were also "the remains of a draw-bridge, consisting of twelve beams of oak pegged together, of the length of 15 feet." The drawbridge faced towards Cathedral Street.[1]

The first recorded extension of the castle occurred considerably more than a century after Wallace, during the rule of Bishop John Cameron, who "built the great tower at his episcopal palace, where his arms are still to be seen."[2] This great tower was not, as is often supposed, the great tower at the south-west corner of the wall, which was a later addition, but was built alongside the original keep. It was quadrangular in form, was five storeys in height, and had embattled walls and crow-stepped gables.

While the extensions made by Bishop Cameron provided additional accommodation for the inmates of the castle, Archbishop James Beaton, the first of that name, "enclosed his episcopal palace with a noble stone wall of ashler work towards the east, south and west, with a bastion on the one angle, and a stately tower, with an embattled wall on the other, fronting to the High Street, where are fixed in different places his coat of arms."[3] This embattled wall was said to be fifteen feet high, and somewhat pentagonal in outline. On the west it stretched from opposite the Provand's Lord-

[1] *Trans. Glas. Arch. Soc.* year 1886, New Series, i. pt. ii. p. 248. During the excavations made in September 1912 for the new Royal Infirmary, an old well was discovered immediately under the flight of steps leading to the main entrance of the former building. It was filled with water to within six or seven feet of the top, and the sides of the well were lined with oak, now much decayed. This seems to have been the ancient Castle Well.

[2] M'Ure, *Hist. Glas.* edit. 1830, pp. 19 and 25 [written in 1736].

[3] Chap. ix. *supra*. Beaton's arms sculptured are preserved in St. Joseph's R.C. Chapel, Glasgow.

ship, along the centre of Castle Street, to a point in line with the front of the Infirmary; while in area it occupied a somewhat larger space than what used to be known as Infirmary Square, the upper half of the present Cathedral Square.[1] In all probability Archbishop Beaton erected this enclosing wall immediately after Flodden.

The next prelate to make structural improvement on the old castle was Archbishop Dunbar, who ruled the See in the middle of the sixteenth century.[2] He is credited with erecting the massive gate-house at the south-east corner of the wall near the entrance to the cathedral. This gate-house was of square form, with embattled front, and was flanked by two embattled towers. Over the entrance was a finely sculptured stone[3] with three sets of armorial bearings, one above the other. On the uppermost portion were the royal arms of Scotland and the monogram of King James V. Immediately beneath were the arms assumed by the Dunbars of Mochrum, to which family the archbishop belonged. In the lower part were the arms of James Houston of that ilk, dean of the chapter, rector of the university, and a man of wealth, who not only assisted in the erection of the gate-house, but built and endowed the Collegiate Church of the Virgin, afterwards the Tron Kirk.[4]

The building of Glasgow Castle had continued for centuries, and was little more than completed when the Reformation brought the rule of its lords to an end. As we think of it at its best, there rises before our imagination a strong compact castle on a commanding site, with a lofty square keep and

[1] *Scotichronicon*, Gordon's edit. vi. p. 502 for additional particulars.

[2] M'Ure, p. 27.

[3] This stone is now built into the mansion of the Dunbars at Mochrum.

[4] *Trans. Glas. Arch. Soc.* New Series, i. pt. ii. p. 238.

a great embattled tower, the main gateway to the south-east being protected by massive battlemented towers, while a strong wall, strengthened by towers and bastions at the angles, surrounded the castle grounds. Inside the grounds were a flower garden and orchard, while outside there belonged to the castle a large extent of cultivated ground stretching as far north as Garngad Hill.

The inquisition of David, drawn up about 1120, shows that the possessions of the See were of considerable extent and grouped geographically. Combined with subsequent acquisitions, the lands in and around Glasgow alone embraced a total area of 45,000 imperial acres.[1] Much of this land remained in its primitive condition, as we are reminded by the early place-names in the vicinity of the city—Woodlands, Woodside and Blythswood.

The Bishop's Forest, which first appears by that name in a charter of 1450, was not, as is generally believed, around Glasgow, but in Kirkcudbright, and probably belonged to the bishopric from the twelfth century, when the controversy with Bruce of Annandale as to lands and churches was settled.[2]

Besides the lands in Glasgow and neighbourhood there were others chiefly situated in Lanarkshire and the counties of Peebles and Roxburgh. Portions of the church lands were assigned to canons of the cathedral for their support, and, along with their other endowments, were held as prebends.

Within their wide territory the bishops had several manor-houses. One was Partick Castle, which for several centuries stood near the meeting of the Kelvin and the Clyde. Six miles east of Glasgow stood the house or fortalice of Lochwood on the shore of the Bishop's Loch, a loch affording rich

[1] Renwick, *Glasgow Memorials*, p. 101.

[2] *R.E.G.* No. 72; *Reg. Great Seal*, No. 1025.

supplies of fish and fowl for the castle table.[1] At Castel Tarris, or Carstairs, there was a manor-house, fortified by Bishop Wishart. Perhaps the favourite rural residence was Ancrum, near Jedburgh.

Like other territorial lords, the bishops had mills on their estates. These brought in considerable revenue, as the tenants were bound to grind their grain at the mills and pay thirlage dues. There were mills on the Kelvin, and three we know of on the Molendinar, viz. the Provan Mill, which belonged to the Prebendary of Provand; the mill on the south side of Garngad Hill, latterly known as the Town Mill, granted by Bishop Cameron to the burgesses of Glasgow; and the Subdean Mill, near the foot of the Drygate, which formed part of the prebend of the subdean.[2]

Glasgow Castle thus enjoyed a princely revenue, and its episcopal lord could keep up a splendid court and dispense lavish hospitality to sovereigns, ecclesiastical dignitaries and other notabilities who came as visitors to the city.

Among these, one of the earliest would be Bagimont,[3] Canon of Asti, near Turin, an Italian who, in 1275, received a mandate from the Pope to collect the tax of a tenth of their livings from the clergy, for a crusade to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the Turks.

[1] The late Captain Colt, Gartsherrie House, when a student at Glasgow, remembered seeing in the Old College Library a picture showing a Bishop of Glasgow sailing in a gondola through the lochs to Lochwood. Mr. Archibald Jackson, Craigendmuir, remembers the connection between Hogganfield Loch and Bishop's Loch, *via* the south of Frankfield House and Cardowan House. Indeed, the lochs in the district are connected with each other by artificial waterways, or narrow canals, locally known as "goats" or "gotes." If the picture, which has disappeared, be a representation of fact, the Bishops of Glasgow in ancient times had pleasant ways of travelling between the city and their manor by the lake.

[2] Renwick, *Glasgow Memorials*, ch. x.; also *Trans. Glas. Arch. Soc.* N.S. iv. p. 23, Partick Mills, by Jas. White, F.S.A.Scot.

[3] Bagimont, variously styled Benemund or Baiamund.

After Bagimont, another notable visitor was Edward I. of England, who frequently came to Glasgow, and who, although he usually slept in a tent wherever his army was encamped, would nevertheless call at the castle, for we learn that in the year 1301 he worshipped both at the cathedral and in the church of the Blackfriars.[1] It is a picturesque vision, the tall and powerful English king, surrounded by his escort of knights, dismounting at the castle gate, his shield sparkling with its insignia of three golden leopards.

In 1306 Robert the Bruce was welcomed by Bishop Wishart at the castle gate, when, along with his cavalcade, he arrived from the assassination of his rival, the Comyn, at Dumfries. Despite the deed of blood, the banqueting hall of the castle may have rung that winter night with the sounds of festivity led by the minstrel's harp.

Although no direct allusion has been found to King James I. visiting Glasgow, it is well known that Bishop Cameron was not only a great favourite with the king, but a vigorous supporter of the reforms he carried out in Church and State. Besides, as king, James travelled through every part of his kingdom in the course of administering justice; the likelihood is that he would visit the castle of Glasgow.

Another illustrious personage who may also have visited Glasgow Castle, although it is not expressly recorded, was Aeneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II.[2] This keen-witted observer of men, with his insinuating manners and lack of tender scruples, "the Gil Blas of the Middle Ages," has left an account of his travels in Scotland. He informs us that the towns have no walls, and the houses for the most part are constructed without lime; the roofs are of turf, while the doors of the poorer dwellings are made of hides of oxen.

[1] Bain's *Edwards in Scotland*, p. 35.

[2] P. Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland*, p. 24; also cf. ch. iv. *supra*, p. 68.

His visit took place in winter, and he observes that the people used for fuel a sulphureous stone dug from the earth, evidently coal, which was then unknown in Italy. The poor, who were almost in a state of nakedness and begged at the church doors, departed with joy on their faces on receiving such stones as alms.[1]

In 1455 James II. made Glasgow a rallying centre for his army, and being one of the canons of the cathedral and a friend of its bishop, he would naturally be a guest at the castle.

King James IV. frequently visited Glasgow, and no doubt played cards of an evening in the castle with Archbishop Blackadder, who was a favourite of the king. As recent investigation has shown, the poet William Dunbar was introduced by Blackadder to James IV.[2]

Then in 1515, and again in 1521, Regent Albany was entertained within the castle walls, and in 1516 the poet-bishop, Gavin Douglas. In the year 1543 the papal legate, Marco Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia, near Venice, who had brought help from France to the Scots, was received in Glasgow Castle with great ceremony by Archbishop Dunbar, Cardinal Beaton of St. Andrews, and other Scottish bishops. We can imagine the lavish hospitality dispensed in the castle that day in honour of the patriarch, for the Scots liked to give foreigners an exalted opinion of the resources of their country, and seem to have been at special pains to impress the Patriarch of Aquileia. When he went to Edinburgh from

[1] Among the wonders Aeneas Sylvius heard of during his visit to Scotland was a certain tree that was said to grow on the banks of rivers, and that produced fruit in the form of geese. As the fruit ripened it fell from the tree of its own accord. That which fell on the ground rotted, but that which fell into the water immediately assumed life and swam about and flew into the air with feathers and wings. Being anxious to see this famous tree for himself, Aeneas invariably found that it grew further north than where he happened to be.

[2] Cf. ch. viii. *supra*, p. 137.

Glasgow,[1] the Earl of Moray, having invited him to a banquet in his own house, ordered a cupboard containing glasses of most expensive crystal to be set on the table. He had instructed his servant, as if by accident, to pull the cloth on which the cupboard stood, so that the beautiful crystal glasses fell on the floor and were broken to pieces. While the patriarch was expressing his regret at what had happened, the earl immediately ordered the cupboard to be filled with still more precious crystal. So astonished was the patriarch at this display of magnificence, that he declared he had never seen finer crystal, not even in Venice in which he was born. When he returned, he gave glowing accounts of Scotland and her people to the King of France and other princes, as well as to the Cardinal and Senate of Venice.

In the year 1545 the Privy Council met within Glasgow Castle. Among those present were Mary of Guise, Cardinal Beaton and Regent Arran.[2] We may be certain also that Mary, Queen of Scots,[3] during her several visits to Glasgow from 1563-7, would reside at the castle, for it was still held for Archbishop Beaton her trusted adviser. In any case, she visited Darnley when he was lying sick here in 1567.[4]

From a picture of the ruins[5] of the castle, before its demolition in 1792, we gain some conception of the internal arrangements. The ruins seem to be those of the original keep—a massive square stone building—on the lowest floor of which was a vaulted kitchen. Above this was a lofty and spacious apartment, evidently the banqueting hall. On the

[1] Leslie, *Hist.* S.T.S. ii. p. 276; *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 1907-8, p. 244; *Letters and Papers* (Foreign and Domestic), *Henry VIII.* vol. xviii. p. 2.

[2] *Reg. Priv. Coun.* i. p. 3; cf. chap. x. *supra.*

[3] D. Hay Fleming's *Mary, Queen of Scots, passim.*

[4] W. Gemmell, *The Oldest House in Glasgow*, p. 68.

[5] Buchanan's *Glasgow Royal Infirmary*, edit. 1832, p. 9.

floor above was an open-roofed apartment that may have been partitioned off into several chambers. A description of the furnishings and domestic comforts enjoyed by the inmates of the castle has been preserved in the records of a lawsuit brought by Archbishop Beaton I. against Mure of Caldwell, who attacked the castle in 1516.[1] The banqueting hall was lit by a brass chandelier, and the walls were lined with arras tapestry. In the bedchambers were feather beds with hangings of verdour, *i.e.* tapestry upon which rural scenery was depicted. In the wardrobes were robes of costly silk, red, yellow or brown, lined with various kinds of fur; while in the cabinets were rings and jewels and precious stones. The wine-cellars were well stocked, and in the larder were stores of salted meat and pork and fish, chiefly salmon and cod.

Even more interesting are the two pictures that have come down to us of the home life of the bishops; William Elphinstone, the future Bishop of Aberdeen, a little boy of seven, frequently spending an evening with Bishop Cameron,[2] and the delightful description of a banquet at the castle written by George Buchanan. "Having sat as a guest with Gavin," says Buchanan,[3] "I envy not the gods their nectar and ambrosia—a feast where was no vain display, but a table chastely and generously furnished, seasoned with talk now serious, now bright with Attic wit. . . . As Apollo led the choir of the Muses, so our host shone above all by his eloquent speech. The talk was of the glory of Him who wields the thunder, how He took on Him the burden of our condition, how the Divine Nature clothed with man's frail flesh, received no stain of sin, how God descended in the form of a servant, yet His mortal covering stripped Him not of

[1] Hamilton of Wishaw's *Desc. of Lanark*, p. 194.

[2] Chap. vii. p. 118, *supra*.

[3] P. Hume Brown's *George Buchanan*, and chap. x., p. 203, *supra*.

His own Divine Nature." "And then," continues the poet, "after listening to such heavenly discourse, each guest is in doubt whether the School has found its way to the Palace, or the Palace to the School."

This ancient stronghold, like other mediaeval castles, was not exempt from attack at various periods in its history. Reference has already been made to its capture by Wallace towards the close of the thirteenth century. In the year 1516 Mure of Caldwell, acting in the interest of the Hamilton party, besieged the castle and despoiled it of its belongings. In 1517, when the castle was used as a royal military depot, it was besieged by the Earl of Lennox, and relieved by Regent Albany.[1] In 1544 it suffered its most serious attack, for it was besieged by Regent Arran both before and after the Battle of the Butts.[2] Never before or since did the Townhead reverberate with such booming of cannon. Indignant at the Earl of Lennox for having placed a garrison in the castle, Arran bombarded it with shot, ten to twelve pounds in weight, then considered tremendous projectiles.

The capture of the castle by the Regent Mary's French troops on the eve of the Reformation—March 1560—with its stirring incidents, need not again be described.[3] The later history of the castle takes us beyond the limits of the mediaeval period. On 19th April, 1568, the Earl of Argyle with 3000 men laid siege to it for eight days, and in 1570 it was attacked by the queen's party; but, on both occasions, the attempt was in vain.[4] In March 1573, when in the keeping of Sir John Stewart, it is referred to as "one of the principal keys of the country."[5]

After the Reformation it never regained its former splendour. Used for more than a century as the palace of the

[1] Chap. ix. *supra*. [2] Chap. x. *supra*.

[3] Chap. xi. *supra*. [4] Pitscottie's *Chron.* ii. p. 205 and p. 229.

[5] *Reg. Privy Coun.* ii. p. 348.

Protestant bishops, and thereafter occupied as a prison, it gradually tottered on its way to ruin, and became a quarry for building houses in the neighbourhood.

When the present Royal Infirmary was erected in 1792, the ruins were finally cleared away. The space now stands vacant, which was for some six centuries the centre of the social, intellectual and spiritual life of Old Glasgow. There for long was a court of almost regal magnificence. There kings and queens, and cardinals and other dignitaries of Church and State, found hospitable lodging. There illustrious poets and men of letters met for social intercourse, and statesmen deliberated for the highest welfare of their country—*Sic transit gloria mundi.*

Dr. Johnson has remarked that "whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses, whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings." It is well sometimes to linger among the shadowy grandeurs of the past.

And although not one stone of the old castle has been left standing upon another, it is a source of gratification to know that an obelisk is about to be erected by a public-spirited citizen,[1] to mark the spot round which cluster so many memories of those who in their generation helped to lay the foundation of the prosperity of Glasgow.

[1] Francis Henderson, Esq., of Dunlop House, formerly Lord Dean of Guild, Glasgow.

XIV.

GLASGOW MARKET CROSS.

THE first cross at Glasgow is said to have been erected by St. Kentigern in the sixth century. Jocelyn informs us that St. Kentigern was in the habit of erecting crosses wherever he settled for any length of time. The cross at Glasgow, he tells us, was of stone and of extraordinary size. It was also reputed to work miracles. "Many maniacs and those vexed with unclean spirits were wont to be tied to it on the night of the Lord's Day, and on the morrow they were found restored."[1] It stood in the cemetery consecrated in the fourth century by St. Ninian, near where St. Kentigern afterwards erected his cell or chapel. This spot was commemorated in the year 1500 by Archbishop Blackadder, who erected over it the beautiful Fergus Aisle or Blackadder Crypt close by the south transept of the cathedral. Of the fate of this first cross, nothing is known. Jocelyn says that it was standing in his day. If so, it may not have been removed till the new cathedral was erected in the thirteenth century by Bishop Bondington.

This cross of St. Kentigern was not a market cross but an ecclesiastical cross, though it sometimes happened that crosses originally ecclesiastical came to be used as market crosses. In Glasgow there were several ecclesiastical crosses. Two are mentioned in the year 1539 as landmarks, and are described as "the twa crocis," or "Brether Crosses," near

[1] *Historians of Scotland*, v. ch. xli.

Stable Green.[1] There is also mention of a "Gyrth Cross," which stood at the gushet of Castle Street and Glebe Street.[2] This gyrth cross marked on the north side, as did the gyrth burn on the south side, the precincts of sanctuary around the cathedral.

Another stone cross stood in 1497 on the south side of the Rottenrow, close by a building belonging to the chaplainry of the Holy Cross, and near where the Lock Hospital now stands. This cross was the property of the town, but in 1575, after the Reformation, James Rankine, who held the adjacent property, removed it without the consent of the authorities, and was fined by the court.[3]

References to this cross in the old records, and traditions concerning it, probably led local historians to identify it with the original Market Cross, which they speak of as standing where Rottenrow, High Street and Drygate intersect, a spot known in ancient times as the Wyndheid or Quadrivium. This view is neither confirmed by documentary evidence nor in itself probable.[4]

The upper portion of the city, in the neighbourhood of the cathedral, was the place of residence of the ecclesiastics, nobility and gentry, while the lower portion, nearer the river, was from time immemorial the centre of its business and commerce. Here, where the markets were held, we should expect the Market Cross. Beyond reasonable doubt the original cross stood where the Trongate, Gallowgate, High Street and Saltmarket meet, on the spot which is still known and has been known for generations as Glasgow Cross. Here Sir William Brereton saw it in 1635.[5]

[1] *Charts. and Docts. Glas.* ii. p. 501.

[2] *Glas. Prot.* No. 1139.

[3] *Regality Club Series*, iii. pp. 36 and 38.

[4] Brown, *Hist. of Glasgow*, ii. p. 66.

[5] Brereton's *Travels*, 1634-5, pp. 114-5. A square stone now marks the supposed site.

The original cross was probably erected in the twelfth century, for, although we have no definite record, there is a law of King William the Lion, which directs that "All merchandize sal be presentit at the mercat and mercat croce of burghis." [1] As King William authorized the bishop to have a burgh at Glasgow, with market privileges, sometime between 1175 and 1178, it is probable that a Market Cross of the simplest type would then be erected.[2]

Thus the Market Cross appeared upon the scene as St. Kentigern's Cross disappeared. Here, then, for the next five centuries stood the ancient Market Cross of Glasgow, the centre of its civic life, its markets, its public proclamations and rejoicings, the chief resort and the favourite lounging place of its inhabitants.

As we stand at Glasgow Cross and look back across the centuries, a picturesque pageant rises before us. Sir William Wallace and his gallant band pass on their way up the High Street to rout the English at the Battle of the Bell o' the Brae.

A few years later, in 1301,[3] the veterans of Edward I. march past. In 1306 [4] Robert the Bruce, attended by the good Lord James Douglas and a cavalcade of knights, arrives soiled and travel-stained from Dumfries, and rides past to visit his friend Bishop Wishart at Glasgow Castle, where he receives the robes and the banner of Scotland for his coronation ceremony at Scone.

A century and a half later, in 1455,[5] crowds of soldiers surround the cross, for "James of the Fiery Face" has assembled his army of Westland men and Highlanders to crush the overgrown power of the Hamiltons and Douglases.

[1] *Ancient Laws and Customs of Burg. Scot.* i. p. 61.

[2] *Charts. and Docts.* pt. i. pref. p. dxxiv.

[3] Bain, *The Edwards in Scotland*, p. 35.

[4] Barbour's *Bruce*, i. 805 ; Palgrave, intro. *Docts. and Recs.* i. p. 180.

[5] *Auchinleck Chron.* 1455, p. 53.

In 1544, when civil war is raging between Regent Arran and the Earls of Lennox and Glencairn, the victorious troops of Arran, after the Battle of the Butts, pass by to despoil the city and eighteen gentlemen, whom "Lennox luvet weil," are "hangit at the Croce." [1]

On 13th May, 1568, the forces of Moray, the good regent, returning victorious from the Battle of Langside, are greeted with shouts of acclamation by the crowd round the cross as they march up the High Street to the cathedral "to give solemn thanks to Almighty God" for their victory.[2]

In 1639, great excitement prevails over the threatened invasion of Scotland by Charles I. to avenge the deposition of his bishops. Many a parting scene is enacted at the cross, when the Glasgow contingent under Captain Porterfield sets out to join the Blue Banner of the Covenanters, who are encamped at Duns Law.[3]

In 1645, when plague was raging in Glasgow, the cross must have witnessed the great Marquis of Montrose and his Highlanders entering the city after their victory at Kilsyth. In 1650 came another unwelcome visitor in the person of Oliver Cromwell, fresh from his triumph at Dunbar, at whose advent "most of the ministers and magistrates fled panic-stricken from the city" [4] excepting Zachary Boyd, "faithful among the faithless."

The earliest direct reference to Glasgow Cross occurs in a charter of the year 1418 conveying property described as "in the street which extends from the cathedral to the market cross." Another charter of 1433 describes a certain property as "lyand in the gat (street) at strikes frae the market cors till the Hie Kyrk of Glasgow." [5]

[1] Leslie, *Hist. of Scot.* S.T.S. ii. pp. 272-3.

[2] M'Ure, *Hist.* edit. 1830, p. 218.

[3] *Memorabilia*, p. 75.

[4] Rt. Baillie's *Letters*, iii. pp. 119-20.

[5] *Lib. Coll. N. Dom.* p. 239 and pp. 166-7.

These and many other references show that early in the fifteenth century the Market Cross was a well-known landmark in Glasgow, and confirm the supposition that it had existed for generations previously. Do we know anything of its style of architecture? An entry in the Town Records of the year 1659 throws light on the question. The council gave orders for the taking down of the guard-house that was built "about and upon the cross," and for the removal of the cross itself, as it had become defaced; further, that "that part of the street where the cross did stand of before, be calsayed in ane most comely and decent maner."[1] In keeping with this is an earlier entry of the year 1582 notifying that a tradesman was paid "30s. for ane dure (door) to the cross." Thus in the sixteenth century, at any rate, the cross had a substructure, here called a guard-house, with a door on the street level, which led by an inside stair to the platform, from the middle of which rose the shaft of the cross. If this description be correct, Glasgow Market Cross would resemble those of the other chief towns of Scotland, viz. Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth and St. Andrews.[2]

In pre-reformation times there was usually in the centre of Scottish towns, besides the Market Cross, the Tron and the Tolbooth. The Tolbooth was a useful building that served not only as a prison, but as a meeting place for the Town Council and the Courts of Justice. The Tron was the public weigh-house, with a great beam and weights and measures, to which home and foreign merchandise was brought to be weighed or measured.[3]

As the cross was erected in the centre of the town, its vicinity became a desirable site for markets. Hence wooden booths, crames or stalls were set up about it. "Merchants

[1] *Memorabilia*, pp. 148-9.

[2] Small's *Market Crosses of Scotland*, introduction.

[3] P. H. Brown's *Scotland in time of Queen Mary*, pp. 104-5.

at times did not scruple even to hang upon it woollen cloths and similar wares as on a convenient framework."

In the earlier centuries the market day in Glasgow was Thursday. In 1397 we read that it was Sunday. Afterwards it was changed to Monday, and in 1644 to Wednesday "for all time coming."[1]

Being the civic centre of the town, the cross was the scene of public proclamations and rejoicings. On Trinity Sunday, 1451, there was proclaimed at the cross the papal bull giving Glasgow the privilege of a university.[2] As Pope Nicholas V. granted on this occasion a great indulgence to last four months, there would be unusual rejoicing and festivity, with the ringing of church bells and the kindling of bonfires.[3]

At the cross in 1521, Regent Albany, when he arrived in Glasgow with his 3000 French soldiers and 100 cuirassiers on horseback, caused proclamation to be made that the nobility should attend him at Edinburgh to maintain the ancient alliance with France.[4]

On 4th May, 1559, the cross was the scene of a memorable proclamation, for Mary of Guise caused John Knox, who had just returned from the Continent "to be blown loud to the horn."[5]

After the Reformation the revulsion of public feeling would affect the sacrosanct character that adhered even to a Market Cross. An Act of Assembly of 1581 forbade pilgrimages to chapels, wells, crosses and "other monuments of idolatry," and in Glasgow young men played pranks on the old city cross. In 1590 David Duncan was charged before the bailies and council with climbing upon the cross and breaking it, while a companion of his, William Blair, a piper,

[1] *Charts. and Docts. Glas.* pt. ii. pp. 24, 401, 416.

[2] *Auchinleck Chron.* p. 45.

[3] C. Innes, *Sketches, etc.* pp. 67, 68.

[4] Buchanan's *Hist. Scot.* bk. xiv.

[5] Wodrow, *Miscellany*, i. p. 57.

was charged with climbing to the head of the cross and playing thereon upon a pipe.[1]

In August 1600 the cross was again the scene of great public rejoicing when James VI. visited Glasgow after his escape from the Gowrie conspiracy.[2] By order of the Privy Council and the magistrates, great preparations were made to give the king a fitting welcome. All middens, timber and stones were to be removed from the streets, so that the town should look its best.

When the king and his retinue reached Glasgow on 31st August, he stopped in front of the cross to receive the congratulations of the magistrates, Town Council and deacons.

Amongst the crowd round the cross that day would be the freemen or burgesses, either clad in armour with jacks, helmets, hagbuts and spears, or else arrayed in their civic best, for the citizens were strictly forbidden to appear in their ordinary blue bonnets, which were out of keeping with the dignity of a royal visit.

On the platform of the cross stood John Buchan, the Master of the Sang School, and his sangsters.[3] The latter, perhaps, in white surplices, to flatter the king's susceptibilities, with their clear, penetrating voices, sang a psalm of thanksgiving for the king's deliverance.

Then the Rev. Patrick Galloway, who accompanied the king, preached in one of the churches a sermon from the 30th Psalm, denouncing the Gowrie conspirators. At night, bonfires blazed at the cross and in other open spaces of the town.[4]

[1] *Memorabilia*, p. 46.

[2] *Charts. and Docts. Glas.* pt. i. clxxxviii.

[3] John Buchan, reader and precentor in the New Kirk, was somewhat given to innovations. The provost, too, had Episcopal leanings. Cf. *Regs. Pres. Glas.* Maitland Club Miscell. i. pt. i. p. 79.

[4] *Charts. and Docts.* pt. i. clxxxvii.; Calderwood, *Hist. Kirk of Scot.* vol. vi. p. 82.

When James VI. of Scotland became James I. of England, so great were the numbers of Scots who went to England to push their fortune, that the king found it necessary to have proclamation made at all the market crosses of Scotland forbidding any man to leave the country without a special licence from the Privy Council.[1]

In 1605 Glasgow Cross was again the centre of much excitement. Seeing that Glasgow had originated as a Bishop's Burgh, the bishops had exercised the right of appointing the magistrates, though latterly these had to be chosen from a leet of names presented by the Town Council.[2] But in 1605 the council stood up for municipal freedom, and demanded full liberty to elect its own magistrates without consulting the bishop. The change roused vested interests. The opposition was headed by Sir Matthew Stewart of Minto, who held the office of deputy bailie of the regality, and whose family for generations had practically held a monopoly of municipal affairs, and things assumed a threatening aspect. Minto and his faction, to the number of three or four score, "came to the Market Cross, armed with targets, swords and other weapons, climbed in over the cross (*i.e.* clambered on to the platform), and proclaimed their exemption" from the claims of the council. The magistrates and council were sitting at the time in the Tolbooth, and, had they intervened, there might have been serious bloodshed; but assuming a conciliatory attitude, they "bided their time," and, as the sequel shows, had a temporary triumph.[3]

Although Charles I. began to reign in 1625, little worthy of note took place till 1638. The Church had approached Charles for liberty to call an Assembly, only to be put off again and again. At last the king yielded, and appointed

[1] *Reg. Privy Coun.* vi. p. 602.

[2] *Charts. and Docts.* pt. i. pp. ccxxviii-ix.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. ccxxvii-ix, and pt. ii. pp. 269-70.

the Assembly to sit at Glasgow and nowhere else, "seeing that Glasgow in the past had shown itself the most loyal disposed city in the kingdom to the Crown." The proclamation of the meeting of Assembly was made at the cross with many expressions of joy on the part of the magistrates, ministers and university authorities.[1] Yet, within eight days after the Assembly met, the Lord High Commissioner, the Marquis of Hamilton, caused another and very different proclamation to be made at the same Market Cross, prohibiting all further meetings of the Assembly and requiring the members to depart furth of the city within twenty-four hours. The Assembly, nevertheless, continued its business until the edifice of Episcopacy, set up by James VI. and Charles I., was swept away.

Eleven years later, in 1649, Charles I. was executed, and England was under the dictatorship of Cromwell. Scotland stood by the ancient monarchy, and proclaimed Charles II. King of Great Britain, France and Ireland. When the news of the execution of Charles I. reached Glasgow, a meeting of the Town Council was summoned, which ordained that Charles II. as king be proclaimed "this day at eleven hours" with the greatest solemnity, and that the "whole council goe to the Crose be twaes in ane comelie maner and to stand thairon uncoverit." Then a certain Bailie Anderson read the proclamation to the messenger, who cried it out. The people present stood uncovered during the reading, and when it was finished the bells of the town rang out a merry peal.[2] Little did people imagine that these bells rang in not peace and goodwill, but strife and persecution, one of the darkest periods in Scotland's chequered history.

The neighbourhood of the cross witnessed the stern methods of public punishment used by our fathers, and too

[1] M'Ure, *Hist.* 1830, pp. 84-5.

[2] *Charts. and Docts.* pt. i. pref. p. dxviii.

plentifully employed by magistrates and ministers after the Reformation. A pair of jougs or iron collars was affixed by a chain, not to the cross, but to the wall of the Tolbooth. With these round his neck the culprit had to stand so many hours at a time, raised three or four steps above the pavement, and exposed to the gaze of passers-by. The jougs were reserved for blasphemers, cursers and vicious livers, whether men or women. Generally the culprit had a paper set on his forehead stating the crime for which he suffered.

An entry of the year 1612 describes the punishment assigned to a citizen who had defied the magistrates and threatened to fire the Tolbooth. He was to be confined "in ane unfreeman's ward, and on the morrow, being market day, to walk bareheedit to the Croce, and, after being put in the jougs for the space of four hours, he is thereafter on his knees humbly to ask God's mercy and the bailie's pardon for his high and proud contempt." [1] Near the jougs were the branks, an iron instrument inserted into the mouth of scolding, swearing, drunken women to keep their evil tongues silent. Another entry [2] decrees that "notorious fechtaris and nicht walkers, gif they be women, are to be put in the branks upon a Monday and a Friday from ten to twelve o'clock, and thereafter to ask God's mercy and the person's offended by them."

In 1679, soon after their victory at Drumclog, the Covenanters marched to Glasgow to attack Claverhouse, but the latter successfully defended himself and his troops by erecting barricades across the streets leading to the cross.[3]

In 1688 a huge bonfire of tar barrels and coal was kindled at the cross to celebrate the accession of William of Orange, and the restoration of civil and religious liberty.[4]

[1] *Memorabilia*, pp. 53-4. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 50-1.

[3] M'Ure, *Hist.* edit. 1830, p. 330.

[4] *Extr. Glas. Burgh. Recs.* (1663-90), p. 514.

At the cross, in 1706-7, if we may believe Defoe, for the records are silent, the citizens of Glasgow, led by the minister of the Tron Kirk, burnt the Articles of Union, and resolved to march to Edinburgh, with the object of dissolving a Parliament, which, in their opinion, was about to sell their country.[1]

The last reference in the City Records is in 1659 when, as already mentioned, the council ordered the cross to be removed, and the part of the street where it stood to be calsayed. But in a volume of extracts from the *Glasgow Courant* newspaper of the year 1745-7 there is the following paragraph:[2]

"Yesterday, in taking down the tall stone in the middle of the cross the pulleys unluckily gave way, by which accident it fell among the ruins and was broken to pieces. It was a very fine stone, and valued both on account of its antiquity and for its being one entire piece of about 20 feet high and 18 inches in diameter. It was an octagon figure and finely spangled with gilded thistles." Either the council's order of 1659 had never been carried out, or, as is less probable, the cross had afterwards been re-erected. Defoe saw the cross standing before 1726.[3]

Brown, in his *History of Glasgow*, published in 1797, remarks: "The ancient stone of the Cross of Glasgow we left behind us in St. Andrew's Square, in rest beside the Church. The stone is upwards of 12 feet in length." But, when excavations were made in 1869 at the spot where, according to tradition, the cross was buried, it could not be found.[4] Another writer vouches that in 1829 he saw a stone, said to be the old cross of Glasgow, lying broken up

[1] *Extr. Glas. Burgh. Recs.* (1691-1717), pp. 399-402; Defoe quoted in M'Ure, p. 318.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. W. Young, R.S.W., for this information.

[3] D. Defoe, *Tour through Great Britain*, iv. p. 141.

[4] Vol. ii. p. 81. Cf. article, *Glasgow Herald*, Dec. 11, 1869.

at the back of St. John's Parish Church, and that one of the pieces was doing duty as stepping-stone to an ash-pit.[1]

But whatever became of the broken fragments that once formed the ancient cross of the city and the heart of Old Glasgow, the name and place remain to call up venerable memories; and as a link between the past and the present, a handsome new cross, resembling the old, is to be erected near the original site.[2]

[1] *Glasghu Facies*, p. 306.

[2] The new cross is to be the gift of William George Black, Esq., LL.D., and Mrs. Black, both of whom belong to families long and honourably connected with the public life of the city.

CONCLUSION.

THE history recorded in the preceding chapters makes evident the progressive spirit of Glasgow.

In regard to independence from the jurisdiction of the Church in England, Glasgow in the twelfth century was the first of the Scottish Sees to resist the claims for supremacy of the Archbishop of York.[1] In the fifteenth century it was Bishop Cameron of Glasgow who encouraged James I. to apply his drastic remedies in the State ecclesiastical.

In the sixteenth century the Westland Lords, whose headquarters were at Glasgow, took the lead in the formation of "the Congregation," the outcome of which was the Reformation and the establishment of Protestantism in Scotland.

In the kindred cause of civil liberty Bondington in the thirteenth, Wishart in the fourteenth, and Beaton in the

[1] Dr. Jos. Robertson's *Stat. Eccl. Scot.* i. pp. xxiv-xxxv.

sixteenth centuries jealously guarded and heroically maintained the rights and liberties of Scotland; while the Glasgow Assembly of 1638 carried on the tradition of zeal for independence and acted as a bridge for the political connection of the new spirit with the old.

"The dear Church" has been the mainspring of Glasgow's progress in the past, the inspiring force behind her forward movements, so that the post-Reformation motto inscribed upon the armorial insignia of the city is in harmony with the teaching of her history—"Let Glasgow flourish by the preaching of the Word."

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