

MUSIC IN SCOTLAND DURING THREE CENTURIES. (1450 - 1750)

-----being contributions towards the history of
music in Scotland.

by
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Part 1.



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PREFACE

"What is your unity?", asked a French professor, when a student presented a dissertation upon an historical subject and, if by a unity the French professor meant a binding thread by which the scattered pages of some aspect of history might be held together, his question had a useful and penetrating quality. His question seemed to demand continuity in the narrative of the matter in hand, the rejections, maybe, of irrelevant excursions and the achievement of some formal plan. If one seeks for such a unity in the story of music in Scotland, it will be found that a stern continuity does not appear. There were periods, when the cultivation of music was prevalent all over the land and amongst all classes: but there were also stretches of time when musical creation seemed to have dried up and music had an insignificant place in the artistic and social life of the country. Of the antiquity of Scottish songs and dances, there can be no doubt for, as will be seen, many of our melodies, familiar to-day, date before the Union of the Crowns and may go back to the 15th century and the few pieces of music, composed for the Scottish Church during the half century before the Reformation establishment was firmly set, are bright spots in our history. But they are few in number: and the story of music in Scotland is of a sporadic character both in performance and in creation.

Sir Richard Terry (1) once noted this lack of continuity at some length. He pointed out that, when the Celtic culture was strong in Scotland, music held her own but with the decay of that culture,

(1) see Introduction to Farmer's Mediaeval Music
in Scotland

music ceased to be of any importance in the land. Terry was led to say that Scotland was in the habit of wiping the slate and there is sufficient truth in the statement to accept the general trend of the criticism. Yet, the slate was never wiped clean and the cleansing operation was not performed with sufficient thoroughness to leave no marks in the corners. There always remained a few faithful spirits and attempts to stem the decay of the musical art were frequent and even in the blackest days of the 17th century when neither Church nor State encouraged the musical art, there was music in the homes and that century provides us with the first authentic records of Scottish melodies. The enthusiasm of music lovers refused to be damped and they played on lute and viol and sang their own native songs as well as the airs of the English lutenists. The slate was indeed wiped by the Reformers but not clean. Terry had a more serious charge to make against our country "So far as I have observed" he said, "it would seem as though Scotland never took her music seriously enough to evolve anything beyond her own folk songs", and went on to say later "music in Scotland, does not, to my mind, seem to have stood on the same solid basis as other forms of culture". Here Terry is plainly thinking of the creative side of the musical art and, it must be sadly confessed that the facts are on Terry's side. It may not be quite true to say that Scotland did not take her music seriously but, at any rate she had little encouragement to be serious about its cultivation. After the middle of the 16th century, the Church in England could find a Byrd to compose a "Great Service" and many other composers to write anthems and canticles that our Cathedral

choirs sing to-day; the Lutheran Church found room for Cantatas, Passions and the great organ music of Bach and the Roman Church had the mass to attract the musical skill of composers of many countries; but the Scottish Church had nothing to give to and nothing to demand from the musician. The English capital, like other European capitals, had plenty of ceremonial and occasional pageantry to require the assistance of musicians; but Edinburgh was shorn of its glory in 1603 and the state had little to offer the musician by way of patronage or encouragement. So composition wilted, and music for a century and more was a domestic art and little else. For these and other reasons, music had not the solid base on which to stand and build and it must be confessed that for some centuries music was not held in the same esteem that had been the good fortune of poetry, painting and architecture. Indeed, in some quarters, it is still regarded as an idle pleasure, its practice as rather effeminate and its history worth little consideration. Our land has no such entrancing story as music has had in England or on the Continent. As a rule, a history of music is mainly occupied with the compositions of great national musicians, their characteristics, works and influence on the progress of the art; but Scotland has no great name in its musical annals. We have had no Beethoven, no Chopin or Elgar; not even a Grieg or an Arne. No masterpieces of instrumental or ^{vocal} social music have been responsible for the direction in which music has progressed; no great compositions have marked the close of an era or the opening of a new one. Too often we have been content with the music of other lands and the best of our music is in small forms. One result has been that, so far, no history of music in Scotland has been written; a complete conspectus of the

story of music in Scotland has not yet been treated by our competent scholars for reasons given previously. This is not surprising for writers, who prefer a large canvas, will not find one upon which to work in the musical history of our country. Nevertheless, there have been some admirable studies of sections of our musical culture, not all of them scholarly and some of them lacking cohesion and form. Hugo Arnot in his history of Edinburgh in 1779 found space for a "Dissertation on Scottish Music" by William Tytler of Woodhouselee; Joseph Ritson published two volumes of Scottish songs in 1794, with an historical introduction of great value and interest; William Daunay in his Introductory Enquiry illustrative of the History of the Music of Scotland, which makes a lengthy preface to his "Ancient Scottish Melodies" covers a wide ground of musical material; Stenhouse in his "Notes on the Songs in Johnson's Museum" (in spite of many errors), Chappell in his "Popular Music of the Olden Time" and Glen in his "Early Scottish Melodies" have all made valuable contributions to the subject. In more recent times, Dr. Henry G. Farmer has written a monograph on "Music in Mediaeval Scotland" which is rich in well co-ordinated material and incontestable conclusions of musical activities during the period that ended with the Reformation settlement and Dr. Nelly Diem published, abroad, the results of her examination of all the musical manuscripts that were available thirty years ago, and summarised their contents with thoroughness and thoughtful care. Other writers have contributed to various sections of musical cultivation but a comprehensive survey of the whole field has yet to be written.

This survey suffers from the same defect as many others through its incompleteness. The music of the Highlands and the Hebridean melodies have been left unexplored and, what is very regrettable, precautions, incident to the war, have caused the best musical MSS. to be unavailable in the places of safety in which they are placed. All that can be expected is that the period from 1450 to 1750 will be explored with considerable fullness and the 17th century in particular be brought into contribution for the early melodies in our national store. What follows is not truly a history but provides contributions towards an exhaustive history. The 17th century musical MSS have been almost all examined and in some cases copied or translated into modern notation. The contents in many cases have been traced to their origins wherever possible and examples of widely varying versions of different tunes have been included. It is indeed a hard conclusion but the actual history of music in Scotland is so small in creative efforts and in distinguished musical performance that it hardly provides more than a chapter in the history of music in the British Isles during the three centuries under review.

In preparing this series of short studies I have been indebted to many competent authorities on the subject. To the Librarians of The Universities of Edinburgh, St. Andrews and Aberdeen and to the Librarians of the National & Signet Libraries in Edinburgh, I tender my grateful thanks for much help. To the Librarians of the Cities of Dundee and Edinburgh I also offer my thanks for permission to draw upon their stocks for various purposes. For much help in the lore of our folk song, I am deeply indebted to Miss Anne Gilchrist,

VI.

Walnutbank, Lancaster whose wide knowledge of Scottish melodies and psalmody has always been at my disposal; and to Dr Henry G. Farmer I owe much for many kindnesses and enlightening information on historical matters of an obscure nature. I owe much for encouragement, wise advice and guidance to the late Dr W. Gillies Whittaker, who read the thesis shortly before his death, examined the specimens of early music, and helped me to solve difficulties. My warm thanks are also due to Mrs Marjorie Anderson, B.A., who read the manuscript, corrected slips, and helped me by many suggestions.

Through the kindness of Mrs Sanford Terry, I have been permitted to consult a bulky note book of the late Professor Sanford Terry. The note book contains the material which he had collected for his "Music School of Old Machar" and his article in the American Musical Quarterly on "Forbes's Songs and Airs". The former I edited for the Third Spalding Club Miscellany 2, and I corrected the proofs of the latter before he dispatched it to the United States. With the assistance of the note book, I also read the proofs of his articles for the Oxford Musical Companion, after his death, and contributed others to that volume which Professor Terry had planned but had not written. A list of books in the note book, which Professor Terry had made as a basis for his study on Song Schools, gave me much information about the Sang Schule at St Nicola's Church, Aberdeen.

VII.

The amount of original Scottish music during the period under review is not great. It has been possible to examine practically all of the music associated with Scotland during the years immediately preceding the Reformation, the early Scottish Psalters, containing either the tunes only or harmonized collections, all ^{available} the manuscript collections of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the first printed collections of music produced in Scotland, the collections of Scottish music printed in Scotland or England before 1750, and original compositions of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Scottish composers. Many of these volumes are not easily accessible; in some cases only one copy is known to exist, but almost every manuscript collection and printed volume contains useful material for a study of the condition of music in Scotland between the years 1450 and 1750.

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MUSIC IN SCOTLAND BEFORE THE REFORMATION (1450-1560)

The century before the reformed religion was firmly established in Scotland was one of great importance in the history of music in Western Europe. Music had for long been in the hands of the theorists but the fifteenth century saw music throw off its shackles and seize upon a freedom hitherto unknown. This freedom was only won gradually. As has been pointed out, "the music of the early Renaissance, which centred in Northern Italy and Florence in particular, coincided with the first flights of Italian poetry of the generation after Dante---- the work of Boccaccio and Petrarch--and occupied a corresponding position in musical history." (1) In the following century, the artistic advance of composers was steady and many sided. This new-found freedom is revealed chiefly in the music of the Church, for it must be recognised that practically all organised music of the time was in the hands of Churchmen. The Church required music of much variety and high quality for the divine services and to secure this music it encouraged both creative and executive musicians in the practice of their profession. There were Song Schools in which young choristers received their training, endowed chaplaincies for the maintenance of singing priests and vicars choral, organs and organists, and provision was made for promising musicians to study music at home and abroad. Enlightened ecclesiastics engaged capable musicians to whom they confided the control of ecclesiastical music in

(1) Einstein's Short History of Music. p.32

cathedral and other churches. This attitude towards the art of music, as advantageous to musicians as to music itself, cannot be overestimated. The position that music held in the early and mediaeval church was of first rate importance, not only as an artistic enhancement of a noble scheme of worship, but for the place it took in the history of music in Western Europe. This does not mean that every ecclesiastic in mediaeval times was an enthusiast for the part played by music in the ritual of the church; in fact, we know that many priests and high dignitaries were indifferent to the art of music. Even in our day, we find Canon E.H. Fellowes ⁽¹⁾ pointing out that in certain cathedral chapters, members of these bodies have been of opinion that musical services might well be reduced in number as they take up time which might be devoted to the study otherwise of more congenial and perhaps more attractive matters. But, as a rule, great churchmen in all ages have been warm and loyal supporters of a dignified and artistic music in the service of the church.

The fundamental factor in mediaeval church music was plain-song. It lay at the very core of the services and was the basis on which music and the liturgy were unified. Plainsong was not merely an ornament of the ritual; it was an integral part of the service and being the voice of the Church, it was in every true sense sung worship. Care was taken and full provision made that all should have their share in the music. The precentor had his solo part, which was answered by the choir and by the congregation in the responds and in the alternate singing of two

(1) Fellowes's English Cathedral Music. p.14.

bodies of choristers provided that scheme of antiphonal singing which held a prominent part in the mediaeval service and persists to our own day. Plainsong was unmeasured song. It had none of the clean-cut rhythm to which we are accustomed: nor did it have either accompaniment or harmony. It was entirely unisonal and vocal. One of its chief characteristics was the use of the old modes (e.g. The first authentic mode corresponded to D.E.F.G.A-d on the white notes of the piano). It followed the inflexions of the human voice, rising in pitch as it approached the reciting note and dropping at the end of the recitation. Thus the chant was organised in three parts 1) intonation 2) recitation 3) cadence. Probably its earliest function was to do no more than carry the words. The music of the chant is of a peculiarly passionless and serene beauty and its suitability for liturgical purposes is equalled by its sheer loveliness. Its freedom from the shackles of the rigid rhythm led Mr. Cecil Gray ⁽¹⁾ to call it "a disembodied soul that soars ecstatically upwards to Heaven like the Holy Dove in the Scriptures". Huysmans in his "En route" wrote "Le véritable créateur de la musique plane, l'auteur inconnu qui a jeté dans le cerveau de l'homme la semence du plain-chant, c'est le Saint-Esprit." Little wonder that sincere Christians through centuries wished to preserve the chant in all its purity though the artist and the Churchman could not see eye to eye in this matter and conflict was inevitable.

Sometime in the 11th century, music became polyphonic,
 (1) History of Music by Cecil Gray p. 32

that is, it was written for many voices. In this music, all voices were of equal importance, yet all were co-related and grew round a central idea. The interest was horizontal rather than perpendicular, crises alternated from voice to voice and there was no regular recurrence of accents. With the use of polyphony, the plain chant entered in to a new era of its existence and by the middle of the 15th century, when the mass, the motet and the hymn were under musical treatment, we find the plain chant enveloped in a rich polyphony of added parts and accompaniments. It was complicated art, and it is found at its best in the 15th century in the work of those composers known as the Netherlanders. The Englishman, John Dunstable (1370-1453) had treated the plain chant as a canto fermo with a free elaboration and had gained a European reputation for his music. Dufay (1400-1474), Ockeghem (d. 1495), and Josquin des Près (1450-1521) all contributed in various ways to the changes that were coming over composition and each left music a step further forward than [when] he found it. Something deeper and more expressive crept into the music of the Church when music had become systemized ^{at} as artistic material and when the wealth of accompanying parts and counterpoints added a richer colour to the musical texture. Men thought of music in terms of the voice, for most of the music was vocal and even instrumental music was written in a vocal style: a true instrument^{al} style was not achieved until a later date.

The first half of the 16th century saw further progress in the musical art. The Netherlanders had migrated to Italy,

but that country, under Palestrina and others, soon took the first place in musical culture and held it for many years with Willaert (1480-1562) and Archedelt (1514-1575) amongst the early madrigal composers, and Palestrina (1529(c)-1594) as the supreme artist. The Tudor composers Tallis (1505-85), Tye (1500-72), Taverner (1495-1545) and later William Byrd (1538-1623) were actively composing their Masses and other works that add lustre to English music of the 16th century. When England overthrew the Papal supremacy, it effected a compromise in music as well as in more important directions and a church music was achieved that satisfied the authorities and the musically-minded laity.

How far Scotland kept pace with the development of music during the Middle Ages and especially in the century preceding the Reformation settlement, it is difficult to say. We know, however, from various sources that music on a considerable scale accompanied the ceremonies of the church on all occasions of a major character.

(1)

From the *Ordinatio Chori* associated with the Cathedral Church of St. Machar, Aberdeen, we learn a good deal about the music which was sung. This *Ordinatio* is not dated but is believed to belong to the Middle years of the 15th century and in it we learn much of the ritual of the choir and its ceremonies.

The *Ordinatio* was plainly compiled in terms of sung services. (2) "Et est notandum dum puer cantat neuman (e.g. the jubilus) versiculi chorus respondeat privatim." (3) "In

(1) Reg. Epis. Aber. II p.77 et seq. (2) Ibid. p.81.

(3) Ibid. p.84.

duplicibus festis omnes quatuor rectores (**chori**) simul totum invitatorium cantent antequam a choro repetatur et totum psalmum Venite simul cantent". The ordinatio is a mine of information about the conduct of the Church service in the early part of the ~~fourteenth~~ ^{fifteenth} century and it is evident that in no Scottish Cathedral was more attention paid to the music of the mass than in St Machar's in Old Aberdeen.

When Elphinstone⁽¹⁾ became Bishop of Aberdeen, the musical services, amongst so many other worthy things, were carefully nurtured. It is significant that in the Constitutiones which that Prelate gave to his Cathedral chapter in 1506, provision was made for twenty vicars-choral and eleven singing boys, but he failed to maintain so many youthful choristers, for in the same year, we find their number ~~reduced~~ ⁽²⁾ to six. Elphinstone's interest in the music of his church appears in his wisdom in leaving the control of the musical part of the services to one Malison,⁽³⁾ a musician of whom Hector Boece wrote in the highest terms.

The Church in Scotland before the Reformation was not a national church in the sense that we use the word national to-day. It was part of the great system which operated under the headship of Rome and the Roman pontiff. It was not an isolated body, but part of the body and was in continual touch with the Continent, particularly with Italy and with England, and the comings and goings of

- (1) Reg. Epis. Aber. (Sp. C1) II p. 83 et seq.
- (2) ibid pp. 101 & 114
- (3) ibid pp. 96 & 226

ecclesiastics of all ranks kept churchmen in Scotland fully alive to the changes that occurred from time to time in the liturgical offices and in the musical services. This contact with other countries acted, no doubt, as a stimulus to native musicians and may have been influential in introducing church music from abroad to the notice of Scottish musicians. This much is certain---the small quantity of church music of the early sixteenth century which carries the name of Scottish composers was a worthy contribution to the music of that age, and shows that these Scottish musicians were excellent craftsmen, skilful composers and were fully cognizant of the best, current in their days.

The history of music during the Middle Ages is not entirely the history of Church music. One does not forget the Reading Rota (though it had alternative sacred words and, as a canon, had affinities with the music of the Church) and the music of the troubadours and trouvères, and the minnesänger and the meistersinger's contributions to musical history. The importance of secular music in mediaeval times has recently been emphasized by Alfred Einstein, Cecil Gray, Edward Dent and others but more church music has survived than secular music. The chief composers of the Middle Ages were however churchmen and, while the influence of secular music is evident in the later developments of music, the forms, devices and elements of all music of the Middle Ages appear in the music that was meant to enhance the church service. The clergy were jealous for their music and conservative in their jealousy, and with good reasons,

as we shall see later in Scottish musical history. The Church provided gifted men with posts which they could hold with profit to themselves and to others; chaplaincies maintained them; the Church gave them an outlet for their creative urges both in composition and performance and the choirs would sing the music which the composers had written as a further stimulus to effort.

We find in Scotland that throughout the Middle Ages and up to the middle of the sixteenth century, the one indispensable qualification demanded from all responsible for the music of the Church was a knowledge of plainsong. Plainsong was the basis on which all Church music was founded and skill in plainsong was demanded almost invariably, from ~~Precentors~~ and Masters of Sang Schules. In early charters, it is true, plainsong was not specifically mentioned: indeed, no musical qualifications were actually laid down for Precentors (or Cantors), but it is not too much to assume that such a knowledge as that of plainsong would be implicit and of weight in the appointment of musical chaplains. As late as 1506, when more than skill in the plainchant alone was required from those who were to control or take a share in church music, Bishop Elphinstone⁽¹⁾ in reorganizing the administration of the Cathedral of St. Machar's, Aberdeen, ordained that there should be choral vicars in priest's orders who were to be "in cantu Gregoriano ad minus periti et docti." As time went on, and music developed, other demands were made on singing priests and masters of the

(1) Reg. Epis. Aber. Sp. Cl. 11 101.~92

Sang Schules. Plainsong was entirely melodic and unisonal but since men found that two melodies could be sung simultaneously with pleasing results, the art of descant was added to the qualifications for musical posts in the Church. Descant meant a double song and in its simplest form was the art of providing a counter melody against a plain chant. This counter melody might be sung extempore or when the word descant in later days came to mean "composing of musick in parts" (as Thomas Campion called it in the alternative title to his "Art of Descant" added to Playford's "Introduction to the Skill of Musick" in the middle of the seventeenth Century), the music might actually be written. In any case, what would be required from Church musicians would be a knowledge of the rules, which governed the art of descant as we find them later in Thomas Morley's "Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musick" of 1597. Descant was a complicated art, and its rules were many and to us confusing, but, with its invention, a new feature appeared in the organised music of the Middle Ages. In 1462, James Kennedy, Archbishop of St. Andrews, granted a confirmation of the foundation of Trinity Collegiate Church and Hospital of Edinburgh and laid down the stipulation "Nullus prebendarius instituaturs nisi sufficiens fuerit legendo et concinendo plano cantu et discantu." This is an early instance of the demand in Scotland for skill in descant on the part of not only the members of the choir proper, but of all priests attached to the church. When James IV determined to

(1) Colson's Trinity Church and Hospital. I. p.9. and Trinity Church and Hospital, Edinburgh. (Burgh Recs. Soc.) I p.25.

(2) Cart. Ecc. Colleg. Ch. Restalrig. p.278. (Scott. Ecc. Soc. Trans. II. p. 280.)

carry out his father, James III's, intentions concerning the Collegiate Church at Restalrig, he ordained that all the chaplains should be musically equipped and the first prebendary should be specially skilled in plain chant and descant. In 1519, Gavin Dunbar, Elphinstone's successor in the see of Aberdeen, showed his filial piety by endowing two chaplaincies in Elgin Cathedral in memory of his parents and insisted that the chaplains should be "in cantu Gregoriano experti et discantu mediocriter instructi et docti." At Crail in 1522, when the Church there was raised to the dignity of a Collegiate Church, one of the prebendaries had to be skilled in organ playing, in plain song, precantus and descantus and in 1545, in the charter granted by Lord Fleming to found the last of the Collegiate Churches erected in Scotland at Biggar, the first prebendary was to instruct the boys "in plano cantu, precato et discantu."

From these instances and from a knowledge of the music sung in Scottish Churches in those days, it is practically certain that descant in Scottish charters meant part singing and the extemporizing of airs over a given plainsong but, as we shall see, the ability to read music was frequently demanded from musical officials in the choir and a knowledge of descant in the sense of partsinging especially on the theoretical side might reasonably be expected from those whose duty it was to teach the singing boys. Of course, written descant could be learned by heart. Some charters

(1) Reg. Epis. Morav. Bann. Cl. 418

(2) Reg. Coll. Ch. Crail (Grampian Cl.) 49

(3) Misc. Charters etc. at Panmure Ho. Sp. Cl. Misc. Vol.V 296

go further in their demands than mere skill in plainsong
 and descant. In 1491, it was ordained in connection with
 the Collegiate Church of St. Nicolas, Aberdeen, that no
 person would be received into the College of the Church
 unless he was a singer of plainsong and could sing anthems,
 responsaries and versicles, epistles, gospels, masses and
 legends. (Anthems probably meant antiphons)

As in the case of descant, pricksong has more than
 one meaning. Most purely musical books (e.g. Grove's
 Dictionary, Oxford Musical Companion, Pratt's Encyclopedia
 etc.) interpret pricksong as written music as opposed to
 music that was sung by heart or extemporized. Another
 meaning given by writers (see New Oxford Dictionary) makes
 it equivalent to descant. In an indenture between the Town
 Council of St. Andrews and the choir and choristers of the
 Parish choir in 1527 both parties agreed that no priest
 should be received into the choir unless he could sing
 plainsang, prickit sang and descant. It would be hard to
 believe that, in an indenture such as this, prickit sang
 (pricksong) and descant would mean the same thing, and, in
 all probability, prickit sang here means music written in
 the notation of the time. We have seen that the church
 services in Scotland were upon a very considerable scale,
 with hymns and anthems (so called), sequences, tracts and
 motets and many another mediaeval musical composition of

- (1) Cart. St. Nic. Aber. ll 228
- (2) Scott. Arts and Letters 1 (3) 34
- (3) see Reg. Epis. Aber. Sp. Cl. ll 78 et seq.

a sacred character and the ability to read music would be a first requisite from a singing priest who wished a post in a choir of any enterprise. (Nevertheless, if Gavin Douglas⁽¹⁾ meant to group his technical terms when he wrote

"In modulatioun hard I play and sing
Faburdoun, pricksang, descant countering"

he may have thought of "pricksang" as an associated device with faubourdon and descant).

As music developed during the Middle Ages and became more and more complicated, abuses crept in, that gave grave offence to many earnest churchmen. A secular music of no small importance was springing up in the later Mediaeval days. It was more metrical, was often accompanied on an instrument, and was not tied to the ecclesiastical modes and often moved towards, or worked in, our major and minor modes instead. Composers began to go to popular music for the themes upon which to write their church music, for in the Middle Ages, men did not put the same value upon the invention of a musical theme that we do in these days, but preferred to take a plain chant or popular air as the foundation of their musical efforts. One popular song "L'homme armé", is said to have been used in a hundred masses. Masses were even named after the secular songs round which they were written e.g. Rosa Bella, Fortuna desperata, Douce memoire, etc. To the scandal of good churchmen, congregations sang the secular words at divine service, and the intrusion of measured music, with the opportunities it gave to musicians to exercise their

(1) Palace of Honour (Part 1.)

ingenuity rather than their sense of fitness of music for worship, distressed those devoted to the simpler and severer music of the plain chant.

The hold that the plain chant had upon certain sections of the Scottish clergy appears in the protests made by ecclesiastics against its adornments and embellishments. There had even been good men who were suspicious of all music in the church services and others, who deplored all novelty and were critical not only of the music performed, but of the performance itself. From very early times some Churchmen looked on music in the Church with misgivings if not suspicion. (1) St. Augustine was not the only Churchman devoted to music who feared that over indulgence in the joys of music might interfere with the progress of his aspirations towards a higher life. (2) St. Jerome, no less a lover of music, wrote "We are not like tragedians to gargle the throat with sweet modulations so that theatrical tunes and songs can be heard on chance but we are to sing with reverence". (3) Thomas Aquinas, once a choir boy, thought that it was a waste of money to support flocks of boys whose time was spent in learning mere fiddle-gabble. He thought that the kind of music brought into the churches hindered people from understanding a word, (4) and that singers had no leisure to mind what they sang. Many others at all times and in all places have held similar opinions and in the Middle Ages voices were raised up against abuses. (5) In the year 1322, Pope John XXIII issued a decree of

- (1) Confessions X Cap 33 (Pusey's text 1909)
- (2) Epis. ad Rusticum (3) Inst. 21 Qu. 91.a.24
- (4) Commentary on 1 Corinth. XIV 19
- (5) See Oxford History of Music 1905 II 90

a fairly drastic character. He said that the fundamental sources of the melodies in Gradual and Antiphoner were being lost sight of; the melodies were depraved with descants; secular songs were intruded into music for the Church; a knowledge of the old modes was being neglected; voices were incessantly running to and fro, intoxicating the ear, not soothing it, and altogether devotion was little thought of. This probably put a check on the cultivation of Church music by composers primarily concerned with the artistic problem, but not for long. The decree may have sent composers' minds towards the creation of secular music. At any rate, the increased complexity of Church music two centuries later led to the decrees of the Council of Trent (1545-63) where such music as that associated with the Sequences (except four) was forbidden.

We find an echo of this attitude towards elaborate music amongst Scottish ecclesiastics and especially a demand for a more carefully sung service and the proscription of a highly elaborate music. Bishop Elphinstone, of Aberdeen, held a lofty view of the use of music in the Church service and in his various pronouncements he showed a desire for reverent and meaningful singing by the choir. We learn much about his musical aims in Hector Boece's "Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen:"⁽¹⁾ "Prisco atque patrum more cantu ubilibet celebrare jubet. Ad sacra rite exequenda in basilica Aberdonensi creat designatorem Joannem Malisonum musica disciplina eruditum, moribus probatum penes quem (quos scribi et

(1) Boece's Bishops of Aberdeen. Sp. Cl. 79

cōcinnari fecerat) libri forent rituales. Huic viro debent Aberdonenses, musicam praesertim edocti, quam parenti filii caritatem: quicquid illic musices, quicquid exactae in Dei ecclesia boreali jubilationis, hujus viro justissime debetur operae: rarus enim conspicitur Aberdoniae cantandi artem excellenter doctus, qui eo non fuerit usus praeceptore".

The first sentence shows Elphinstone's predilections "He ordered the mass (probably) to be celebrated everywhere, in the early manner of our fathers." Here is implied a desire for the Gregorian chant in a simpler form than that which the Bishop was accustomed to hear. He plainly knew a good musician when he met one for Boece's commendation of Malison was unstinted and it was only a safe man to whom the Bishop would hand over the service books which he had caused to be written and put together. The phrase "quicquid exactae in Dei ecclesia boreali jubilationis" reveals Malison's artistic aims if it be translated "Whatever exactness of singing" (not antiphonal chanting, as Moir translated the word "jubilationis"). We know Elphinstone meant to have a strong choir of men and boys for all of whom he meant to provide liberally, and that the music in St. Machar's was on the fullest scale.

(2)
Even more than Elphinstone was Robert Richardinus a highly critical ecclesiastic. Richardinus was a canon of Cambuskenneth who had resided with the Augustinians in Paris and would have known there something of the state of Church music in the early sixteenth century. He compiled his

(1) See Hector Boece's Bishops of Aberdeen (Sp. Cl.) p.79

(2) Robert Richardinus (S.H.S.) 74 et seq.

(1)

Commentary on the rule of St. Augustine in 1530 and in it we find an account of the defects in the monastic system and of the efforts made by earnest reformers ere it was too late.

(2)

He had very pronounced views on the state of music in the Church both as to its artistic nature and to its performance. Before all things, Richardinus wished for an entire understanding of what was sung so that music was not to be used for its own sake or for the pleasure it gave but to elevate the soul of the singers "Non enim cantantes, sed, intelligentes psaltare debemus". "Cantus sive canticum est exultatio mentis de aeternis habita prorumpens in vocem". These were some of his dicta and, in order that all Church songs might be of this elevated character, he urged purity in the music itself, "Optimus autem est jubilus ille" he said and pointed out that the jubilus was sung when the singer could no longer be silent but on account of an overwhelming exultation could not find words to express his emotions. This was, of course, exactly the origin of the jubilus or "vocalise", that came after the Alleluia, and where the singer uttered a wordless melody, which in time became the sequence, when words were added. He pointed out that to show off in your singing so as to win the praise of others was to sell your voice and he referred to St. Augustine's famous saying "Cum mihi accidat ut me amplius cantus, quam res quae canitur moveat, inaniter, graviter me pecasse confiteor". On no account should the higher clergy act as soloists: they have the duties of instruction and preaching. Did not St. Ambrose introduce

(1) Robert Richardinus (S.H.S.) 74 et seq. & marginal notes.

(2) Wiclif expresses very similar views in "Feigned and Contemplative Life" 1.125-180

the chant into his Cathedral at Milan for the sake of his people? The practice of singing and chanting was brought in not for spiritual minds but for carnal and, since words did not move the people, they were entertained with smooth and sweet modulations. Church music in his time did not kindle the minds of the congregation to devotion, but turned them away. Such music was unscriptural and not sanctioned by the Church, and so he urged that nothing should be sung unless it was according to Church ordinances and statutes or the decrees of their forefathers. Yet, some insisted on introducing new masses composed after their own private fancies so that much confusion had arisen with quarrels and disturbances. Again he said "Quid enim conducit voce convenire si mente discrepes?" Richardinus urged that at no time during his visit to France did he encounter this particular kind of music. At Notre Dame de Paris, no music but the Gregorian was used: so elsewhere, he quotes Petrarch's statement that Athanasius forbade the use of singing in the Church so that all frivolity, vanity and mere pleasure in singing might be removed. "Good God!" he goes on, "How much good time in England and Scotland is wasted emptily in singing a single mass, so that there is no place for study of sacred or any other literature." You may place the objection that if nothing is sung but the Gregorian chant, there will be no difference between festal and other days: but there is an answer to this: On festal days, there will be the high clergy, the finest ornaments, with organs, at the celebration. That chant is most praiseworthy where one syllable is made

(1)

intelligible with one note as in the case of St. Columba and Alexander Paterson of the Royal Chapel of Stirling. Only ignorant men plead that the non-Gregorian music is good.

Richardinus was plainly a conservative who, as a strict Augustinian, stuck to Augustine's teaching. It is interesting to find that, while the purer Gregorian chant was being preserved in Paris, it was being superseded in Scotland by a more modern music. The Dunkeld Music Book was an example of this wherein the use of canon and the neglect of the canto fermo provided the book with a music which Richardinus would have banned. His diatribe - for it is indeed that - is aimed at the highly ornamented music which failed to augment the significance of the verbal text, distorted the words and merely provided a sensuous pleasure. We can quite understand that one in close sympathy with the Gregorian chant in all its simplicity and serenity would rebel against a musical service wherein the solemnity of the liturgical text was swamped in an enveloping music that tickled the ears of the groundlings and distracted the mind from the more serious aspects of the celebration of the Mass.

Richardinus was not the only ecclesiastic in the early sixteenth century who wished a reformation as much in the music itself, as in the manner in which it was rendered, for in the same year as that of his Commentaries (1530), Sir William Myrton, Vicar of Lathrick, founder of the Collegiate Church of Crail, wrote to the Archbishop of St. Andrews petitioning the Primate that certain ordinances might be

(1) A letter from Cranmer to Henry VIII is to the same effect
(2) Reg. Coll. Ch. Crail (Grampian Club) p.71.

observed by priests, choristers and the boys of the Collegiate Church. This petition by the founder of the Crail Collegiate Church shows that he had very clear ideas of what a well sung service should be and the inference from the petition is that the general conditions of the musical renderings of the services were not satisfactory and the petitioner had clear ideas of proposals on how the shortcomings might be remedied.

In a communication from Symon, ⁽¹⁾ Abbot of the Cistercian Monastery at Charleroi, in 1531 to the Abbot of Deer, very similar criticism of the singing in Deer were made. Two things emerge from these instances of suggested improvements in the musical service; the musical rendering of the Mass was not all that could be desired even at a time when music was much cultivated in Court, Castle and Burgh and that there was a spirit abroad to find ways, by wise ⁽²⁾ suggestion, to improve and raise the standard of the renderings.

(1) Antiquities of Aberdeen & Banff (Sp.Cl.) IV p.5

(2) It would be very interesting to compare these instructions given by Scottish critics with those of William Byrd in his Psalms, Sonnets and Song in 1588 and John Wesley's "directions to singers in the 18th century.

MEDIAEVAL SANG SCHULES.

We learn more about the cultivation of music in the century before the Reformation from the records dealing with the Sang Schüles than from any other musical sources. Practically every ecclesiastical institution had its Sang Schule - monastery, cathedral, parish and collegiate church - and these schools became the chief centres of musical training and activity. As is well known, music was an important factor in the service of the Church from the earliest days of Christianity. The music at first was simple and within the range of all, but a time came when this ecclesiastical music became systematized and so difficult that parts of the service demanded the aid of skilled musicians for an adequate performance, and herein lay the origin of the Song Schools. Tradition has it that schools for the training of church singers were in existence as early as the fourth century. There are firmer grounds for the belief that in the middle of the fifth century, St. Hilary established the Schola Cantorum in Rome with seven singers in its company. In the seventh century, according to John the Deacon, St. Gregory fostered the training of specially skilled youths in the music of the church, but this has been doubted. The question of the origin of the Schola Cantorum and of St. Gregory's share in the Antiphonale Missarum has been long discussed, but, whatever the facts may be, it cannot be doubted that the great Pope, who amongst other acts sent St. Augustine to England with liturgy and antiphoner,

(1) Winfred Douglas's Church Music in History and Practice, p. 51. (2) *ibid.* p.53

(3) Hope's Mediaeval Music, p.50.

was a powerful influence in the cultivation of music during his occupation of the Papacy and that it was not without good reason that the music of the Mediaeval Church was bound up with the chant that bears his honoured name. In the Antiphonale Missarum of the seventh century, music and liturgy were unified and of this Antiphonale, Arthur Schnabel (1) has written: "It raised music from a means to private pleasure, from a secondarily, servile, and merely ornamental rôle to sovereignty, since it proceeded from a recognised spiritual necessity. This necessity was both spiritual and ecclesiastical, and the Schola served the double purpose of providing a steady flow of singers for the service of the Church and of setting a model for other bodies of singers to copy." As missionaries went forth carrying the Gospel to distant lands, they took with them a knowledge of the music associated with the liturgical text, and singers had to be trained to render the music in a satisfactory manner. At a time when there were few books and musical notation was practically non-existent, the music of the Church must have been learned by heart. (2) Isidore, a contemporary of St. Gregory wrote - "Unless sounds are retained in the memory they perish because they cannot be written". It was only after Guido d'Arezzo's invention that "pricksong" became possible. When the great Cathedrals and later the collegiate churches were built, Grammar Schools and Sang Schules sprang up side by side. The service was rendered in the Latin tongue and, as (3) Leach says in his "Schools of Mediaeval England": "The

(1) Musical Reflections, (1934). (2) Origines, Book VII.

(3) Leach's Schools of Mediaeval England. p. 3.

missionaries came with the service book in one hand and the Latin grammar in the other". It soon became the function of the Grammar School to provide a training in Latin and literature and to prepare men to take positions in the Church and State. The function of the Sang Schule was more specific; its duty was to provide a sound training for those who were to be occupied with the musical part of the Church service. For long there was practically no difference in status between the two schools and, as we shall see, Town Councils could be very jealous for an adequate performance of the services of the parish church, and enlightened churchmen, fostered the cultivation of music in the Sang Schules by direct encouragement and substantial grants of money to provide for their establishment. Music at first was purely melodic, but by the close of the Middle Ages, it had become more and more complex, and when the polyphonic music of that time reached its zenith, the Sang Schules had a lofty duty to perform in providing a noble music as a worthy associate of the gorgeous ritual and great architecture of those times.

The relations between the Church in Scotland and the Church in England during the Middle Ages were close and intimate and there can be little doubt that the conditions obtaining in the Scottish Sang Schules did not differ materially from those which marked the administration of similar institutions in England. Many of the Scottish cathedrals had charters modelled on those taken from English cathedrals. Dunkeld, Fortrose, Brechin, Aberdeen and

(1) See Professor A. Hamilton Thompson's "Song Schools in the Middle Ages." (1942)

Glasgow had charters based upon Salisbury and adopted the Sarum Use in their services and it is not surprising to find the regulations for the choristers, in some Scottish cathedral charters, are word for word identical with those dealing with the choir school of Salisbury Cathedral. Both in Aberdeen and Salisbury, one boy had to help the priest at the office called Preciosa, another acted as cross bearer in the procession, while others carried the candle sticks or acted as censers. For many reasons, our knowledge of music in Scotland during the Middle Ages is scanty. So many music books were lost at the Reformation and so many monastic records have disappeared that we have not the material available for such a fascinating study of life in a choristers' School as Mrs. Dora Robertson has given us in her "Sarum Close", where the story of Salisbury Cathedral is told through the history of the choir school from its inception to the present day. So it is worth while to turn to England for information on the condition of music schools there, in the hope of being able to amplify our knowledge of music schools in our own country. Much interesting information about the foundation of an English Song School is found in the Liber Statutorum Ecclesie S. Pauli of 1263. This ordinance laid down that the Almoner should have daily with him, eight boys fit for the musical part of the service. The Almoner had either to instruct the boys himself or find some one else to do so. The boys were to be trained not only in music, but in manners.

- (1) Reg. Epis. Aber. Sp. Cl., II, 49.
- (2) Dora Robertson's Sarum Close p. 25.
- (3) See "Correspondence, Legal Proceedings, and Evidence respecting the Ancient School attached to St. Paul's Cathedral" by Maria Hackett.

The "Liber Statutorum" stated precisely what duties were expected from the principal officials in the cathedral chapter.

De officiis cantoris et potestate

"Cantoris officium est chorum in cantus elevatione et repressione et psalmodia regere; cantores per magistrum scole cantus in tabula ordinare; negligentes ad cantandum excitare; tumultuantes et garrulantes et inordinante discurrentes per chorum modeste arguere et sedare. In festis maioribus, si in choro fuerit, instructus ut cantor antiphonam super Benedictus et Magnificat et cantus processionales et sequentias inchoare, pueros introducendos in chorum et ad cantum intitulatos examinare."

De Magistro Scole Cantus

"Magistrum scole cantus in ecclesia Sancti Gregoria (salva Decano et Capitulo ipsius ecclesie collacione) preficere; et capas chori per substitutum thesaurii in chorum delatas per suum succentorem distribuere secundum statum et condicionem personarum. Omnis tamen potestas corrigendi deliquentes in choro ad Decanum et Capitulum pertineat, sicut ante ordinationem cantoris pertinere consuevit. Debet etiam in omni dupplici festo rectores chori de cantibus incipiendis instruere; et canonico ad altare celebranti Gloria in Excelsis intonare.

And later--"Magistrum scole cantus constituit cantor; ad eum pertinet eos qui canere nequeunt instruere; pueros diligenter docere; eis non solum magistrum cantus sed etiam bonorum morum esse; nullum malum exemplum ostendere; sed multo magis eosdem de vitiis eorum admonere et ad virtutem exhortare."

It is perfectly evident that in England, music was not the only subject taught in the Song Schools. This does not mean that there was any consistent system or that the Song Schools corresponded strictly to the modern elementary schools. By a statute of St. Paul's, of 1263, the eight boys fit for service in the choir, had to be instructed in (Latin) Grammar. (1) At Lincoln in 1264, the boys went first to the Grammar School and later to the Song School, but in 1357, a fit teacher was appointed to teach the boys singing and grammar. (2) At Salisbury, in 1314, fourteen boys were in residence and an endowment was set aside for the master whose task it was to teach grammar. (4) In 1394, the Prior of Durham appointed a master to the reading and music School (tam lectuales quam cantuales). The School which Chaucer's 'litel clergeon' attended (Priores's Tale) was a school of this type and not a Grammar School. From these few examples, it is plain that some knowledge of Latin and the ability to read were considered to be of value to those who were to sing the services. When circumstances warranted it, special accommodation was made for the Song School. (2) At Durham, the Song School stood under 'the south end of the nine alters' and was erected "to provide room for the six children who undertook the maintenance of God's service in the Abbay Church and who had their meat and drink among the children of the Almonry at the expense of the house."

- (1) Leach's Schools of mediaeval England p.216
 (1) Sanderson's Antiquities of Durham Cathedral. p.62.
 (4) Leach's Schools of Mediaeval England p.217
 (3) ibid. p166

We have seen that in England, the Song School was usually concerned with other teaching besides that of music,⁽¹⁾ and Leach said that, while the Grammar School corresponded to our secondary School, the Song School corresponded to our elementary School. Nevertheless, the Song School in England and the Sang Schule in Scotland were special schools of a professional nature, and their first purpose was to train boys for the service of the Church. In Scotland, the earlier records of the Sang Schules make no mention of any other subject in the curriculum except music. It was late in the 15th century, and especially in the charters of Collegiate Churches that we find provision made for grammar teaching in the Sang Schules. An entry in the Cathedral records of Elgin Cathedral of 1489 runs - "Etiam prefatus precentor tenetur scolas cantuum infra dicte ecclesie collegium ordinare et ~~unam~~ virum idoneum ad gubernandum et regendum easdem et ad eas venientes juvenes et alios docendum instruendum et in cantu et lectura deputare et construere."

In the case of Collegiate Churches, the teaching of subjects other than music was provided for explicitly. In the confirmation of the foundation of Trinity Collegiate Church and Hospital,⁽³⁾ Edinburgh, it was laid down "Nullus prebendarius instituaturs nisi sufficiens fuerit legendo et concinendo plano cantu et discantu" 'Legendo' most probably means 'reading' but the sentence led both Maitland and Hugo Arnot in their Histories of Edinburgh to make the curriculum include arithmetic, through ignorance of what discant was.

(1) Leach's Schools of Mediaeval England. p.7.

(2) General Convocation of Canons of Moray. 8/5/1489.

(3) Trinity Church & Hospital Edinburgh. Burgh Rec. Soc. Vol. I. p. 25.

The number of boys for whom provision was made varied very considerably. At Hereford, there were seven choristers; and at Lichfield, there were eight. At Ipswich, the records show eight boy choristers and at St. George's Windsor, six. An interesting regulation in connection with the choir at Magdalen College, Oxford, shows that Bishop Waynflete considered the choir as part of the corporate body. The good bishop agreed that in times of scarcity the number of choristers might be reduced to eight, but if the dearth continued, the number of fellows of the college should be reduced rather than the choir abandoned.

These numbers, for the most part, are taken from foundation charters and indicate the intentions of the founders, but they vary from time to time, the number of boys only occasionally being increased. This fluctuation in the size of choirs might be accounted for in several ways. The revenues of an ecclesiastical establishment would often be a deciding factor, and in face of a declining revenue, music would be one of the first to suffer. Again when the pest ravaged the country, the number of choristers would automatically fall as would also happen in time of famine. Further, there were always men to whom music meant nothing and even churchmen were not always exempt from that drawback. Such men would not always hesitate, if they were in power, to reduce the number of choristers, if, by so doing, an economy might be effected and the money spent in a manner more to

(1) Tanner's Notitia Monastica. p.171. (2) *ibid.* p.485.
 (3) *ibid.* p.33. (4) Five Statutes of Magdalen College, Oxford.

their liking.

One practice was carried out in England of which, so far, I have found no trace in Scotland. During the 15th and 16th centuries, boys were pressed into the choirs of certain churches. Thomas Tusser (1513-1580) the poet, was one who suffered from this tyrannical practice and he left an account of his experiences in the choir at Wallingford.

The number of boys attached to the Scottish Sang Schules varied very considerably. Of course, we only know the number laid down in foundation charters and we have no sure knowledge that these numbers were consistently adhered to. As in England, Church revenues might vary and dearth or the pest might well reduce the size of choirs, and other causes might enter to alter the number engaged in the rendering of Church music. Elphinstone fixed the number of boys in the choir of St. Machar's Aberdeen at eleven but within a year, the number was reduced to six. Brechin made provision for six boys, King's College, Aberdeen had six, also, St. Mary and St. Ann's, Glasgow had three, St. Giles on the occasion of its becoming a Collegiate Church in 1466 had four, Restalrig had four, Crail had four, and Corstorphine, Roslin, Seton, Yester, Cullen, Lochwinnoch and other Collegiate Churches had only two. It must be remembered that a Sang Schule did not necessarily mean a building devoted to the training of musicians. There were buildings known as Sang

(1) Reg. Epis. Aber. II 93.

(2) *ibid.* 101.

(3) Reg. Epis. Brechin I No.33 p.47.

(4-14) Quoted from Barrett's Footprints of the Ancient Church of Scotland 103-122.

Schules in the larger centres, but as a rule, a Sang Schule means a class devoted to the study of music and under a master. Dundee had a Sang Schule in "the West Kirk Style of the Argylesgait" and the Sang Schule attached to St. Nicolas Church, Aberdeen stood in the churchyard near the Church. "To have the Sang Schule" was usually the term employed and it implied that a chaplain, amongst other duties was to teach music to the boys, and no more.

As a rule, we find that the numbers of boys in the choir was out of proportion to the number of singing priests and, in those cases, where all the priests were expected to be skilled in music, the number of boys' voices appears to be inadequate to hold a strict balance of parts. In the Scone Antiphonary, we find one number - "O bone Jesu" - in nineteen parts though most of them are for men's voices and we cannot help asking what sort of a balance would be kept. It is probable, however, that musicians in those days had not the sense of balance that we have been trained to expect in modern choirs. We have only to read the conditions under which John Sebastian Bach produced his cantatas to learn how inadequate was the provision made for the performance of these great works, and the conditions two centuries before his time ~~must~~ have been even more hopeless. Probably, a composer had to be content with the fact that he could have his works performed at all and, even if he had high ideals of performance, knew that he had to make the best of his material.

(1) B.R. Dundee 14/10 1560.

(2) Melville's Commonplace Book (Walker) XXVII.

ABBEYS AND OTHER MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS.

The records of the monastic institutions that have come down to us are singularly wanting in any information on the conditions under which music was taught and sung, as well as of the nature of the music itself. Extant specimens of monastic correspondence are scarce as far as Scotland is concerned and the various Registers contain little to throw light upon the subject. G.G. Coulton wrote in his *Scottish Abbeys and Social Life* (p.180): "Of choir schools, I have met no instance in my reading for Scotland". Hay Fleming had noted however, that there was one Sang Schule attached to the Parish Church of St. Andrews in 1527, and another described as "in the Abbey", in 1545. In the Register of St. Andrews Kirk Sessions on 3rd May, 1560, we read "Alexander Smyth, doctour (i.e. assistant teacher) of the Sang Schule in the Abbay and his wyf are conforme to Mathew King and his wyf in all thingis." These entries make it plain that there was a Sang Schule in connection with the Abbey at St. Andrews and this surmise is supported by an entry made by James Melville in his diary concerning his studies at St. Andrews University in 1569/71. Melville pays special tribute to Alexander Smith who was probably the same person of that name to whom Edward Miller refers in the preface to the harmonized psalter of 1635, as one of the primest musicians of his time.

(1) Abstract of Writs of St. Andrews No. 105.

(2) *ibid.* No. 126.

(3) Reg. St. Andrews Kirk Sessions (S.H.S.) p. 40.

(4) Diary of James Melville. (Wodrow Society) p.29.

(1)

Ferrerius in his *Historia Abbatum de Kynlos* says nothing of a Sang Schule but points out that a cantor and a succentor held posts in the Abbey. In spite of the absence of any direct reference to choir schools in the records of Scottish abbeys, it would be hard to believe that the Scottish monastic institutions failed to provide musical training for boys whose duty it would be to take their share in the daily service.

CATHEDRALS

More is known about the conditions under which music was cultivated in cathedral churches than about its place in the social and religious life in the monastic houses. There is not a great deal about the Sang Schules, but the information about the training of the choristers and the conduct of the musical service is full of interest.

ABERDEEN

The Statutes of St. Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen were drawn up in 1256, about the same time as those of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and it is interesting to note the similarity, less of wording than of the regulations, found in the section "De Officio Cantoris" in both instances. In Aberdeen, the
(2)
duties of the Cantor were laid down thus:

"Officium autem cantoris est in cantuum elevatione et depressione regere. Ad eum pertinet puerorum in choro instructio et disciplina et eorundem in choro admissio et

- (1) Ferrerius *Historia Abbatum de Kynlos* (Bann. Cl.) p.37 - 38.
(2) see Supra p.24 and Reg. Epis. Aber. (Sp. Cl.) II. p.44.

ordinacio. Preterea in majoribus duplicibus festis tenetur personaliter interesse regimini chori ad missam cum ceteris rectoribus chori: praeterea in omni duplici festo vel alio quando chorus regitur de cantibus injungendis et incipiendis per se rectores chori tenetur instruere: item omnes cantus ab episcopo incipiendos ipsi episcopo in persona propria tenetur injungere".

Amongst other statutes of St. Machar's Cathedral of 1256/7 the following entry appears: ⁽¹⁾ "Volumus etiam quod in majoribus festis duplicibus et aliis diebus sint quatuor pueri chorum frequentantes juxta discretionem cantoris qui bene sciant cantare providendo quod duo ceroferarii et alii duo thuribularii intersint matutinis et magnae missae qui recipient stipendia de communia et ad continue veniendum compellantur per magistrum scholarum in Aberdon". A similar ordinance for the provision of boys carrying wax candles and bearing incense will be found in connection with Salisbury Cathedral. ⁽²⁾ Under the "Ordinatio chori" ⁽³⁾ of the Aberdeen statutes, full instructions are given about the rendering of the Mass, Alleluia, Kyrie, Paternoster, Sanctus, Gloria and Te Deum as well as of canticles in other services: these are taken in turn and instructions given as to the correct methods

(1) Reg. Epis. Aber. Sp. Cl. II. 49.

(2) Dora Robertson's Sarum Close. p. 25.

(3) Reg. Epis. Aber. II. p. 77 et seq.

of singing the responses.

There can be no doubt that Malison was a musician of considerable ability and had the confidence not of only his employers but of the city of Aberdeen. He had been a vicar-choral at St Machar's in 1506, ⁽¹⁾ he had an allowance of £10 per annum, while as the Master of the Sang Schule he was allowed a stipend of £6 ⁽²⁾ for his services. His gifts to the cathedral and his services in the choir were remembered in the masses said after his death.

The boys of the choir were quite well looked after so long as they were in the service of the cathedral. They were provided for, by the *facultas canonicorum* and each of the boys ⁽³⁾ was granted as allowance of £2-13-4. A problem however faced the cathedral authorities when a boy's voice broke and he was no longer of any use as a chorister (we find that different cathedrals faced the situation in different ways). It was unfeeling to turn adrift a boy who had been a good vocalist and some of the cathedrals sought to find occupation for a promising boy by providing for his further education. Other cathedrals were less considerate when a boy was no longer efficient. A very interesting passage in the *Ordinatio chori* ⁽⁴⁾ throws a light on the way that the Aberdeen authorities had regard for the welfare of

(1) Reg.Epis.Aber.Sp.Cl.p.96 et seq (Vol.2)

(2) ibid p.98

(3) Reg.Epis.Aber.Sp.Cl. p.101 (Vol.2)

(4) Reg.Epis. Aber.Sp.Cl. p.100

young choristers: "De communia capituli sustentati singulis annis ut sequitur cum quatuor libris de decano ejusdem capituli extendente in summa ad viginti sex libras distribuendas singulis annis sacriste et undecim pueris quamdiu fuerint in voce puerili et postquam illas voces amiserunt licitum erit praedict^o capitulo eosdem remove totiens quotiens opus fuerit et alios in eorundem locis imponere et instituere".

Elgin.

Elgin differed from most of the other Scottish Cathedrals in having its charter and statutes founded on those of Lincoln. When Andrew, Bishop of Moray, established the Cathedral at Elgin, he requested the authorities of Lincoln Cathedral to provide him with a statement of its customs and constitutions. The statements, which were supplied, are dated 1212 and 1236, (1) and are actually older than any extant statutes connected with the Cathedral of Lincoln itself. In the Lincoln statement of 1236, we find the first mention of a choristers' school and, as the Bishop gave these statutes to his chapter, there is no doubt that they were carried into practice. As we have seen in the case of St. Machar's, full instructions were given concerning the part taken by the choir during the singing of the Mass.

(1) Reg. Ep. Mor. p. 46 et seq.

In the section "De officio cantoris", the duties of that official are, with one difference, almost identical with those laid down in the statutes of other cathedrals.

The Cantor was responsible for raising and lowering the chant, for placing the singers in their order for the week, for the instruction and the discipline of the boys, and for the admission of suitable young singers in the choir. On festal days, he had to lead the chant. It was his duty to see that the music books were in good order, and when new ones were needed, he must get them written. He had also to train members of the choir as well as settle any disputes. In Elgin, the Cantor came next in precedence to the Dean - the usual procedure in Scottish Cathedrals.

In the Town Council Minutes of Elgin of 15th November 1552, there is a very interesting entry - "The Provost.... chairgit Sir James Kar to teche ane sang scuill conforme to his conditioun." There is no reason for believing that this was the Sang Schule attached to the Cathedral: it would seem to be an institution apart from the ecclesiastical music school, especially as in the same entry another chaplain was forbidden to open a school in rivalry with the Grammar School. Kar was certainly in orders since he was called "Sir" James, and this action of the Town Council, which may be found elsewhere in the

case of a parish church, is most unusual in a Cathedral city.

DUNKELD

In Alexander Myln's "Vitae Dunkeldensis ecclesiae Episcoporum," the musical side of the establishment receives considerable notice. Several of the prebendaries are mentioned with short notes on their musical abilities - Stephenson, "musica et organorum lusu excellens"; Lawder, "musica bene doctus"; Bettoun, a theorist and a pillar of the choir; Martyn, a master of music; Young, steady in the chant and Richardson, a good trainer of voices. In 1481, Bishop Thomas Lawdor ordered a daily Mass "cum nota" and instituted six singing boys with £10 each annually. The emoluments of Abernyte were assigned to the vicars-choral and payments were made from 1506 to 1508 of sums varying from £2 to £4 to the boys of the choir.

KIRKWALL

When Bishop Reid was installed in the see of Orkney (1) in 1544 he found the cathedral choristers endowed, but with only six canons and six chaplains in his Cathedral Church of St. Magnus. (2) He revised the whole chapter and established a precentor and a subchanter, who, as prebendary of St. Colme, was organist in perpetual

(1) The Church of Scotland (Story) II, p. 358.

(2) ~~Waldott's~~ Ancient Church of Scotland. p.174.

residence. The chaplain of St. Augustine's was master of the Sang Schule, six boys were appointed by the Bishop, with certain prebendaries at a salary of 20/- a year. Bishop Reid was one of the most enlightened church men of the first half of the sixteenth century, and his care for his Cathedral and the services there is in keeping with other incidents in his life. The master of the Sang Schule could hold no other post or benefice (1). and had to be skilled in singing - "utroque cantu per omnes numeros" - moreover, he had to teach the boys gratis and be willing to instruct the poorer ones who wished to attend. In Kirkwall, as elsewhere, the Sang Schule was intended primarily for the service of God, not only in the church but in the lives of the people. Here, the pupils of the Sang Schule were not all choristers in the Cathedral.

Glasgow

Glasgow had two Sang Schules in pre-Reformation times - one in connection with the church of St. Mary and St. Ann and one connected with the Metropolitan Church. The constitution of the Cathedral made the usual provision for choir boys who were only four in number and in 1525 (2) a charter laid down the requirements that a chaplain should give instruction in plainsong and descant. Frequent

- (1) Peterkin's Rentals of Orkney - Supplement V, p. 21.
- (2) Charters and Documents relating to the City of Glasgow, B.R. Pt. I. p. LX.

references are made in these charters to one John Painter who was a choir boy in 1507 in the Cathedral. In that year the Dean and the Chapter made him an allowance of 10 merks over and above his usual sustentation as chorister for his constant service and daily practice in the chant and music. In return for this, Painter promised faithfully never to abandon the service of the Cathedral of Glasgow unless he received the special permission of the Dean & Chapter. This looks like a kind of apprenticeship such as that which persisted in England until late in the 19th century by which a promising boy was **articled** to a Cathedral organist and acted as an assistant. Painter appears to have lived up to his promise for he became master of the Sang Schule and organist. He was plainly a musician of ability for a 'Gloriosa' which he composed in 'pricket sang' in three parts was remembered after his death. (1)

Glasgow (2) unlike other centres, had some consideration for the boys of the choir when they lost their voices and the fruits of the perpetual vicarage of the commensal church of Colmonell were assigned to six boys when their voices broke so that they might be maintained and instructed in grammar and other good arts of the school (presumably the Grammar School) or else attend to that service and ministry of the choir as they had previously.

(1) Diocesan Register of Glasgow (Bain & Roger) 1875 I p.417
 (2) Diocesan Register of Glasgow I p. 346

Other cathedrals such as Brechin yield information of a similar kind on the musical conditions in the cathedral churches of Scotland in the Middle Ages and there can be no doubt that the cathedral song schools were centres of much activity in preparing the music for all types of service in the churches

COLLEGIATE CHURCHES

The Collegiate Churches, especially those established in the larger burghs, and the parish churches, provide us with much more information of the Sang Schules before the Reformation. The first of these churches was established at Dunbar in 1342, and the last at Biggar in 1545, and between these dates, about forty collegiate churches were set up in Scotland. They are not distinctively Scottish institutions, for in England similar establishments were set up at Westminster, Windsor and in other English centres. One object of the founders of these churches was to provide a fuller equipment and a more stately ceremonial than was furnished by the ordinary parish churches and without the heavy cost that a cathedral foundation would entail. There seems to have been a very considerable enthusiasm in setting up these collegiate churches and not only churchmen but nobleman and other laymen gave their money freely ~~to~~ ^{for} towards the establishment of such churches all over the country. (They were called Collegiate from having a college or chapter like a cathedral, with a provost instead of a dean. They are not to be confused with those post-Reformation collegiate churches which were so named because they were controlled

by two ministers. As many of them were erected during the best period of Scottish music, it is not surprising to find that in almost all cases, endowments were specially made for choristers to provide a worthy service. In many cases these collegiate churches were the parish churches raised to a higher dignity with increased endowments, e.g. St. Giles, Edinburgh: sometimes they were mere chapels near a nobleman's castle, e.g. Seton and Inverpefferay.

The parish churches in the burghs, whether collegiate or not, came in later times under the care of the Town Councils, and it is from burgh records that we obtain most information of these Sang Schules and the conduct of the music of the Church. The burghs had the appointment and often the payment of the chaplains and the members of the choir, and were far from casual in exercising their powers. They made their contracts with the masters of the Sang Schules in considerable fullness and did not hesitate to carry out a penalty clause if the master proved to be indifferent or was inclined to be slack. They were just to faithful servants and illness always had their sympathy. All disputes were referred to them for final judgement and they expected good character to go with musical ability.

They were responsible for the salary of the Sang Schule Master unless he had a prebend, and were the chief courts of appeal in matters of dispute. When a member of a choir showed a special aptitude for music, they would give him leave to study abroad for a period. These Sang Schules were part of the educational system and the boys who attended them were more in number than those engaged for church services. The records of Linlithgow and Kirkwall support this.

Aberdeen St. Nicholas' Church.

The story of the Sang Schule attached to St. Nicholas' Church has been sketched by William Walker in his "Extracts from the Commonplace Book of Andrew Melville" (Aberdeen, 1899).

After being the Parish Church under the direct control of the Town Council in all matters of finance, St. Nicholas' was raised to the dignity of a Collegiate Church in 1456⁽¹⁾

The first mention of the Sang Schule of which we have any record is in 1483, when Richard Boyle⁽²⁾ superseded his master, Sir Andro Thomson, and it was his task to "mak and furnyss barnys and chiider to stuf the queyr and mak service therein continually and daly". Boyle had been a clerk in the choir in 1477⁽³⁾ when he had as his fee a "quarter of the Castlegait". Boyle does not seem to have held the post for many years. A new organ⁽⁴⁾ was installed

(1) Cart. Ecc. S. Nic., Aber. Sp. Cl. II, p. XXVI

(2) B.R., Aber., B/5, 1483 (quoted Cart)

(3) Ibid 15/9, 1477

(4) Ibid Pro sufflacione organorum 1437. This shows that there was already an organ.

in St. Nicholas' Church in 1485 (1) for the cost of which a tax was imposed upon all cattle, pigs, and sheep, brought into Aberdeen, and it would seem that Boyle was unable to play the organ for, in that year he was relegated to the second place in the Sang Schule. The Council, however, must have thought well of him, since in 1488, they called him their "auld Servitor" (2) and increased the amount of his fee considerably. He was superseded by Robert Huchesone (3) whose terms of appointment, on renewal, are given in full detail in the Minutes of the Town Council. He had to swear by the faith of his body to remain with the Town Council all the days of his life, "to singe, kip and uphald mess, matutinis, evensangis, completoriis, psalmis, respondis, antiphonis, ympnis and all other houris and devine service, to be sangin within our parochie kirk of Aberdene, at the letrones and uthur baith festuale and feriale days". For the same service, he was to receive all the days of his life, the sum of twenty four marks, usual money of Scotland. Besides other employment, he was to have the Sang Schule and to teach, inform, make learn and instruct all bairns under his care and especially the sons of burgesses. He was to sing in the choir and to play the organ on all occasions when it seemed expedient to the Town Council, and be a chaplain of the church.

- (1) B.R., Aber., 18/4, 1485.
- (2) Ibid 31/5, 1488.
- (3) Ibid 7/10, 1496.

Fees ("scolage") were to be paid him by the pupils he taught in the Sang Schule and he was warned that if he failed in his duties, he would be punished for his demerits as the Council thought fit. As will be seen preference was always given to the sons of burgesses and it is plain that the Master of the Sang Schule was expected to teach all who wished to learn music, whether they were to be accepted as choristers or not, and that tuition was not to be expected gratis.

Various other singers in the choir are named in the Council Minutes of this period, and provision was made for their sustenance and salaries. Aberdeen expected its chaplains in the choir to be well versed in the musical art, and in 1491, it was laid down that no person would be received into the College of the Church unless he was a singer of plain song, and could sing anthems, responses and versicles. If these singers did not keep the tune given by the Cantor, they were liable to a fine of one English penny. (Chart. St. Nic., II, p.228)

In 1510, Sir John Trumbill was appointed to serve in the choir at a fee of £5:10: - (1). The names of Sir Thomas Bynne and Sir Andro Coupar are also found. In 1518, Sir John Cumming (2) was appointed chorister and organist and master of the Sang Schule which had fallen into disuse, and received various payments. About this time, the

(1) B.R. Aber (Sp. Cl.) 7/6, 1510.

(2) Ibid 13/12, 1518.

Council became very discontented with the way in which the services in church were conducted. They took the drastic measure of summoning the whole town and dismissed all the singers in the choir (1) except Andrew Coupar, whom they exempted from the order since he was an "agit man". The Sang Schule appears to have fallen on evil days about this time and the organist was no longer Master of the school. In 1541, the Council assigned to Robe Portair (2), Robt Nicholson, each of them 40/- to help them buy clothes on condition that they continued their services in the Sang Schule and the choir.

In 1544, there came to Aberdeen one of the primest musicians of the day. His name was Sir John Fethy (3) who had been master of the Sang Schule in Dundee in 1531. He was appointed one of the prebendaries of the choir, was to have the organ, and the Sang Schule, "for instruction of the menners of gude barnis and keeping of them in gude order and he to mak continual residence". For these duties he was to receive £20 yearly. It is possible that there were in those days two John Fethys of considerable musical ability. If the John Fethy of the Aberdeen Sang Schule was the same Dominus Johannes Fethy, a priest of Arbroath (4), who received a licence to go abroad in 1498,

(1) B.R. Aber. (Sp. Cl.), 13/1, 1532/3

(2) Ibid 6/5, 1541.

(3) Ibid 18/9, 1544 and B.R. Dundee, 1531.

(4) Reg. nigrum de Aberbrothock.

then he must have lived to be a very old man for Thomas Wood, in a marginal note to his St. Andrews Psalter, wrote in 1592, of Fethy, that "it is mair nor threescore yeires sin he com home". He had probably been in England or abroad in his early days. However, he may have been the son of John Fethy, Vicar of Cramond and was legitimized in 1529/30. Fethy is best known for his ability as an organist and a contributor to Wood's Psalter (1566). His name also appears as a signatory to an Angus deed, in 1546. His activities also are seen in an allowance of liveries made to "Sir John Fethy's Children that plays on the viols" in 1541/2. While he was at Aberdeen he had a sharp dispute with his assistant, John Black, a musician of considerable ability. Fethy and Black fell out in the matter of discipline and the Council had to step in to mediate. They gave a decision in favour of Fethy and warned Black that if he gave more trouble he would be dismissed. Fethy left Aberdeen for Edinburgh in 1551. Whatever may have been the character of John Black the Council must have considered his musical ability sufficient for the needs of the Sang Schule, to which he was appointed. However, the Reforming party was gradually gaining the upper hand in Aberdeen and in 1559, we find him and other

- (1) Hay Fleming's Reformation in Scotland, App. II,
- (2) L.H.T.A. VIII. (1546)
- (3) Ex. Rolls. 3/2, 1541/2.
- (4) B.R. Aber. (Sp. Cl.) 13/7, 1546.
- (5) Reg. Cart. Ecc. S. Egidii. (Bann. Cl.) 7/9, 1551.
- (6) B.R. Aber. (Sp. Cl.) 16/11, 1556.

chaplains (1) petitioning the Council for permission to return to the choir from which they had been excluded. The arrival of men from Angus and the Mearns (2) to destroy the kirks and religious places caused some alarm but in 1560 the Kirk and all buildings associated with it including the Sang Schule were "spulzeit" and Black fled. Edinburgh.

Three collegiate churches were erected in Edinburgh during the second half of the fifteenth century. In 1462, Queen Mary of Gueldres, widow of James III, built Holy Trinity (3) and endowed it with a provost, eight prebendaries and two singing boys. We do not know the name of the founder or the date of the foundation of Kirk o' Fields (St. Mary's) which stood where the old University Buildings now are, but it had a provost, eight canons and two choristers. St. Giles was erected to the dignity of a collegiate church in 1466 and, as was becoming the parish church of the capital, its staff was of considerable size. It had a provost, a dean, sixteen prebendaries and four singing boys under a master. The boys must have been taught but no mention of a Sang Schule is met before 1551 when Sir John Fethy (4), whom we have seen in connection with Aberdeen, resigned the Mastership of the School.

(1) B.R. Aber. Sp. Cl. 30/10, 1559.

(2) Ibid 29/12, 1559.

(3) Charters of City of Edin. No. 38 p.96. 6/3, 1461/2.

(4) Cart. St. Egidii, 7/9, 1551.

(1)
Fethy does not seem to have left Edinburgh, for in 1555, he received a payment for tuning the organ of St. Giles.

Fethy's successor at the Sang Schule attached to St. Giles was Sir Edward Henryson, the first of a number of musicians of that name to hold the post of Sang Schule Master. He was first the prebendary of St. Michael at St. Giles which ⁽²⁾ prebend ⁽³⁾ he gave up in 1551 on taking over the Sang Schule from Fethy. It would appear that Fethy and Henryson taught together in Edinburgh. From the Dean of Guild's accounts, we learn of various payments made to Henryson - the rent of the house he occupied, the rent of the Sang Schule and when the school had fallen into disrepair, a payment ⁽⁴⁾ to buy "23 thraves of stra to thik the Sang Schule". As a prebendary of the choir, Henryson had other duties besides those of the Sang Schule. In ⁽⁵⁾ 1555, we find that Henryson "ane of the prebendaris of the quier callit minister core and Maister of the Sang Skule is to keip his fundatioun and to furneis walx to the hie altar and lamp as he aucht to do and nocht to procur with the Lady bred in the Kirk be himself at na tyme unto the tyme that he ressonne and caus the counsale consider quhairfor he

- (1) Dean of Guild's Accounts, 21/7, 1555.
- (2) Cart. St. Egid., 7/10, 1542.
- (3) Ibid. 1/6, 1551.
- (4) B.R. Edin. 18/4, 1554.
- (5) Ibid. 8/11, 1555.

aucht nocht to do the samin".

The Town Council was well disposed towards music and musicians in those days, for in 1552, they agreed to permit James Lawder, ⁽¹⁾ a prebendary of the choir, to Journey to England and France and go abroad for a year "to the effect that he mon have and get a better eruditioune in musik and playing nor he hes". Henryson was either no organist or required the help of an assistant, for in 1555, ⁽²⁾ one, Alexander Scott received a pension of £10 for singing in the choir and playing the organ whenever he was required by the town. Alexander Scott may have been engaged as a deputy.

Henryson remained at his post until the Reformation altered the whole character of St. Giles. The mob broke the imagery and the Sang Schule disappeared with so many other valuable associations with the parish and collegiate Church of St. Giles. Henryson lost his post but he must have been well thought of by the authorities, for occupation ⁽³⁾ in connection with church and other fabrics was offered him during the lapse of the Sang Schule.

RESTALRIG.

In 1487, James III. was responsible for the erection of the church at Restalrig to the dignity of a Collegiate Church and he enlarged the foundation, mainly for the

- (1) B.R. Edin. 26/1, 1552.
- (2) Ibid. 31/1, 1555.
- (3) Dean of Guild's Accounts (Edinburgh Records II.) p. 174 et seq.

cultivation of music. His son James IV, carried out his father's intentions, and in a charter (1) to the Collegiate Church ⁽¹⁾ he paid tribute to James III - "Volumus et ordinamus quod praedictus capellanus et prebendarius fit expertus in musica similiter ut reliqui prebendarii collegi antedicti". This shows that all the chaplains attached to Restalrig were to be musically equipped for the divine service. The Staff of the Church ⁽²⁾ ~~was~~ to consist of a Dean, nine prebendaries, three chaplains and four choristers. The prebendary, who took rank next the dean, was to be skilled in the chant and in descant and to be competently instructed in playing the organ, and provision was to be made for his sustenance - "secundum tenorem carte donationis per dictum patrem nostrum facte unacum camera". Further there were to be four singing boys, two of whom were to be supported by the sacristan and to sing, light the candles and ring the bells and the other two to be supported by the dean and the ~~organist~~ jointly. There can be no doubt that the intention was to give the boys a thorough musical training and further thought for their welfare is found in the charter which ordains that those boys skilled in singing should give attention to their musical studies on all occasions when they were spared from the choir. Restalrig was one of the first

(1) Carte eccles. colleg. de Restalrig, p. 278 et seq.

(2) Barrett's Footprints of the Ancient Scottish Church p.116

sacred buildings to suffer in 1560 and the Sang Schule there ceased with the demolition of the church in that year.

CRAIL

Not only in the larger burghs but in the smaller towns, collegiate churches were erected, often by the munificence of nobles and clergy. In 1517, Sir ⁽¹⁾ William Myrton, Vicar of Lathrisk, who had endowed several chaplainries in the Church of St. Mary's in Crail, joined with the Prioress of Haddington in the erection of St. Mary's to be a collegiate church, and in 1525, he added to his benefactions by proposing to establish a Grammar School and a Song School in the royal Burgh. The Grammar School was certainly set up but, so far, no record of the establishment of the Song School has been discovered. There were to be a provost, sacristan, ten prebendaries and four choristers. In one of the charters dealing with the establishment of the collegiate church at Crail, James Brown, the second prebend, among his other duties, was to have charge of the Sang Schule and instruct the scholars in plainsong, praecantus and discantus. While discant was the usual requirement from the prebendaries of the collegiate churches, this is one of the few occasions when one finds "praecantus". Praecantus, which may have been duties assigned to the Precentor, would mean the priest's part in the service in reciting the introductory phrases

(1) Reg. of Coll. Ch. of Crail (Grampian Club) and Hutton MS. p. 58 et seq.

to the various numbers in the Mass. It is plain that the founder of Crail Collegiate Church wished some, at least, of the boys to be trained as priests as well as choristers and to be acquainted with those musical phrases that were left to the priest alone.

By the charter of erection, it was also ordained that the parish clerk should be specially skilled in singing and descant. Whatever may have been the result of Myrton's good intentions, a petition by the founder of the church dated 1530, has a very special interest as it was meant to guide those concerned with the rendering of the church service, and the views expressed on the way in which the music of divine service ought to be sung, throw light on the methods of the time, as it is not impossible that Myrton's (1) advice was intended to stop carelessness and indifference in the performance of the service. Here are the points he specially makes:

1. Divine service should be performed with understanding.
2. To praise God by singing heartily.
3. To pronounce carefully the syllables, consonants and vowels without any interruption.
4. To be reverent.
5. To sing harmoniously so that the first chorus does

(1)Reg. of Coll. Ch. of Crail (Grampian Club) p. 71.

not begin until the second chorus has ended (e.g. in antiphonal singing, to permit no overlapping in alternating parts.)

- 6. No sparing of the voices.
- 7. To sing moderately, beginning everything with due readiness not raising the voices too high nor falling too low.
- 8. To sing with due attention to the difference of different services.
- 9. To sing with accord and unanimity of heart.

Plainly the writer preferred music of a vigorous and robust type, though he is as much adverse to loud singing as to feeble singing. He preferred a finished rendering in antiphonal singing and urged that the words receive due attention, the music not being all. He called for a high standard of musical and liturgical rendering and would suffer no perfunctory treatment of word or note. While he preferred hearty singing, especially in passages of an exalted and joyous nature, the mournful and graver services were to be rendered with appropriate expression. It is not hard to read in these injunctions what the common failings and abuses were in the singing of the times. We can believe that there was considerable variety in the music sung at Crail (1) since amongst the books in the choir was "ane lettronale in gret volume containing the breiffis of antamys (anthems), ymnis (hymns), rundis (rounds) graillis (grails), and alla (alleluias)".

(1) Reg. of Coll. Ch. of Crail (Grampian Club) p. 65.

St. Andrews.

There were two Song Schools in St. Andrews before the Reformation, (a) at the Abbey as is seen from the entry about Alexander Smith quoted already from the Kirk Session Records of 1560 and (b) at the parish Church. An indenture between the Town Council of St. Andrews (1) and the Chaplain and choristers of the Parish Church decreed that the latter were to promise to sing High Mass, Matins and Evensong, "with note" as they were accustomed on festival days and on all ferial and week-days. The Town Council promised that in filling up a vacancy for a chaplaincy, the "Sangster" should be examined by the choristers and only appointed if he was found sufficient by them. Dr. Hay Fleming in Scottish Art and Letters I, 3, p. 34 quotes an indenture between the Town Council of St. Andrews and the choir and choristers of the parish church in 1527. The procurator of the choir undertook that High Mass, Matins and Evensong "with note of the best Fasson" should be faithfully sung. Both parties agreed that no priest should be received into the choir until he could sing plainsang, pricket sang and descant (pricket sang meant music written in notation). The same procurator Sir Andrew Swinton, took upon himself the duties of "rector chori for the guid reule and service to be

(1) Hay Fleming's Note Book: 1/1, 1477.

done in the foresaid kirk and the Sang Schule". He was to "ken the barnis of the Sang Schule", to keep all divine service in the choir and Kirk and for this to receive as much as his predecessor had received in the past. Further, he was to cause the Lady Mass to be sung as well or better than it had been in bygone times for which the Town Council would pay him annually £13 - 6 - 8.

STIRLING

Very little is known of a Sang Schule at Stirling where the Chapel Royal was established for several centuries. The Lord High Treasurer's Accounts for 1473/4 indicate that it was the intention of King James III to build a new chapel at Stirling, and Pitscottie ⁽¹⁾ wrote - "He maid into the Chapell ryall all kynde of office men, to wit, the Bischope of Galloway, the deine, the arche deine, and chanter and subchanter witht all kynd of uther offeceis pertaining to ane Colledge". A sentence in Pitscottie's Chronicles uses the word "college" as embracing all the officials who constituted the staff of a collegiate church. The Chronicler went on to say that the King also ⁽²⁾ "dublitt thame to that effect that they sould be ewer redy, the ane half to pase witht him quhair ever he pleissit that they might sing and play to him and hald him merrie and the uther half sould remaine at hame

(1) Pitscottie's Chronicles (S.T.S.) I. p.200 et seq.

(2) It was no unusual arrangement in England or on the Continent for minstrels to undertake both sacred and secular duties. (see Rymer XI 642 and Chaytor's 'The Troubadours in England' p.3.)

in the said chapell for to sing and play for him and his successouris and for this cause he maid great foundatiounis of the said Chapell Royall". It was meant to be a training ground for performers of secular music as well as for choristers in the choir, for we can only suppose the King would prefer music mostly of a secular character when he wished to be made merry. The plan of carrying skilled musicians with him on his journeys was sustained and developed by James III's son, James IV, as we see from the Treasurer's Accounts and other records. It was left to James IV to establish the Chapel Royal and raise it to the dignity of a Collegiate Church in 1501. (1) The Register gives a full account of the articles of erection and the staff of the Church, which was to have a dean, a subdean, sacristan, sixteen canons, skilled in singing, and six singing boys, competently trained to sing or else fit to receive instruction in the art. (2) Provision was made for the payment of the sixteen canons and the sum of ninety merks was set apart for the payment of the six boys. A cantor was also appointed and the reference to boys "fit to be taught" suggests that some sort of Sang Schule existed. An organ had been installed in the chapel for there is record of payment of £7 for repairing the organ in 1512 (3) with a charge of £8 - 4 - 0

- (1) See Roger's History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland, p. 3.
 (2) Ibid. p.13.
 (3) L.H.T.A. 27/3, 1512.

for putting the bellows in order. "Tria paria organorum quorum unum est de lignis et duo alii de stanno sive plumbo" - that is, one organ with wooden and the other two with tin or leaden pipes. (1) Amongst the inventory of ornaments and books in the Register (2) are four large antiphonaries written on parchment with gilt capital letters. A member of the Chapel Royal, one Alexander Paterson, the sacristan, (3) is mentioned by Richardinus in 1530 as a musician who insisted on careful choice of chants and of musical interpretation. Father Hay, writing in 1700, said Paterson was joint author with the Abbot of Inchcolm of a work on the singing of the Mass.

LINLITHGOW

The Church of St. Michael's, Linlithgow, was never erected to the dignity of a Collegiate Church but remained the parish church of that burgh. The Town Council, however, took a great interest in the musical side of the services and in the work of the Sang Schule, for in the contract of 1540 with Sir Robert Akenheid (4) it was explicitly stated that he "sal uptak ane sang schule, now incontinent, and sal ken, instrukt and leir all Bairnis that will come to him". Here, as elsewhere, we are supported in the contention that the Sang Schule often provided musical

- (1) Quoted Dalyell's Musical Memoirs. p.120.
- (2) Roger's History of the Chapel Royal. p. 78.
- (3) Robert Richardinus, (S.H.S.) p.8.
- (4) Liber Curiae Capitalis de Linlithgow, 1540.

education for boys ^{who} were not necessarily destined to be choristers. The contract between the Town Council and a master of the Sang Schule in 1546 provides an excellent example of the indentures customary in the period just (1) before the Reformation.

"Sir Thomas Mward, the altarage of our ladie, blissit Virgene Marie, within the parochie Kirk of our said burtht, with power to the said Sir Thomas, and to none utheris, to hald the singing scule of our said burtht; and to haue and ressaue the profeit that may be gottin thair of: For the quhilk caus the said Sir Thomas sall mak continuall residens within the burtht and say daylie mes at the said alter, or sing efter he is disposit, that is to say, ouklye, to sing thre dayis in the oulk, viz., Sondag, Wednesday, and Saterdag: to sing in the queir at mes, and even sang, and antummis, and play upoun the organis, as he hes done in tymes bygane, and rather bettir." The last phrase suggests that the organist did not give entire satisfaction to his critical listeners. We have seen that, in the case of Dunkeld, a priest might well expect promotion more readily if he had good musical accomplishments and it is interesting to find the Town Council of Linlithgow (2) stating that those bairns of the burtht who were specially qualified in music would have preference in the bestowal of altarages.

(1) B.R. Linlithgow, 26/5, 1546.

(2) *ibid.*

D U N G L A S S

The foundation charter of a small Collegiate Church of an early date makes an interesting contrast to the plans laid for a full musical service in later churches of this type. In 1443, Sir Alexander Home founded the Collegiate Church of Dunglass in East Lothian, with three prebendaries and four singing boys. The church was only 75 feet long and not more than 20 feet wide, excluding the wings that were each 25 feet long. For such a small church a small choir was ample. The first prebendary was, as usual, styled provost and a proper supply of vestments had to be provided. Each boy was to be paid three merks annually" Quatuor pueris in choro antedicti collegii et cantandum et divinum servicium celebrandum^{s. d.} ac in ecclesia ut congruit ministrandum deputandis cuilibet prefatorum puerorum tres marcas annuatim fore dandas ordino et constituo" (1)

It is probable that a very simple service was expected from so small a choir in so small an edifice; a rendering of the Gregorian chant in the performance of the mass and other services would be sufficient if adequately sung. No special demands were laid upon any of the priests for musical abilities but we may take it that if a knowledge of the plain chant was not explicitly laid down, it would be expected from some, if not all, of the chaplains. In any case, the services would be limited in difficulty, to suit the comparatively small number of singing men and boys.

(1) Manuscripts of the Duke of Athole. (Historical Manuscripts Commission , Report 12 Appendix, part 8 p.123)

Dundee had its Sang Schule, the site of which is known. In 1555, the Town Council of Dundee ⁽¹⁾ protested against the act of the Abbot of Lindores who appointed teachers. Such teachers were prohibited from teaching any bairns privately or openly, grammar, English or singing but with the company of Master Thomas McGibbon, master of the Grammar School or Richard Barclay, master of the Sang Schule. One of these musicians who attempted to teach music was Andrew Kemp, ⁽²⁾ one of the associates of Thomas Wood in the compilation of the St. Andrews Psalter of 1566. The famous organist, Sir John Fethy, was head of the school in 1531. ⁽³⁾ The school was roupit' in 1561 ⁽⁴⁾ when Dundee was one of the storm centres of the Reformation. The Collegiate Church founded in 1504, at Lochwinnoch ⁽⁵⁾ by the First Lord Sempil, was quite small, being only 70 feet in length, but by the terms of its foundation, it was provided with endowments for a provost, 6 canons and 2 singing boys. A service of considerable fullness was demanded. ⁽⁶⁾ In 1551 the parish clerk of Ayr offered to teach a Sang Schule and instruct the neighbours' bairns and others, for payment. This is a very rare occurrence for Ayr had a Sang Schule not long

- (1) B.R., Dundee, 15/11, 1555.
- (2) Reg. Burgh and Head Court Dundee, 15/11, 1555.
- (3) Protocol Book - B.R., Dundee.
- (4) B.R., Dundee, 1561.
- (5) Arch. and Hist. Coll. ref. to the County of Renfrew.
- (6) B.R., Ayr, 11/12, 1551.

before this date and either the school had fallen into a poor condition or had lapsed altogether. In any case, the burgh looked out for a man and it is perhaps a sign of the growing religious restlessness that a parish clerk should offer to open a sang schule. Ayr had a flourishing Sang Schule, which was held in 1538 by Robert Paterson (1) for £20 a year on condition that ^{he} taught the school, sang in the choir and played the organ.

The last Collegiate Church to be founded in Scotland was that of Biggar in 1545. The founder of this institution was Malcolm, Lord Fleming, who succeeded his father as Great Chamberlain of Scotland in 1524 and was killed at the Battle of Pinkie in 1547. The buildings were not completed when the Reformation broke out. The foundation charter (2) set apart an endowment for a provost, eight canons and four boys "habentes puerilem vocem". The first prebendary "intitulabitur prebendarius hospitalis Sancti Leonardi et erit preceptor instructor et magister scole cantus et instruet pueros dicti collegii et alios supervenientes in plano cantu, precantu, et discantu et erit peritus in organorum modulatione pro divino officio exercendo". Provision was thus made for the tuition of the boys by a chaplain, well equipped with a knowledge of the vocal requirements of the service as well as capable of playing

(1) Hutton MSS. (Nat. Lib. Edin.)

(2) Miscellaneous Charters and Contracts from copies at Panmure House - Spalding Club Miscellany, V, p.296 et seq.

upon the organ. It will also be noted that music teaching was not confined to those who were engaged to give service in the choir but was open to any others who might wish to enjoy the privilege of the tuition. The boys were to have shaven crowns and to wear blue coloured gowns similar to those worn by the boys in the choir in the Cathedral Church of Glasgow - "habentes coronas rasas cum togis blodei coloris ad modum puerorum cantorum chori ecclesie Metropolitane Glasguensis". If the boys did not behave or if, for any reason, they were useless as vocalists, discipline and possible dismissal lay in the hands of the provost and his clerical colleagues - "cum dicti pueri simul vel respective in voce puerili deficerint seu alias in malo regimine enormes reperti fuerint et non bonam ut decet regulam observaverint eorundem destitutio et amotio ad predictos prepositum ac presidentem et prebendarios ut supra respective spectabit et pertinebit". The founder also laid down the succession of services which were to be daily observed and High Mass, according to the season of the ecclesiastical calendar, was to be sung to the Gregorian chant or desant with music from the organ.

Of the forty collegiate churches established in Scotland before the Reformation, four were of royal foundation. It is plain from the foundations, that the founders had it always in their minds to set up a worthy

musical service and did not stint sufficient means to provide singers and organists to carry out their pious wishes.

It is interesting to notice that the contracts between the authorities in England and their choristers did not differ in any important detail from the terms of the contracts of a similar kind made in Scotland. An indenture between Prior Thomas Castell of Durham and Thomas Hashewell, singer, runs:- "He shall freely (gratis) labour to instruct assiduously and diligently those monks of Durham and eight secular boys, whom the Prior or his deputy should appoint to learn it, in the best way he knows, both to play on the organs, and to know plain song, and accompanied song (organicum), pricknote, faburdon, descant, square note and counterpoint." (Prior Register V 156. Also see History of the County of Durham I p. 367---County Histories).

(This description of the work of the Scottish Schules has been condensed from a longer study of the pre-Reformation and post-Reformation Schules, which I have made.)

EARLY SCOTTISH CHURCH MUSIC

Only a very few specimens of pre-Reformation Church music of Scottish origin have survived and, while in normal times, these compositions are easily accessible, the dangers of destruction during the present war have compelled their custodians to deposit them in safety. This has made a satisfactory examination of these early compositions quite impossible and only a brief survey of this early, but most interesting music can be presented. Without access to the actual MSS., errors can hardly be avoided in transcriptions made for personal use. The principal extant volumes of Church music dating from the early sixteenth century of known Scottish origin are

- The (so-called) Scone Antiphonary by Robert Carver⁽¹⁾
(composed about 1546)
- The Dunkeld Music Book by Robert Douglas (early
sixteenth century)
- Compositions by Robert Johnson (first half of
sixteenth century)
- with some scraps of music in Supplement to Wood's
Psalter 1566
- and some parts of MSS. of a musical nature in Dundee,
Stirling and elsewhere.

The Scone Antiphonary⁽²⁾ was no true antiphonary, for it contained twelve masses, thirty motets and six settings of the Magnificat. One piece is dated 1546. The collection⁽¹⁾ is associated with the name of Robert Carver, a canon of Scone, born about 1491. A Robert Carbor is mentioned by some writers as having written a mass in the twelfth century, but Dr. Henry Farmer believes that this reference is really to one of Carver's masses in the Scone volume.

(1) Liber de ecclesia de Scon (Bann. Cl. p.207) where he appears in a precept of 4th Nov. 1544.

(2) In National Library Edinburgh.

This collection of Church music by Robert Carver is the most considerable volume of musical settings of Scottish origin. Its comprehensive nature gives it importance since in it there are "a round dozen masses, thirty motets and six settings of the Magnificat". Sir W.H. Hadow's words sum up its historical and artistic value when he wrote "it carries the command of polyphonic resource to a point far beyond any that had been reached at this time either in England or on the Continent."⁽¹⁾ The volume was carefully examined by the late Dr. Fuller Maitland,⁽²⁾ and it is interesting to possess one example of music of Scottish provenance which can hold its own with the ^{best of the} great composers of Tudor England. Dr. Fuller Maitland transcribed and edited one notable motet, "O bone Jesu" which is available and during recent years, more of the Scone Antiphonary has been brought to light by Father Long, of the Westminster Cathedral, including four masses, a "Dum Sacrum" in ten parts and a "mass for three equal voices which are a continuous flow of melody." As for the "O bone Jesu", it is a work in nineteen parts and is a notable example of the music of the Scone Book. All the nineteen parts are not used together, except for special effects. Only ^{two} ~~two~~ trebles ^{parts} are employed (perhaps because of the preponderance of ~~men's~~ voices at the disposal of the composer) and the appropriate nature of the music for the various numbers is evident on each occasion. The second number contains an attractive theme used

(1) Hadow's English Music. p.59.
 (2) See Grove, I. p.574.

half a dozen times in imitation; a second short figure appears, and after being employed imitatively a few times, the movement becomes broader as more voices enter until nine sing in the final phrase. Only eight voices sing in the third number, but, in the fourth, fifth, seventh and eighth which are of an apostrophizing character, all the voices are used and sing practically throughout these numbers. The web of sound in the fourth number is of a rich and ornate nature, but in the fifth, seventh and eighth, the effect is obtained by broad and sustained singing on widely spread chords. The sixth number is by far the longest of the eight. It is prayerful throughout - "Therefore, Lord Jesu, for thy name's sake save me, lest I perish" - and very appropriately only half the number of available voices is used, and, of these only on one occasion are as many as six found singing at once. Much of the writing in this number is for two or three voices, with no attempt at climaxes of an obvious kind, but a quiet appeal pervades the music, which reflects the mood of the wistful words and seconds the emotional content of the text. The slow moving character of the final number, with a concluding "Jesu" of a long drawn ^{nature} ~~character~~ makes an impressive finish to a piece of music of deep sincerity. It is not unusually intricate and the favourite mediaeval device of canon and imitation is never overworked. The composer relies upon a simple polyphony and skill in weaving parts freely in order to achieve a web of sustained beauty. Emeritus-Professor Whittaker of Glasgow University who has produced

the motet, informs me that the nineteen part sections, when sung, are the musical equivalent of soft, rich, thick velvet.

Amongst the pieces in this Scone MS., is a Kyrie based upon the lovely ~~English melody~~ ^{L'homme armé} "~~Western Wynde~~". This was one of the popular songs of the mediaeval period and, like "~~L'homme armé~~" on the Continent, "~~Western Wynde~~" was ^{often} made the basis of music for the mass by ~~English~~ composers. Other composers besides Carver who used this song for their masses were ~~Taverner, Shepherd and Tye~~ ^{Jay by des Pres & Palestrina} and its use by the Scone monk, Robert Carver, indicated the wide knowledge of contemporary music possessed by at least one Scottish composer of the middle of the sixteenth century.

It has been noted elsewhere in this study that in the composition of Cathedral and Collegiate Church choirs, the number of men was usually out of all proportion apparently to the number of boys. In "O bone Jesu", only four boys (presuming that the two altos were ~~men~~ altos) had to hold their own against fifteen men; but this occurs mainly in the broad chords apostrophising "Jesu"; in numbers where only a few voices are used, the parts are so distributed that something like a good balance might be obtained - if a sense of balance was expected or even appreciated.

THE DUNKELD MUSIC BOOK.

This book lies in the Library of Edinburgh University, and contains a very considerable number of pieces of a religious character. On the binding of modern yellow calf,

the title "Antiphonarium Ecclesie Dunkeldensis" is lettered. It is not a true 'antiphonarium' for it contains music for the Ordinary of the Mass arranged for five voices, in five volumes (in one) with one for each part. In addition, there are a number of anthems, mostly in praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Some of these anthems or hymns are proses (e.g. 'O benigna', 'Inviolata integra et casta') and the texts may be found in the Missale Romanum (Paris, 1640) at the end of that compilation.

On p.103, is written "Robert Douglas with my hand at the pen, William Fische". Douglas may have been the composer of the music. We know however, that Dunkeld took its use from Salisbury and that Sarum Books were commonly in use in Scottish cathedrals and it may be that the music is of English origin. (Fragments of Sarum Books with music are preserved in Dundee, Glasgow and elsewhere and the Arbuthnot Missal, the Rathen Manual and other service books, preserved in Scotland follow the use of Sarum.) It must also be noted that the hand and ornaments much resemble the Scone Antiphonary.

The text is in at least two different hands - the mass being written in a different hand from the hymns. The work is of early 16th century date, and clearly written in both text and notes. The five-part Kyrie is in three divisions and is a good example of the music of the time. In this mass and in the hymns, the devices of canon and imitation are freely used but not slavishly and the parts, as far as seen, are well balanced and flow smoothly.

From the two examples, shown at this point, it will be observed that a plainly deliberate scheme marks the lay-out of the compositions. The Kyrie is reproduced in full, by the kind permission of Mr Ian Whyte, as he arranged the number for production at a broadcast recital. Each of the three parts is complete in itself and is quite short but a neat finish gives the three sections an artistic grace. A different figure is used in each part and the device of imitation appears only in the four uppermost voices while the bass part provides an almost --but not quite-- continuous support in long notes. The part of one of the hymns, from O Florens Rosa, is worked out on a different pattern. The excerpt is representative of the method employed in many of the motets. Each little verbal phrase is given a short opening of three or four notes which is heard in all the parts, after which the writing is of a free nature. As in the Kyrie, each of the sections is complete in itself, except that these sections dovetail into one another with no little ingenuity. No breaks occur between the succeeding sections, as is the case with the Kyrie where one part ends with a recognizable close before another one begins but the hymn proceeds smoothly from beginning to end. The device has a schematic quality, but the "well-madeness" of the hymn is so well handled and adroit that no stiffness is apparent.

Handwritten musical score for the first system, featuring five staves. The lyrics are: *Christ. e e u - i - son Christ. e e*. The notation includes treble clefs for the upper staves and a bass clef for the bottom staff. The music is written in a simple, handwritten style with various note values and rests.

Handwritten musical score for the second system, continuing the vocal lines and bass line. The lyrics are: *u - i - son Christ. e e u - Christ. e e e - u - Christ. e e e - u - Christ. e e e - u -*. The notation includes treble clefs for the upper staves and a bass clef for the bottom staff. The music is written in a simple, handwritten style with various note values and rests.

Handwritten musical score for the first system, featuring five staves with lyrics: e - le - i - son, i - son, Christ - e e - le - i - son, Christ - e e - le - i - son, and - i - son Christ - e e - le - i - son.

e - le - i - son
 i - son
 Christ - e e - le - i - son
 Christ - e e - le - i - son
 - i - son Christ - e e - le - i - son

Handwritten musical score for the second system, featuring five staves with lyrics: Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son, Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son, Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son, Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son, and Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son.

Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son
 Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son
 Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son
 Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son
 Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son

Empty musical staves at the bottom of the page.

Handwritten musical score for the first system, featuring five staves with lyrics in Latin. The lyrics are: *i-son*, *Kyri-e e lei-son*, *Kyri-e e lei-son, e-lei-son, e*, *Kyri-e e lei-son Kyri-e e*, and *ri-e e-lei-son*.

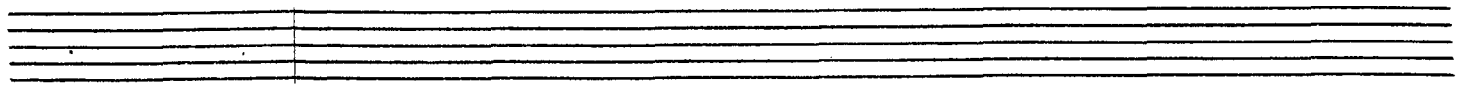
Handwritten musical score for the second system, featuring five staves with lyrics in Latin. The lyrics are: *i-son*, *e e-lei-son e-lei-son*, *lei-son*, *lei-son Kyri-e e-lei-son*, and *Ky-ri-e e-lei-son*.

Regina celi. from Dunkeeld Music Book (1530 c.)

Handwritten musical score for the first system of 'Regina celi'. The score is written on five staves. The top staff is a vocal line in G-clef with a key signature of one flat (F major/D minor) and a 4/4 time signature. It contains the lyrics 'Re - gi - na ce - - - - - li let - - - - -'. The second staff is a vocal line in C-clef with the lyrics 'Re - gi -'. The third staff is a vocal line in G-clef with the lyrics 'Re - gi - na ce - - - - - li let - - - - -'. The fourth staff is a vocal line in C-clef with the lyrics 'Re - gi - a ce - li'. The fifth staff is a vocal line in C-clef with the lyrics 'Re - gi - a ce - li'. The music consists of simple rhythmic patterns with some rests and accidentals.

Handwritten musical score for the second system of 'Regina celi'. The score is written on five staves. The top staff is a vocal line in G-clef with the lyrics '- a ce - - - - - li'. The second staff is a vocal line in C-clef with the lyrics '- gi - ya ce - li let - a - ra'. The third staff is a vocal line in G-clef with the lyrics 'a - re all - e - lu - ya'. The fourth staff is a vocal line in C-clef with the lyrics 'let - a - re all - e - lu - ya'. The fifth staff is a vocal line in C-clef with the lyrics 'Re - gi - na'. The music continues with simple rhythmic patterns and rests.

Re - gi - na.



Handwritten musical score for a vocal ensemble. It consists of five staves: two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto), two piano accompaniment staves (Right and Left Hand), and a bass line. The lyrics are written under the vocal staves.

Lyrics:
 li - a - re all - e - lu - ya
 all - e - lu - ya
 all - e - lu - ya au - e - lu - ya
 ya all - e -
 ce - li let - a - re

Continuation of the handwritten musical score. It consists of five staves: two vocal staves, two piano accompaniment staves, and a bass line. The lyrics are written under the vocal staves.

Lyrics:
 qui - a quem mer -
 quem mer - u - est - i sunt
 qui - a qui - a quem mer
 lu - ya lui - a quem mer - u - i
 all - e - lu - ya

quem rex u - is - ti
 a - re
 - sti, mer - u - is - ti, mer -
 ti Qui - a quem mer -
 Qui - a quem mer -

per - ti
 fort. a - re fort.
 u - is - ti fort. a - re
 u - is - ti Christ. un fort. - a - re
 u - is - ti

Handwritten musical score for the first system, featuring vocal lines and piano accompaniment. The lyrics include: - ra, all - e - lu - ya, ra port., a - re, all - e - lu, and port. a - re.

Handwritten musical score for the second system, continuing the vocal and piano parts. The lyrics include: all - e - lu - ya, all - e - lu ya, a - re, all - e - lu - ya, ya, all - e - lu - ya, all - e - lu - ya, and all - e - lu - ya.

Handwritten musical score for the first system, featuring vocal lines and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: *all - e - lu - ya all - e - lu - ya all - e - lu ya*. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings such as *f* and *fz*.

Handwritten musical score for the second system, continuing the vocal and piano parts. The lyrics include: *all ... e - lu ya all ... e - lu - ya*. This system features a large fermata over the piano accompaniment and concludes with double bar lines and repeat signs.

A NOTE ON THE DUNKELD MUSIC BOOK

The actual title of the book is 'Antiphonarium ecclesie Dunkeldenis' but the date 1530 is conjectural. However, the music has all the qualities and distinction of early 16th century compositions and the five-part writing shows a good control over counterpoint. Only in a few cases does the musical material owe anything to the plain chant as the core of the composition: the imitation certainly dominates the musical method but, as Dr. Jeppeson (1) has pointed out, "the second voice need not imitate more than the amount heard before it entered". The short hymn "Regina celi" is written round a perfect canon for the bass and an upper part: the other three parts do more than merely "fill in" a background but show no awkwardness of interval and a considerable smoothness of flow. The 'O florens rosa' has certain characteristic qualities of the period which are shared by other hymns in the Dunkeld Book. Mere invention and technical exactness are not the be-all and end-all of the hymns; there is a deliberate aim at beauty of expression in each section of a hymn as the music changes with the entry of a new line of the text.

Occasionally one meets with errors or rather slips, now and again blurred and altered notes as well as some marks on the MS., where rest-marks occur, offer difficulties and demand the application of trial and error but, as a whole the MS is clearly written and easily deciphered. In some cases all the parts are not included.

(1) Music Review Vol.1 No. 3 p. 212

To what extent the music in the Dunkeld Music Book was put to use we cannot say; we have no clear knowledge that it was used in the Cathedral of Dunkeld. The question as to how the music was sung, and under what conditions it was performed cannot be answered.

We know that both boys and men were not always chosen for their musical abilities, but for less commendable reasons and it would be wrong of us to think of performances in terms of what we ourselves have heard in our own time. As for the art of singing, we know nothing. Burney wrote "The art of singing in these times (i.e. sixteenth century) further than was necessary to keep a performer in tune and time, must have been unknown: the possessor of the most exquisite voice had no more opportunities allowed of displaying it than the most disagreeable". He argues this on the ground of the music of the time being founded upon democratic (the word is Burney's) principles which admit of no sovereignty for any one part. It is very difficult to shed our knowledge of present day ideals of balance, good singing, good taste and expression, but we must be on our guard so as to avoid applying what we know today of these things to an age which either knew nothing of them or else had only faint glimmerings of what might be achieved under other conditions. From what has been said earlier, in reviewing the criticisms of Richardinus and others, one recognises that their chief aim was sincere singing which should come from the heart and should not be lost in mere vocal displays. Real voice production came in with Italian opera and lessons in singing would mean sight-singing and the ability to extemporize on a plain chant.

- (1) For a description of methods of performance in mediaeval times, see Reese's Music in the Middle Ages. (1941) p.323.
and Burney's History Vol.3 p.144

Some other pieces in the Music Book are:-

Ave virgo gloriosa
 Inviolata integra et casta es
 O florens rosa, mater domini gloriosa
 Genetrix virgo mater
 Virgo elemens et benigna
 Felix et beata deo fecundata
 Ave Maria, gracia plena
 O Maria, O Maria stans sub cruce
 Ad nutum domini
 Regina celi letare alleluja
 Resurrexit secut dixit
 Benedicta es celorum regina
 Vidi civitatem sanctam
 Descendi in hortum meum
 Infelix ego
 Ad te certum potentissime deus
 Surge petre.

ROBERT JOHNSON

Robert Johnson is generally accepted as the greatest Scottish musician of the sixteenth century. His music has nothing in it of a specially Scottish character but is written in the manner of his times, as might be expected from a churchman who had spent most of his life in England. The late Sir Richard Terry, who had a high opinion of Johnson's musical originality and had transcribed most of the Scottish composer's work, found something in Johnson's music that was akin to Shepherd. There were two, if not three Robert Johnsons in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and musical historians have confused them from time to time. Even Dr. Burney ascribes to the Scottish Robert Johnson, who lived in the first half of the sixteenth century, an allemande, more probably written by the composer of the same name, who flourished nearly a century later, and contributed to the

From *Domine in verbis* by Robert Johnson - Brit. Mus. MS 1
 (middle section) St Andrew's Hall

Handwritten musical score for the first system, featuring five staves. The first staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The second and third staves are in bass clef. The fourth and fifth staves are in alto clef. The lyrics are: "A... ve e - ter - ne car - i - ta - tis".

Handwritten musical score for the second system, featuring five staves. The first staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat. The second and third staves are in bass clef. The fourth and fifth staves are in alto clef. The lyrics are: "fil - i - a de - si - der - a - ti - si - ma ... tis fil - i - a de - si - der - a - ti - si - ma ... ne car - i - ta - tis fil - i - a de - si - der - a - ti - si - ma e - ter - ne".

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of five staves. The top staff is a vocal line in G major with lyrics: "e. ter - ne Sap - i - ent - i - e ma - ter grat - u - ri". The second staff is a piano accompaniment line. The third staff is another vocal line with lyrics: "Sap - i - ent - i - e ma - ter grat - u - ri ma - ter grat - u - ri - a". The fourth staff is a bass line with lyrics: "e - ter - ne Sap - i - ent - i - e ma - ter grat - u - ri". The fifth staff is a piano accompaniment line with lyrics: "- ne Sap - i - ent - i - e ma - ter grat - u - ri ma".

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "ma e - ter - ne Spi - ri - a - li". The second staff is a piano accompaniment line with lyrics: "E - ter - ne Spi - ri - a - li o ...". The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "e - ter - ne spi - ri - a - li - o -". The fourth staff is a piano accompaniment line with lyrics: "ma e - ter - ne Spi - ri - a - li - o - nis". The fifth staff is a piano accompaniment line with lyrics: "e - ter - ne spi - ri - a - li - o - nis".

o-nis
 nis Spon - sa
 sac-ra-tis - si - ma
 nis Spon - sa sac-ra-tis - si - ma
 cu - e -

Spon - sa sac-ra-tis - si - ma
 Sae - ra-tis - si - ma
 Spon - sa sac-ra-tis - si - ma
 Sae - ra-tis - si - ma
 Spon - sa sac-ra-tis - si - ma

co - e - lev - ne maj-is tu - tis
 co - e - lev - ne
 Un - e maj-is-ti - ca
 co - e - lev - ne
 maj-is-ti - ca

co - e - lev - ne
 maj-is-ti - ca
 co - e - lev - ne
 maj-is-ti - ca

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "an-cil-la sub-jectissi - - - - -". The second staff is another vocal line with lyrics: "tis ma-jesta - - - - - tis an-cil-la sub-ject-issi-ma". The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "jesta-tis". The fourth and fifth staves are piano accompaniment. The lyrics "tis an-cil-la an-er-ssi" are written below the piano part.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "ma-". The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "an-cil-la an-er-ssi-ri ma-". The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "ma". The fourth and fifth staves are piano accompaniment. The lyrics "an-cil-la an-er-ssi-ri ma" are written below the piano part.

Handwritten musical score for five staves. The score is written in a single system with four measures. The lyrics are "A - ve - re - su - re". The notation includes treble clefs, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables across notes. The first staff has lyrics "A - ve", the second "re", the third "su", and the fourth "re". The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, and half notes), rests, and repeat signs (double bar lines with dots). There are also some handwritten annotations like "||>||" above the notes.

Staff	Measure 1	Measure 2	Measure 3	Measure 4
1	A -	ve	re -	su
2	- ve	re	su	re
3	a -	ve	re -	su
4	A -	ve	re -	su
5	A -	ve	re -	su

Two-part canon (or fugue) by Robert Johnson on a plain chant

O Lux be at a Tr i n i t a s

The first system of handwritten musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with a slur over the first two notes. The middle staff is in treble clef and contains a second melodic line. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a simple harmonic accompaniment of quarter notes.

The second system of handwritten musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with a sharp sign (#) above a note. The middle staff is in treble clef and contains a second melodic line. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a simple harmonic accompaniment of quarter notes.

The third system of handwritten musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line. The middle staff is in treble clef and contains a second melodic line. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a simple harmonic accompaniment of quarter notes.

Two empty musical staves at the bottom of the page, consisting of five lines each.

The old hymn acts as a ground bass.

O Lux benigna Trinitas
Et principalis unitas
Iam sol recedit igneus
Infunde lumen cordibus.

said to be one of his compositions as well as a sacred song with lute accompaniment 'Benedicam Domino in omni tempore.... O Lorde with all my harte and mynde'. A lute arrangement of his 'Ave dei patris' is found in B.M. Add. MSS. 29246/7, but the arrangement is not by Johnson. It seems to have been by a later composer. Johnson is also credited with the songs: Come pale faced Death (B.M. Add. 30,480/4) and Ty the mare tomboy (B.M. Harley MS. 7578.)

The various scraps of ecclesiastical music of pre-Reformation date have only an indirect interest for they cannot be claimed as of Scottish origin. In Dundee, the various fragments are parts of one service book and were recovered at different times in the later part of the 19th century. The late Mr. Alexander Maxwell, author of Old Dundee, first rescued a number of sheets found in the covers of a protocol book, where they were used for the purpose of stiffening the covers. These fragments were in protocol books of Thomas Irland, and dated from 1535 to 1575. In 1887, the late Dr. A.H. Millar discovered more sheets in a protocol book of Robert Wedderburn, dated between 1580 and 1585, and in 1903, he recovered more sheets in another of Wedderburn's books. As all these fragments were taken from the same service book, Dr. Millar was able to put a number of them together and present, in continuous order, seven out of twelve fragments. The fragments which Alexander Maxwell discovered, came from the Sarum Missal and the Sarum Gradual

- (1) Maxwell's Old Dundee after the Reformation. p.580-1
 (2) Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1887/8 p.164 and 1903/4 p.476.

and those found by Dr. Millar were also from a Missal. In as far as these fragments cannot be claimed as Scottish contributions, they add nothing to our knowledge of Scottish ecclesiastical compositions but it is a legitimate surmise that, since Scotland adopted Sarum use in most of the great Churches and Cathedrals the music of the Sarum Missal and Gradual was used in Scottish Churches, and if generally adopted, may have stood in the way of the encouragement of original music for the church by native musicians. These scraps are in the Dundee Public Museum.

Two motets "Ubi est Abel" and another have been associated with the name of Patrick Douglas, 'Priste, Scotte bourne' but C. van der Borren has shown that they are by Orlando Lassus. These motets lie in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford.

Dr Henry Farmer has pointed out that in the Euing Library, Glasgow, an autograph MS bearing the name of Robert Ramsay, with music in six parts, is of a very attractive nature. I have not seen any of the Mss, nor have I been able to complete my examination of the pieces of pre-Reformation date in Wood's Psalter.

ORGANS AND ORGAN PLAYING

The organ of the early sixteenth century was a very different instrument from the two-manual organ erected in even small churches today. Many improvements had been made and an organist had no longer to struggle with an instrument with keys six inches broad and requiring the force of the fist to produce the tone. By 1500, the size of the keys had been reduced and other improvements made, so that a skilled organist could provide a certain amount of attractive playing. Few organs were of such a size that they could not be moved from place to place. Those that were actually in a fixed position, were called positive organs and those which were often so small that they might be carried about, slung from the neck of the performer, who played the instrument with one hand and manipulated the bellows with the other, were called portatives. Probably, it was a portative that James IV carried with him on his travels. They were limited in their possibilities and could not provide an accompaniment to choral singing such as we are accustomed to hear today. No doubt a skilful player could not resist the temptation of giving free scope ^{to} for his fancy, if he were an inventive extemporizer, and ^{would} do more than double the vocal part of the music at any time being performed.

Instrumental music played a considerable part in the Church music of Scotland of the Middle Ages and the early sixteenth century. While the organ was the constant instrument at Church services, high occasions brought trumpets, shalms

and clarions to add to the highly coloured scene. At Queen
 Madeleine's marriage to King James V, the ceremony was
 performed, we are told, "with sic instrumentis and craftie
 musik singing from the splene" and the same poet, Sir David
 Lyndesay, would have "organ, timpane, trumpet, and clarioun"
 at the funeral of Squyer Meldrum. The organ was the
 principal instrument and by the early sixteenth century,
 most churches, even quite small ones, had their organs. (The
 "organs" was the usual term in use and a "pair of organs" was
 employed in the same way as we speak of a pair of steps.) The
 first reference to organ music in Aberdeen occurs in
 connection with the Collegiate Church of St. Nicolas in 1437.
 "Pro sufflacione organorum" (for blowing the organ). According
 to Alexander Myln in his "Vitae Dunkeldensis ecclesiae
 episcoporum" a prebendary, one Stephenson, was "musica et
 organorum lusu excellens". Even in small priories such as
 Inchmahome in the Isle of Menteith and at Ferne in Ross, there
 were organs. Organ playing was required from one of the
 chaplains in Crail Collegiate Church as we have seen earlier.
 The Master of the Sang Schule at Biggar Collegiate Church had
 to be skilled in organ playing.

In Scotland, by the beginning of the sixteenth century,
 the posts of organist and sang schule master were almost
 invariably combined. We find the two posts held by John
 Painter in Glasgow Cathedral, and by masters of Sang Schules

- (1) Lyndesay's Deploration of the Death of Queen Madeleine.
- (2) Testament of Squyer Meldrum (l. 1751)
- (3) B.R. Aberdeen (Sp. Cl.) 26/8/1437.
- (4) Walcott's Ancient Church of Scotland. 73. (5) ibid. 319.
- (6) Spalding Club misc. vol. V. 299.
- (7) see Sang Schules --Glasgow

(1) at St. Nicolas, Aberdeen, at Linlithgow, and elsewhere. An
 (2) exception is found in the case of Kirkwall where the succentor
 (3) was organist, but the practice of combining the posts was
 general.

As was the case in England and on the Continent, it
 happened often that the organist was an organ builder and
 in the case of Sir John Fethy, while master of the Sang Schules
 (4) at Edinburgh, this organist received a special fee for tuning
 the organ at St. Giles, Edinburgh. He had a high reputation
 as a teacher, or the burghs of Dundee, Aberdeen and Edinburgh
 would not have competed for his services, and he was a composer
 whose "O God abuse" is extant in a MS. in Trinity College,
 Dublin. We learn from a marginal note in the St. Andrews
 Psalter (1566) made by the compiler Thomas Wood (5) that "this
 man was the first organist that ever brought to Scotland the
 curious new art of fingering and playing on organs". One
 would like to know what the new art was, but it is known that
 in Fethy's day and for some time afterwards, the thumb was
 seldom used in organ playing, with often only three fingers in
 runs. In a picture by Van der Goes showing a female, playing
 on an organ, while another female blows the instrument, the thumb
 of the player hangs below the keyboard. The picture shows
 a Scottish armorial on the Organist's seat and the date is
 usually given as about 1500.

- (1) Cart. St. Nic. Aber. II. p.367.
- (2) Burgh Records Linlithgow 26/5 1546.
- (3) Wallcott's Ancient Ch. of Scot. p.173.
- (4) Dean of Guild's Accounts Edinburgh. II. p.43.
- (5) Supplementary Vol. p11

SECULAR MUSIC

As often happens in all the arts, an enthusiastic patronage is a stimulating factor of the first order. Fortunately for music in Scotland, all the Stewarts were musical. Music in the fifteenth century derived its stimulus from King James I. (1424-37). The third of the Stewart kings had spent his youth in England from 1406 to 1424 and, however regrettable this exile had been in some ways, it brought the King into artistic contacts that might never have been met with under other conditions. As far as music is concerned, we have several reliable records of the musical interests which he had acquired in England during his impressionable years. Bishop Leslie wrote of him "In all kynde of musik he was excellent upon the cythar mervellous". Hector Boece said of him

"In musick befoir quhairof thair wes bot lyte,
Into his tyme richt cunnynge and perfyte
In that science fra sindre partis brocht he,
And causit thame for till authorisit be."

John Major celebrated the King as a musician and Tassoni made extravagant claims for the King's musical attainments. In the Buik of the Cronicles of Scotland the claim is set forth that he was

"The first as ye sall wnderstand
Organis gart mak, or bring into Scotland."

He was not the first to bring organs into Scotland as we know of an organ played by the Earl of Warrenne's organist at

- (1) History of Scotland by Thos. Leslie S.T.S. 11 44
- (2) Buik of the Cronicles of Scotland III p.540.
- (3) History of Greater Britain S.H.T. 366.
- (4) Pensieri diversi 10 23 p.664 (1627)
- (5) Cal. Doc. Scotland 474 (quoted Farmer's "Music in Mediaeval Scotland")

Dunfermline in 1303/4. Probably this was a portative and came with the Earl's entourage.

King James II was far too much occupied with affairs of the realm to give much attention to the encouragement of music. His son, James III, not only loved music and cherished the art but had plans for the establishment of a musical college at Stirling in connection with the Chapel Royal.⁽¹⁾ He had no doubt learned much of the conditions obtaining in the endowed music schools of England associated with the cathedrals from William Roger, a doctor of music who came to Scotland in the train of the English Ambassador and was received into the Royal favour. Roger's influence over the King and the honours bestowed upon him led to the bitter opposition of the nobles and to the English musician's death. Still James went on with his project, and when two powerful nobles,⁽²⁾ Patrick and James Hume, seized the revenues of Coldingham Abbey, James ordered the revenues to be restored⁽³⁾ and obtained the consent of Parliament to devote these revenues to the foundation of the college at Stirling in 1483. It is sad to think that this act was one of the causes of the rebellion that led to the death of James III in 1488. The King's interest in music and musicians appears also in the encouragement which he gave one John Brown,⁽⁴⁾ a luter, who was made an allowance to go abroad to study music.⁽⁵⁾ Pitscottie's statement that the King delighted more in music

- (1) Roger's History of the Chapel Royal, Stirling" XXII et
 (2) Hunter:- History of Coldingham Priory 68-71. seq.
 (3) A.P.S. 1483. (4) L.H.T.A. 3/8/1473.
 (5) Pitscottie's Chronicles S.T.S. 163.

and policy of building than he did in the government of his realm.....and more in singing and the playing upon instruments than in the defense of his borders was, no doubt, not far off the mark.

The cultivation of music in Scotland, however, reached its peak in the reign of James IV, whose reign coincided with the transition period of European history. It cannot be claimed that the fruits of the Renaissance were greatly evident during his reign, but the tyranny of the Schoolmen *and the loosening of the grip* was loosening and the foundation of Aberdeen University was symptomatic of an educational awakening. The law of 1494, that all barons and freeholders of substance should send their sons and heirs to school "until they be competently founded and have perfect Latin", was doubtless urged by a king who gave personal care to the needs of good government.

(1)

When Margaret Tudor came North for her marriage with King James IV and rested at Newbattle on August 4th, 1503, James came to visit her and "after some wordes rehersed betwix them the minstrells begoune to play a basse daunce.... after thys doon, thay playde a rounde..... Incontynent the Kynge begoune before hyr to play on the clarycordis efter of the lute wiche plesyd hir varey much." So recorded Young the Somerset herald. When the King went on his travels he took an organ with him. When he went to Stirling or Linlithgow or even as far North as Tain, payments were

(1) Leland's Collectanea.V2. p.258.

(2) L.H.T.A. 3/6 1512. 285

sanctioned for the carriage of his organ. One Guilliam, not the tabourner, is called the maker of the King's organs, and received £8 - 4 for "Skynnnes and parchment to make the bellows". A canon of Holyrood, (1) skilled in the work, kept the organ in repair at Holyrood and at Stirling, and when the King went to Aberdeen, (2) the citizens subscribed towards his entertainment and amongst other donations was £2 for the "organ man"---possibly the organist he carried with him. The service of the church never failed to enlist his interest and at Corstorphine, (3) at Kirk o' Field (4) and elsewhere, payments were made to those who pleased him. At Dumfries, (5) he was entertained by the singing of the 'cruked vicar', at Linlithgow, (6) the organist pleased him, and each performer had his reward. The maidens and Wantonness, (7) (a singer impersonating a character of liveliness and gaiety) sang to him and he was so pleased with the latter that he 'gart her sing in the Queen's chalmir'. If a musician had his lute broken on board ship, (8) or a trumpeter could not perform on his instrument on account of a sore lip, (9) small sums of money were allowed by way of compensation. The King acquired a whistle from France (10) and a lute from Flanders (11) and when four scholar-minstrels proposed to go abroad, (12) he paid the expenses and

- (1) L.H.T.A. 12/5 1506 and 12/1 1506-7
- (2) Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen 1 p. 62
- (3) L.H.F.A. 1/6 1508
- (4) ibid 1/12 1511
- (5) ibid 28/3 1504-5
- (6) ibid 23/4 1513
- (7) ibid 16/2 1506-7
- (8) ibid 8/8 1506
- (9) ibid 26/2 1507-8
- (10) ibid 26/7 1506
- (11) ibid 8/7 1505
- (12) ibid 27/3 1512

'fraucht', provided them with new instruments and when they complained that their allowance was insufficient, he doubled it.

With the disaster of Flodden, and the ensuing internal dissensions, during the long minority of King James V, it might have been expected that music would become less active in the social life and hold a less prominent place at court. Circumstances were inimical and against it and the reformed doctrines of the Church were beginning to split the country into two sections, but we find there was no lessening in the cultivation of church music. When the treaties with England were signed, in 1543, very shortly after the death of James V, high mass was sung at the Abbey Church of Holyroodhouse ⁽¹⁾ with shalms and sackbuts. So long as the old Church was powerful in the land, music was taught in the Sang Schules, and services and ceremonials were rich in the performance of noble music. Minstrels still had their place at functions and fêtes and as we shall see, the people danced and sang. James V was himself a musician as Thomas Wood testifies in a marginal note to his Psalter of 1566, and without doubt, the cultivation of music owed something to his musical interests.

MINSTRELSY.

Secular music entered largely into the life of all classes and the practice of secular music was very largely

(1) Sadler's Letters. 339.

cultivated by the minstrels. They were responsible for the dissemination and handing down of the secular airs and dances that were beloved by the people. No doubt, acting like bees, they carried the musical pollen on their flights, picking it up at their halting places and depositing it at resting places on their journeys. Every ceremonial had its musical accompaniment: the journeyings of kings and nobles, the opening of parliament, the arrival and departure of distinguished visitors, the celebration of feast days and holidays were all graced by an ample music. Besides this public music, there was a quieter and more intimate music for the hours of leisure when lute and viol played tender airs. We know a considerable amount about the musicians themselves, what they played and what they sang, but of the actual music itself we have next to nothing. We may dally with more or less false surmise and believe that the tune to "Hey the day dawis" - played by the town minstrels of Edinburgh - that has come down to us through seventeenth-century MSS. actually is of sixteenth-century origin, but we have no certain proof: the music of minstrelsy is lost to us though it is far from unlikely that the airs which the Scottish lute-players of the 1620's inscribed in their MS. books came down from the previous century. It has been said that "nine tenths of the secular music of the Middle Ages had its origin in minstrelsy"⁽¹⁾ and without pressing the proposition too hard, we may accept this opinion as generally accurate.

Primarily, the minstrel was a musician, but he might include, amongst his other gifts as an entertainer, the additional accomplishments of story-teller, mime and even juggler, and it was indeed a wise provision for a minstrel, faced with the hard life of the road, to have more than one string to his bow. As musicians, the minstrels can be divided into two distinct classes. First there was the large wandering class, which preferred the care-free, peripatetic life on the road with penury and hardship, to the sheltered existence in regular employment with a guaranteed wage and provision for maintenance. They were an easy-going, irresponsible and shifty company over which romance has shed its glamour, but Church and State regarded them as outcasts and, being "masterless men", the State from time to time prohibited them from continuing their profession and threatened them with dire penalties if they were recalcitrant. "Fulis, menstralis, bardis, and ad sic idil pepil" wrote Bellenden in his translation of Boethius's "Scotorum Historiae", "bot gif thay be specially licent be the King, sal be compellit to seik sum craft to win thair leving: gif thay refuse, thay sal be drawnin lik hors in the pluch and harrowis".

(3)

The Parliament of James II, (March, 1457) directed its thunder against "sornarës, bardës, maisterfull beggaris and fenyeit fulys" and long after the Middle Ages came to a close, Church and State regularly issued similar pronounce-

(1) see Dalryell's Musical Memoirs. Plate XXV.

(2) Works 1821, 11 262

(3) Laws and Acts of Parliament 1457 IIc 26 57.

(4) see Dumfries (1548) and Dundee (1580) Burgh Court Books

ments against the wandering minstrels. In Edinburgh, "an Irichman that singis with the las and beggis throu the toune is banist this toune becaus he is ane sterk young fallow and will nocht werk under the pane of burning of his cheik"⁽¹⁾. There were undoubtedly lazy fellows amongst the minstrel body who were content with the scraps thrown to a singer and preferred that to submission under a master.

The second class included those musicians who held office at Court, at Castle or in burgh and having an assured position, received a wage and were clad at the expense of their employers. Their duties at Court were in part domestic, but they were mainly employed in the performance of the ceremonial music that was a concomitant of State functions and civic merry-makings. At all festivals, feastings and fêtes, the minstrels of this class had their share in the general revellies, and it is plain that these minstrels in permanent employment were not included in the enactments aimed at the wandering minstrels, for an Act of Parliament⁽²⁾ definitely excluded from sumptuary laws all Knights, heralds and minstrels.

It would be wrong, however, to relegate minstrels rigidly to one or other of these two classes. The wandering minstrels, in spite of the edicts prohibiting them from the practice of their craft, were often engaged at Court or by the State. The repressive acts cannot have been rigorously enforced. It is quite probable that many minstrels would have preferred a post at Court under the

(1) Extracts B.R. Edin. 13/11 1529 (2) A.P.S. 1471.

patronage of a great Churchman or noble, but there were more minstrels than posts and it was only on high occasions that the strolling minstrel could look for periods of employment. Yule and Easter were the great festivals when junkettings were common and we find at these times that individual minstrels were specially engaged for occasional services. Some names appear time and again in the records of the sixteenth century, only to disappear for months at a stretch, after which they re-appear.

At Court, there was music of endless variety and at Yule and Pasch, and on occasions for general revelry, music took a foremost place in the revelry. Schawmers, trumpeters, tabourners, fiddlers, luters, harpers, clarscha-players and pipers, all had their places on these high occasions. No fewer than sixty-nine minstrels were employed at New Year 1506/7. At Easter 1506, the following minstrels were engaged for the occasion and the list is representative of the musical performers, usually found in employment at a great festival season:-

Thomas Hopringill (eldar), Alexander Caslaw, Pete John, Johne Andersone, Thomas Hopringill (younger) - trumpeteris Foure Schawlmiris and thair foure childir.

The More tabournar, Guilliam, tabournar, Adam Boyd and his son Ansle, Guilliamis man - tabournaris.

Adam Dikeson, lutair, The Countes of Craufurdes lutar, Robert Rudman, the Sowtar Lutar, Lyndesay lutar,

(1) L.H.T.A. 1/1, 1506/7. (2) *ibid* 14/4, 1506.

(3) For a long list of extracts from L.H.T.A. Exchequer Rolls etc. concerning the employment of minstrels see Dr. A.J. Mill's *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* 1927 Appendix II.

Robert Hay - lutaris.

Alexander harpar Pate harpar (Clarscha) and his son,
the Ersch Clarscha and his son, the Beschop of Ros harpar
and Bragman harpar, Henry Philip harpar

Schir George Lawderis fithelar ane fithelar of Strivelin
Johnestoun the fithelar, James fithelar Widdirspune -
fithelaris

Twa piparis of Edinburgh

Franch quhissillar

The reputation of the Court of James IV travelled far beyond the borders of Scotland. Minstrels were a wandering folk and they had ample opportunities of learning what countries and what monarch had a sympathetic attitude towards the minstrel art. They would, doubtless, learn that Scotland had a warm welcome for musicians of high quality and that employment was to be had at the Court of King James IV. It is not surprising to find that while the minstrel body in Scotland during the early 16th century contains many instrumentalists who, from their names, were certainly Scottish, musicians from other lands held posts at Court. English musicians came in the train of Queen Margaret, the wife of King James IV and we read of 'the Queen's four minstrels'⁽¹⁾; 'three minstrels of Berwick'⁽¹⁾, five 'lowd minstrels'⁽¹⁾ and eight 'Inglis menstrales'⁽¹⁾, all of whom received payments. From Norway came three 'tubicines et musici'⁽²⁾. There were two bodies of musicians however, who held a prominent place in the life of the Court over a

(1) L.H.T.A. 13/8/1503. (2) Reg. Sec. Sig. 5/8/1509.

very **considerable** period: there were the Italian and the French minstrels and of the two the Italians were the chief. How these Italians came to Scotland we do not know: perhaps through England, for Italians found occupation there, or maybe straight from the Continent. One of the earliest references to them indicates that they had got into trouble for in 1503, they received payment of 56/- "to fee thaim hors to Linlithgow (1) and to red thaim of the toun" This misadventure--if it was no more--seems to have done them little harm, for they were given permanent employment with settled salaries and special payments. Their salaries were regularly paid, (2) with regular allowances for their liveries. (3) The composition of this minstrel group varied from time to time but in 1517/8 (4) the members were Julian Drummond, Vincent Pais, Sebastian Drummond, Julian Richard and George Forrest, a Scot, who was the associate with the Italians for many years.

The Italians seem to have been a privileged company, who went with the King on his travels. Their salaries were charged to the fermes of Garviauch (5) and Kintore--a privilege allowed to other minstrels and when one of the company wished to visit his friends in Italy (6) he was granted permission to leave the country and was given an allowance to help him in his project. The Italians (7) remained in

(1) L.H.T.A. 11/9/1503

(3) *ibid* 26/5/07

(5) E.R. XV 220

(7) As the Italian minstrels were four shcalmers, and Drummond played the tuba ductilis, it looks as if they were a real quartette of wind players;

(2) *ibid* 1/10/1503

(4) E.R. XIV 300

(6) L.H.T.A. 6/9/1915

Scotland until long after James IV 's death at Flodden---where one of them lost his life. In 1529, the payments from Garviauch and Kintore were discontinued unless specially allowed by the King. (Ex. Rolls XV 495 and 682).

We may assume that they were a capable, even superior, body of musicians or they would not have been engaged for so many years. They were instrumentalists, referred to sometimes as schawmers, (1) at other times as 'tubicines, (2) and sometimes as 'histriones' (3) or merely as 'minstrels' . (4) It is possible that they were more than musicians but if Sir E.K. Chalmers (5) is right in his contention that the terms 'tubicines' and 'histriones' are interchangeable, they may well have been musicians first, last and always. Whatever else they were, Julian Drummond was called 'musicus' (6) and payments were made for their services 'in arte musicali' (7)

They were still at the Scottish Court at the time of James V 's death on December 16th, 1542 and at Yule and Candlemas (1542) celebrations. allowances (8) were made for their services and for liveries to the Italian minstrels as well as to violers, trumpeters and drummers.

The French minstrels were another body of foreigners who made a stay of considerable length at the Scottish Court. In 1507 they had a controlled payment 'siclike the Italians' (9) and they travelled with the King and had special

- (1) L.H.T.A. 1511
- (2) Reg. Sec. Sig. 10/9/1524
- (3) Reg. Sec. Sig. 10/9 1524
- (4) E.R. No. XV 682
- (5) Elizabethan Stage II App.
- (6) Reg. Sec. Sig. 1526/7
- (7) Reg. Sec. Sig. I 1189
- (8) L.H.T.A. 1542/3
- (9) L.H.T.A. 16/8/1507
- (10) ibid 28/7/1507

(1) liveries. (2) One of the Frenchmen once got hoity-toity over his livery of red and yellow and having refused to wear it was made an allowance for a livery more to his liking.

Individual French minstrels appear from time to time in the records - Bonntas, (3) skilled in the 'cornut', (4) Guillian, a tabourner who made a dance to celebrate a royal birth.

As we have seen King James V, like his father, (5) gave many minstrels an occupation. When Mary of Lorraine arrived at St. Andrews on her way to marry that King, she was received at the Abbey "with messe songis and playing on the organis". Up to the eve of the Reformation Settlement minstrelsy remained an integral part of Scottish Court life.

As has been seen elsewhere, the laws against minstrels as "masterless men" and "vagabonds" did not apply to those in regular employment and, just as at Court and Castle, musicians were engaged as permanent officials for specifically stated functions, so in the burghs, minstrels were given posts to which a multifarious set of duties were attached. Their first duty was to parade the town with pipe and drum at dawn and sundown, in fair weather and foul and at all seasons of the year, to rouse the citizens from their slumbers in the morning and to warn them at night that day was done. Romance has not cast its glamour over these performers who enjoyed sanctuary and a regular life

(1) L.H.T.A. 26/9/1507 (2) *ibid.* 1538
 (3) *ibid.* 12/10/1515 (4) *ibid.* 1506/7
 (5) Pitscottie S.H.S. I 379.

under civil patronage: yet these stay-at-home performers had plenty of variety in their lives. In carrying out their task of seeing that all persons "being warnit and excitat, may pas to thair labouris in dew and convenient tyme", the minstrels had a simple duty and in return for their services they received regular wages, food and clothing. In 1501, Aberdeen paid its common minstrels £10 a year.

The practice of feeding and clothing the town minstrels at the expense of the burghesses was of an early date - even chaplains in the cathedral churches were similarly treated. In 1487, Edinburgh ordered persons of substance to provide for three pipers or else pay them 3d each. A little later, Aberdeen ordered those citizens who were able, to provide the minstrels with meat and drink or else pay each one 1/- a year. It was stated that Johne and Robert thar commone menstralis sal have reasonable dietis circualie throw the nichtbouris of the towne and gif ony persone refuss to resave tham to thair dietis, it salbe lesum to thame to gif to the said menstralx iidd one the day baith for meit drinkis and waxis for simpile folkis".

It was not sufficient to feed the minstrels. The man who walked through the town in such a climate as ours required to be warmly clad, and the burghs did not hesitate to make the minstrels appear as picturesque figures. In

- (1) B.R. Aber. 15/11/1574
- (2) B.R. Aber. 24/7/1501.
- (3) B.R. Edin. 15/8, 1487.
- (4) B.R. Aber. 18/1, 1492.

(1)
 1593, Aberdeen supplied its drummer with a uniform of red
 English "flanyng" and about the same time Edinburgh, having
 soundly rated its drummer for borrowing the town trumpet
 without leave, made amends by allowing him £10 (2) (Scots)
 for clothes. A very interesting record is left about the
 three Aberdeen minstrels in 1545. (3) These minstrels were
 two in number and another Johne Tulidef was added to their
 company with the injunction for "thame to play thre partis".
 This suggests that they were to form some sort of instrumental
 trio and although we know that part playing and singing were
 possible at that time, we cannot say what sort of a trio
 they made. In any case, in May of the same year, Tulidef
 and the other minstrels, (two brothers called Lawson who
 had been in office since 1540) had some trouble and Tulidef
 attacked them first with a whinger and later with a tree.
 He was fined and, in one sense, the harmony of the trio was
 wrecked. We know a good deal about the town minstrels
 of the music of the town minstrels
 but practically nothing beyond Dunbar's reference to their
 repertory. Their duties went beyond merely wakening the
 citizens and warning them of the close of day, for they
 assisted at seasonable festivities, accompanied a monarch
 on his or her journeys and were a stand-by when music was
 needed on special occasions. In 1604, the common piper of
 Dundee (4) played a 'spring' called "Tobacco or the Laird hes tint
 his gauntlet" to the annoyance of the burghers and was forbid-
 -den to repeat the performance under pain of banishment

(1) B.R. Aber. 18/7, 1593.

(2) B.R. Edin. 26/6, 1594.

(3) B.R. Aber. 17/4, 1545.

(4) B.R. Dundee 28/2 1604

Music certainly reached its peak as a national occupation in the reign of James IV and it is not surprising to find that it receded in general activity as the 16th century proceeded. Yet there was still a considerable amount of ceremonial in the reigns of James V and his daughter Mary and minstrels were employed for royal functions and civic fêtes. Ceremonials still found employment for the Town's minstrels as they had done when the Aberdeen minstrels were summoned to Edinburgh to play at the marriage of James IV. The Italians were retained at Court long after Flodden but the greatest change is found in the region of domestic music. The lute came even more into favour. One Stevenson received payment not only for his playing but for an instrument and a livery. As late as 1561, lute players were provided with new liveries. The viol rivalled the lute in favour and consorts of viols became very popular at Court. A violer was really a player on any bowed instrument for long but a chest of viols supplied a type of concerted music that was peculiarly suited for domestic entertainment. Jakis Collumbell and three violers were engaged in 1539; four viol players were rewarded for their services at Martinmas and Yule in 1550; seven in 1557 and as late as 1562 four violers received payment for their clothing.

- | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------|--------------|------------|
| (1) B.R. Aberdeen | 24/7/1501 | (4) L.H.T.A. | 16/12/1539 |
| (2) L.H.T.A. | 2/4/1548 | (5) " | 1/12/1550 |
| (3) " | 6/2/1561 | (6) " | 24/2/1557 |
| | | (7) " | 15/11/1562 |

(8) It is worth noting that, while the Italian, French and foreign minstrels found posts in Scotland, Scottish instrumentalists found occupation abroad. "Phillipus a 6 joueurs de hautbois et de sachtottes, trois de la ville de Gand et trois venant d'Ecosse" (Les menestrels communaux Malinois et joueurs d'instruments divers &c par Raymond van Aerde p. 215) Communicated by Dr Henry G Farmer

There can be no doubt that the improvisation of music was far commoner in mediaeval times than it has ever been since. It was a matter of necessity. The labour of writing down music was great, and entailed much time for the music books were often works of art. They would, in consequence, be few and much of the music of the church had to be learned by heart. To be skilled in descant, which was often a sine qua non to acquire ^{an} appointment, would mean the ability to supply a freely improvised part to the plain chant at all times. The more inventive the singer, the greater would be his opportunities for advancement. As a writer (1) says, "the science of music was at least direct, for it was a necessary preparation for the academic distinction of Doctors in the Faculty of Law which constituted a large recommendation to the appointment in the choirs, which, from the time of St. Ambrose, had been objects of the most anxious attention". The demand ⁽²⁾ made frequently, that a chaplain should be skilled in prick-song is evidence that more was desired from a singer than his ability to provide a florid counter-melody to a known tune. Both accomplishments were highly prized in the service of the Church.

The same was true in secular music. The minstrels'

(1) Edinburgh Academic Annual, 1840, p.viii.

(2) Crail and St. Andrews.

must have been extemporised freely for very necessity. The town minstrels, at whom Dunbar threw a jibe, most probably played known tunes and popular airs of the day and their repertory of these melodies would be limited. The Scottish poet, perhaps was jeering at the endless repetition of familiar melodies or maybe at the town minstrels' lack of skill in improvisation or variation.

A single sentence in Arbeau's *Orchésographie* has its significance. In answer to the question "Is there any particular manner of playing the fife or pipe? the answer came "Those who play them, play them as **they** please and it is sufficient for them to keep time with the sound of the drum". It was plainly the drum that gave the rhythm for dancers or soldiers on the march and the pipe could play any tune known or unknown that fitted the rhythm given by the drum.

We may be certain that, in the days before the invention of printing when music in manuscripts was comparatively scarce and, even after the invention of printing when the opportunities of having music published were comparatively few, the art of improvisation would be more common than it was in later times. In any case, early notation did not represent a whole work and the committal of music to writing came after the improvisation of the music. In a country such as Scotland where the opportunities for preserving secular music were very few, it is not surprising that so little secular music has come down to us and that improvised music of a popular sort was far from uncommon. Yet there is ample evidence that secular music was considerable in quantity and that it was handed down orally to be put in writing later in the musical MSS of which we have a few left in the early 17th century.

Music in the Literature of the Early Sixteenth Century.

When we turn to the literature of the period between 1450 and the year of the establishment of the Reformed Church in Scotland (1560), we are confronted with ample evidence of the prevalence of music in the life of all classes. We have already seen the place that music had in the service of the Church and the position it took at public functions, and in the private lives of those at Court. The literature of the early 16th century adds much to our knowledge of all manner of musical activities in humble homes as well as in Castles or Burghs. From the literature of this period, we find what songs were sung, what musical terms were current amongst educated folk, what instruments they played, how they played them and what sort of music attracted the folk of the time. Yet all that we learn is but the background of the musical scene, for we have no record of the music itself and many of the musical references may well have been adopted for poetic or symbolical purposes. We know that vocal performances could have reached a high standard and the poets could be critical of indifferent singing: we know that wind instruments were many, the volume of tone unvarying and graduation of tone practically unattainable on many instruments and the poets make this plain by their comparative statements: we know that technical terms were freely employed by the church musicians and the poets employ these terms without any exact reference to their appropriateness

on occasion, and we know many of the instruments mentioned by the poets were of an earlier age than the 16th century, and this suggests that the poets had a closer eye upon the services that musical names could provide than upon the appropriateness of their use. More than once we are left without a clear view of how the poet used his musical terms and sometimes we find that the poet was not completely master of his technicalities. Nevertheless, the writers of those ages contribute valuable information on the state of musical culture: so much so that some writers have it that the Golden Age of Scottish Poetry was **paralleled by a** Golden Age of Scottish Music under the encouragement and fostering stimulus of James IV and his successor James V.

The chief sources of our musical information in Scottish literature are The Book of the Howlat, Cokelbie's Sow, The Complaynt of Scotland, and the poems of Henryson, Dunbar, Gavin Douglas and Sir David Lyndesay. All of these writers touch upon music in one or other of its branches - vocal, instrumental and theoretical. From them we obtain a complete list of all the instruments employed on domestic occasions and at State and Civic functions. They handle musical terms with considerable ease as if they were familiar with the current jargon of the time, give much information of what songs were sung, and what dances were danced in the times of James III, James IV, and James V, and record the names of scores of pieces

of music (almost all of which are now lost) popular with every class in the period. It is interesting to observe that two of these poets enter caveats against any assumption that they were skilled musicians. Henryson wrote in his

"Orpheus and Eurydice":-

Off sic musik to wryt I do bot doit,
Thairfoir of this mater a stray I lay,
For in my lyfe I cowth nevir sing a noit;

and Gavin Douglas, much more trenchantly vowed in his

"Pallice of Honour":-

No mair I understude thir numbers fine
Be God, then dois a gekge or a swine
Say that me think sweit soundis gude to heir.

There is no reason to doubt the truth of these disclaimers whether they were meant to disarm the captious critic or were merely to serve as a warning to the reader only to take the musical references as incidental to the poetic scheme. Few poets, at any time, have been such highly skilled musicians as Thomas Gray and Robert Bridges were in later days, and, in many cases, the attraction of high sounding words has been irresistible, and this being the primary purpose to the poets, such words have often been employed without a strict regard for the exactness of their meaning. We meet this difficulty in Henryson's "Orpheus and Eurydice", where the poet, in dealing with the music of the spheres, employs two parallel sets of terms in a somewhat ambiguous manner.

Thair leirit he tonis proportionat,
 as duplare, triplare, and emetricus,
 enolius, and eik the quadruplait,
 Epoddeus rycht hard and curius;
 off all thir sex, sueit and delicios,
 rycht consonant fyfe hevinly symphonyss
 conponyt ar, as clerkis can devyse.

ffirst diatesserone, full sueit, I wiss
 And dyapasone, semple and dowplait,
 And dyapenty, conponyt with the dyss;
 Thir makis fyfe of thre multiplicat:
 This mirry musik and mellefluat,
 Compleit and full of nummeris od and evin,
 Is causit be the moving of the hevin.

The key to the passage is found in the fact that the Pythagoreans owned only five concords - the octave, double octave, ^{the} fifth, fourth and the interval made up of an octave and a fifth. It is plain that Henryson wished to use these five concords in his verses and was aware of the theory of the Pythagoreans.

(1)
 If we turn to Boethius's De Musica, I, Chapter XVI, we must conclude that, if Henryson did not go direct to that author for his musical terms, he consulted one or other of the mediaeval writers on music, who, following the common practice of those days, based their theses upon the De Musica. In this Chapter, Boethius uses the names of all the concords found in Henryson's verses, while the one term implying a discordant interval occurs in the last chapter of the De Arithmetica.

In the first of the verses, Henryson actually employs

(1) Patrologia, I. 63. p.1179 (Paris 1847)

six musical terms of which five are concords and therefore, one must go. Duplare stands for the octave; triplare (in the Chapter of Boethius referred to above) is the interval of an octave and a fifth and enolius is a corrupt form of hemiolius or the interval of a fifth. (Grove gives it as hemiolia viz. the whole and a half or the ratio of 2:3). Quadruplait is the double octave. Emetricus offers a difficulty as no such word can be found amongst musical or metrical technical terms. The surmise is made by Mr. Harvey Wood⁽¹⁾ in his edition of Henryson, that since it cannot be found to denote any particular musical ratio, the original form may be epitritus viz. the interval of one and a third or the ratio of 3:4. This has much to support it since emetricus would then denote the interval of the fourth. This leaves the term "epoddeus" to be explained. Boethius gives Epogdous in a diagram on p.1062, and this was the interval of a whole and an eighth or the ratio 8:9 or the interval of a discord, the major second. In Morley's Plaine and Easie Introduction to Musick p.33 (1597) this interval appears as the Latin Sesquioctava and this is plainly a discord.

In the second verse "diatesserone" is the fourth, "diapason semple" the octave and "diapason dowplait" the double octave. Diapenty is the fifth but

(1) Robert Henrison; poems and fables p.261

'diapenty with a dyss' offers no small difficulty. If Henryson intended to keep strictly to the five Pythagorean concords----- there is no indication that such was his intention however---- he would have to link up 'diapenty with a dyss' with triplare in the first verse where duplare would find its equivalent in dyapasone semple, emetricus in diaresserone, enolius in dyapenty and quadruplait in dyapasone dowplait. However Henryson leaves us in doubt here as he does elsewhere and we can only think that he has no intention of being musically accurate.

Like many another poet before and after his time--not forgetting Shakespeare in the Merchant of Venice---Henryson permitted his poetic fancy to play with the music of the spheres and a verse in his Orpheus and Eurydice sets forth Orpheus's journey in felicitous terms.

In his passage among the planeitis all,
 he hard a hevinly melody and sound
 passing all instrumentis musicall
 causit be roollyn of the spheiris round
 quhilk armony of all this mappamound
 quhilk moving seiss unyt perpetuall
 quhilk of this warld pluto the saule can call

Henryson was the first poet in Scotland whom we can go to for knowledge of musical activities but from him onwards, almost every poetical writer had something to say about the music of his time until we come to the times of the Reformation.

The Scottish Huntup for a Lute Tablature (B.M. Egerton MS. 2046)

= This may be the Huntup referred to in the *Complaynt of Scotland*.
(A part of the original was kindly sent me by Dr Henry S. Farmer)

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a lute tablature piece. It consists of ten staves of music. Each staff contains a line of musical notation (notes, rests, and accidentals) and a line of lute tablature (letters and numbers). The tablature uses letters 'f', 'b', and 'p' with various accidentals and bar lines to indicate fret positions on the strings. The notation is in a historical style, likely from the 16th or 17th century.

A handwritten musical score consisting of ten staves. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *f*, *mf*, *ff*, and *pp*. The score is written in a single system across the staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The notation is dense and expressive, with many slurs and accents. The final staff concludes with a double bar line and a wavy line indicating the end of the piece.

The Scottish Huntsman - Part 2

A handwritten musical score for a piece titled "The Scottish Huntsman - Part 2". The score is written on seven staves of five-line music paper. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature. The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes), rests, and accidentals (sharps and flats). The music is written in a single melodic line. The piece concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

N.B. I have to thank W. Henry Farmer for permitting me to translate this
Scottish Huntsman from the lute tablature.

The Complaynt of Scotland (1549) gives the author's discourse concerning the misery and troubles of Scotland in his time and also Dame Scotia's Dream and her complaint against her three sons. Incidentally the author has left us the titles of some 38 songs, 50 dances, and a number of musical instruments. Many of the songs can be traced to England, such as 'Pastance witht gude companye', generally attributed to King Henry VIII, 'Cou thou me the raschis grene', found as 'Colle to me the Rysshes Greene' in the British Museum. Some of the songs, however, are Scottish. The 'Battel of Hayrlau', is plainly associated with Scotland and with that battle of 1411, when the Earl of Mar fought Donald of the Isles. There is a 'Battel^l of Harloe', a dance tune, in the British Museum (Addit. MS. 10, 444) and a piece of the same name appears in the Skene MS. 'O lusty May' was one of the most popular songs in Scotland during the 17th century and is found in many MSS. of that period. Several of the songs are included in the Gude and Godlie Ballats such as 'Rycht soirly musing in my mynde', 'Allone i veip in grit distress', 'Grevit is my sorrou', 'Allace that samyn sueit face', which is also in the Panmure MS., 'My luve is lyand seik' is in the Guthrie MS. of 1670(c). It is quite possible that some, if not all of these songs are identical with those which appear under the same titles in later MSS. Amongst the dances are 'Huntis up', which may be the same as the Scottish 'Hunt's upe', in the British Museum (Egerton MS. 2046), 'Lang plat fut of gariau', which probably

refers to Garioch in Aberdeenshire, 'Soutra' which may refer to Soutra Hill, South of Edinburgh, and 'Cum kyttil me naykyt wantonly', which is in the Skene MS. without a title. Dancing was a favourite amusement in the early 16th century and in the Complaynt several dances are mentioned amongst them, the bass dance, pavans, galliards, turdions, brawls and brangles, the buffons, many of which are mentioned in the contemporary work of Thomas Eliot, called 'The Boke named the Governour'. Quite a number of instruments occur in the Complaynt. Four types of pipes are mentioned---'the drone bag pipe', the pipe maid of ane bledder and ane reid', 'the corne pipe' and 'the pipe maid of ane gait-horn'.

Other instruments were the recorder, fiddil and quhissil.

To complete the programme of music, which the shepherds performed, there was the music 'in gude accorddis and reportis of dyapason, prolations and dyateisseron' and consisted of vocal music sung in parts. This section of the Complaynt, within a few pages, includes the types of music popular in the early 16th century and we may well assume that the shepherds and their wives, who are given as the musicians in both vocal and instrumental pieces, were well educated performers, if they played so many instruments, were well equipped for vocal music and had so considerable a repertory for all occasions. (1)

(1) The songs, dances, and instruments in The Complaynt of Scotland have been treated with considerable fullness in the edition published by the Early English Text Society and edited by James A H Murray.

It must be remembered, however, that instruments in particular did not, in those days, group themselves in families as we know them to-day.

In the Book of the Howlat, there is a verse which gives the names of about two dozen instruments played by the minstrels.

All thus our lady thay lovt, with lyking and lust
 Menstralis and musicians, mo than I mene may
 The Psaltery, the Sytholis, the soft sytharist
 The crowde and the monochordis, the githyrnis gay
 The rote and the recorder, the ribue, the rist
 The trumpe and the talburn, the tympane bit tray
 The lilt pype and the lute, the fythie in fist
 The dulset, the dulsozhordis, the schalm of Assay
 The amyable orgains usit fyll oft
 Claryonis lowd knellis
 Portativis and bellis
 Cymbaclavis in the cellis
 That sounds so soft.

What music they played, we do not know and, if they played in combination, we do not know what those combinations were. Several of the instruments were only suited to fanfares and music of ceremonial occasions. Some might accompany voices, and certainly others of them were admirably suited to play the dance tunes that were popular with all classes in the Middle Ages. A list of about fifty dance airs is given in the riotous poem "Cokelbie's Sow", which belongs to the second half of the fifteenth century. It is an irritating list, for not a single tune has come down to us under the name it bears in the poem. None of the dances mentioned in

"Cokelbie's Sow" ^{is} are found in other writings of the period, though "Dawes it not day" may refer to "Hey, the day dawes", a favourite song in later centuries. What would we not give to know what "thair minstrall Diky Doit played upon his floyt" and what "Clarus, the long clype, playit on the bagpipe"? In the Book of the Chronicle of Scotland (1.714 et seq.) mention is made of the instruments of war - schalms, bugills, trumpets, tabernes, clariouns and horns; and in a Latin verse found in a Protocol book in the Dundee archives, a list of war instruments appears.

Curritur ad clochas don don quae saepe frequentat
 Toxin atq. sonat timidi trompetta vilani
 Et tabournorum plan plan. fara ramq. tubarum
 Per totam audetur, urbem fit clamor et ingens.

One expects music to be prominent in the poems of Dunbar, who lived much at Court, had travelled on the Continent, and as a Frangiscan, ⁹⁽¹⁾ was acquainted with the important place that music took in the service of the church. In actual fact, he never mentions ecclesiastical music, and his musical references are but little informative. In "Roiss Mary most of vertew virginall", he mentions a few instruments that are accompaniments to the Heavenly Host - organ, lute, tympani, harp and symilyne. (The latter instrument may have been the cymbals, or maybe a form of psaltery). The popularity (1) This has been questioned

of French dances, which is recorded in "Cokelbie's Sow", and elsewhere, appears also in Dunbar's poems. In "Of a dance in the Queen's Chalmer"⁽¹⁾ he tells how

Schir Jhon Sinclair begowth to dance
For he was new cum out of France.

and in the Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins,⁽²⁾ he wrote

He had gallantis ga graith a fyiss
And kast up gamountis in the skyiss
The last cam out of France.

At a later date, Sir David Lyndesay in the "Satyr of the Thrie Estates" (1.451) wrote

Now hay for joy and mirth I dance
Take thair a gay gamond of France

and later in the same poem (1.648) calls upon the minstrel to "blaw up a brawl of France". The popularity of these and other French dances persisted until well into the seventeenth century. Dunbar's satire peeps out occasionally and he has a sly hit at the riotous behaviour of the strolling minstrels in "This nycht in my sleip I was agast"⁽³⁾.

Ane menstrall said, "The feint me ryfe
Gif I do ocht bot drynk and swyfe."

In his Satire on Edinburgh,⁽⁴⁾ he throws a jibe at the meagre repertory of the town's minstrels,

Your commone menstralles has no toffe'
Bot 'Now the day dawis' and 'Into June'.

Gavin Douglas used musical terms with greater freedom than Dunbar. Two verses in the Palae of Honour,⁽⁵⁾

- (1) 1.1
- (2) 1.10
- (3) 1.66
- (4) 1.29
- (5) part 1. under Musyk

contain not only a catalogue of instruments but several technical terms used by musicians in the Middle Ages.

*Accompanyit lustie yonkeirs with all,
 Fresche ladyis sang in voice virgineall
 Concordis sweit, diuers entoned reportis,
 Proportionis fine with sound celestially,
 Duplat, triplat, diatesseriall,
 Sesqui altera, and decupla resortis,
 Diapason of mony sindrie sortis,
 War soung and playit be seir cunning menstrall
 On lufe ballatis with mony fair disportis.

In modulatioun hard I play and sing
 Faburdoun, pricksang, discant, countering,
 Cant organe, figuratioun, and gemmell,
 On croud, lute, harp, with mony gudlie spring,
 Schalmes, clariounis, portatiues, hard I ring,
 Monycord, organe, tympane, and cymbell.
 Sytholl, psaltrie, and voices sweit as bell,
 Soft releschingis in dulce deliuering,
 Fractionis diuide, at rest, or clois compell.

It would be idle to enquire as to the exact sense in which Douglas used "proportion", though he probably referred to time-length rather than to vibration-number. Of "intoned reportis" it is interesting to note this as the first reference to that variety of contrapuntal composition which survived the rigours of the Reformers in sixteenth-century Scotland. Examples of reports are found in psalters and seventeenth-century musical MSS. As for the instruments, without exception, they are mentioned in other writings of the time.

(1)

Another passage in the Palace of Honour deals with music of a domestic type.

(1) part 2, in the 4th stanza

And some of thaim ad lyram playit and sang
 So pleasand verse, quhil all the roches rang
 Metir saphik and also elegie
 Thair instrumentis all maist war fidellis lang
 But with a string quhilk never a wreist yeid wrang
 Sum had ane harp and some a fair psalterie
 (On lutis sum thair accentis subtelle)
 Devydst weill and held the measure lang
 In soundis sweit of pleasand melodie.

They sang to the accompaniment of lyre or lute and other instruments: "fidell, harp and psalterie" are instruments specially suited for indoor entertainment.

Yet another verse from the pen of Gavin Douglas is interesting, since it contains the names of several songs of the time. It occurs in the Prologue to the 12th Book of the Aeneid, and runs,

Sum sang sangis, dances ledys and roundis
 Wyth voces schrill, quhill all the dail resoundis
 Quharso thay walk into thair carrelling
 For amorus lays doith all the roches ryng
 Ane sang "The ship salis over the salt fame
 Will bring ther merchandise and my lemman hame"
 Some other synges "I will be blyth and licht
 Myne hert is lent upon sa gudly wycht".

"The ship salis over the salt fame" and "I will be blyth and licht" are songs that must have been popular, but we have no record left of them, either words or music.

From these writings of the poets of the Golden Age, we find confirmation in the belief that music entered intimately into the life of all classes of the community. Solo songs, songs in parts, instruments of all varieties. stringed, wind, percussion and keyed, were employed on

all festal occasions, and from the King downwards to the humblest minstrel, it was considered a worthy accomplishment to be able to play some instrument. The stringed instruments outnumbered all the rest of the instruments, (wind, percussion and keyed) put together. At least twelve strings appear from time to time against five winds (excluding the varieties of pipes mentioned in the Complaynt of Scotland), two sorts of percussions and three keyed instruments.

Sir David Lyndesay was a performer on the lute and like most courtiers of his day, had considerable proficiency in the art of music. During the infancy of King James V, he wrote in the Complaynt to the King (l. 9):

'The first syllabus that thou did mute
Was Pa, Da, Lyn upon the lute
Then playit I twentie sprengis perquier.'

The syllables were Pa(pa), Da(vid), Lyn(desay) and Lyndesay was apparently lutenist enough to play^{to} a King.

Singing in parts was a pleasure indulged in by capable musicians of the mid-sixteenth century though we do not know what music these Scottish vocalists sang in combination. Lyndesay in the Satyre of the Thrie Estates (l.146) supported this belief when he made Solace say:

'I have sic pleasour in my hart
That garris me sing the trebill part.'

and later in the same poem (311) Danger would not sing

without the support of Fund-Jonet, who on being invited replied:

'That sall I do with all my hart
Sister, howbeit thee I am hais
I am content to bear a bais.'

We have seen that Lyndesay also bears witness to the popularity of the French dances at the Court and with the nobility in the mid-sixteenth century. Instrumental music was enjoyed on every festive occasion and even at funerals. Queen Madeleine's entry into Edinburgh was celebrated with trump and clarion, very suitably shrill and loud-sounding instruments for processional pageantry, and in Lyndesay's Deploration of the Death of Queen Madelaine, it is recorded that her marriage ceremony at the Chapel Royal was performed "with sic instrumentis and craftie musick singing frome the splene". The instruments specially mentioned were Tabron, Trumpet, Schalme and Clarion. In the Testament of Squyer Meldrum, the arrangements for his funeral are given with great detail. The funeral was to be controlled by Sir David Lyndesay who wrote:

'Againe that day faill not to warne and call
All men of musick and of menstrallie
About my beir with mirthe musicall
To dance and sing with hevenlie harmonie.'

And in the religious ceremony:

'With ane bischop of that religione
Solemnlie gar them syng my saullmes
With organe, timpane, trumpet and clarion
To shew thair musick dewlie them address.'

Musical Instruments in Sixteenth Century
Scottish Literature.

- Cithara: applied to several varieties of rote and harp.
- Citole: a pear shaped instrument with wire strings that were plucked with a plectrum.
- Cornet: not the cornet of today, but a type of horn, pierced with holes. It was of various sizes, sometimes straight and sometimes bent. It is referred to in Aucassin et Nicolette.
- Clarion: This was essentially a war instrument. It was a kind of trumpet, with a narrow tube, giving forth a shrill sound.
- Crowde: The Crowde is believed to be the same as the crwth, an ancient instrument with a rectangular frame, the upper half of which was open on each side of the strings and the lower half closed in so as to make a sound box. The left hand was thrust through one side of the upper half to stop the strings, which were usually four in number. The other two strings, which could not be stopped, and were occasionally added, could be plucked, as the bourdon strings were, in the case of the lute. The Crowde was a bowed instrument and in England a fiddler was often called a crowder.
- Clarsach: This was an ancient Celtic harp and a distinction

was drawn between players on this instrument and harpers. "Alexander, harper, Pate, harper clarscha, his son, the Erse Clarscha" is found in the Treasurer's Accounts of 14th April 1505. It seems probable that the clarsach had wire strings while the harp had sinews for strings.

Cymbaclavis: It is impossible to say what instrument is represented by the name. Jam^{es}on in his Dictionary of the Scottish Language under Citharist gives Cymbaellonis, which allies with Cymbalon, a kind of dulcimer.

Dulcet and Dulsachordis: The dulcet was the old instrument commonly called the doucet or doucette. It was a wind instrument of the flute family. Chaucer wrote in "The House of Fame":

That craftely beginne to pipe
Bothe on doucet and on reede.

The dulsachordis may have been a form of the dulcimer or dulce-melos, a kind of psaltery, struck with hammers instead of being plucked.

Fythil: The term was used for any stringed instrument and was the equivalent of the French term vièle.

Gittern: This was also known as the githornis, cittern etc. It was an instrument with a number of strings, supported by a bridge and plucked. The cittern of later days had wire strings while the gittern had strings of gut.

Harp: For ~~the~~^{its} place in the story of music in Scotland

refer to Dalziel's Musical Memoirs and to Dauneys Ancient Melodies of Scotland.

Lute:

This was a pear-shaped instrument, without a bridge and plucked with the fingers. The number of its strings varied with different dates and with different lands. In Scotland the six-stringed lute was the usual form. The finger board had frets to mark the position of the semi-tones and the notation or rather tablature used letters on the lines to indicate the frets that were to be stamped. A very considerable literature has sprung up around the instrument of which Mace's Musick's Monument is the most elaborate.

Monochordis:

The original instrument, as the name implies, consisted of one string stretched across a sound box. Its purpose was to teach the intervals of the scale to singers and it developed from the primitive form of a single string, to an instrument of several strings. The instrument is referred to in the Treasurer's Accounts in 1501 and in 1497. As late as 1710, a governess in Huntly mentioned the monochord as one of the instruments which she could play but most likely she meant the clavichord, as according to Philip James in his "Early Keyboard Instruments"⁽¹⁾ the monochord was called the clavichord in the 16th century.
 (1) James's Early Keyboard Instruments p.3

Organs:

The organ in early times was a primitive instrument. It was "neither more nor less than a large mixture register that is each key when full down sounded the octave, twelfth, super-octave and other notes simultaneously with the fundamental note....not more than one key of the large church organ could be put down with either hand as the keys were as broad as the palm and to press one down required an attack with the player's fist." It may be assumed that by the middle of the 16th century organs in Scotland had vastly improved, when according to Thomas Wood, Sir John Fethy introduced a new style of fingering.

Psaltery:

This was an instrument frequently mentioned by Chaucer and other English writers, which was of the dulcimer type, except that it was played with a ^pectrum instead of with hammers.

Pipe:

Several kinds of pipe were referred to by the Scottish writers of the 17th century. In the Complaynt of Scotland, we read of the drone bagpipe, the pipe maid of ane bleddir and ane reid, the corne pipe, and the pipe maid of ane gait horn. The bagpipe was known in most European countries. The second kind of pipe, mentioned above, was the simple pipe or corne-muse; the eorn pipe was made of a stalk of corn;

and the 'pipe maid of ane gait horn' was the buck horn made by putting a reed into a horn to give it a richer sound. The lilt pipe received its name from the lilts, which the holes in the pipe were called.

Portative: The positif organ was the organ that could remain fixed in one place while the portative was capable of being carried from one place to another, as James IV did on some of his journeys. These portatives were sometimes slung from the neck of the player, who used one hand to depress the keys and the other to manipulate the bellows.

Ribue: A form of rebec, also spelt ribupe and ribible. It was an early stringed instrument, shaped like half a pear, had three gut strings and was bowed. However the Scottish form Ribute is found in the 15th century and may have meant Jew's harp.

Rist: This word offers a difficulty for no instrument of the name is found. It may be a confusion with 'wreist', which concerns the tuning of a musical instrument and is still used in this connection until to-day. The word often appears in 16th-century literature; in "The Palice of Honour" it occurs in the line:-

"But with a string quhilk never a wreist yeid
wrang."

Recorder: The recorder was a sort of flute a bec, as

distinct from the transverse flute. After centuries of popularity it fell out of use and today its humble descendant is the tin whistle.

- Rote: A stringed instrument and closely allied to the crwth. It gave way to the lute and rebec.
- Sytholis: This is the cithole, an instrument of the zither type, with a number of strings.
- Sytholist: This was not an instrument but the player on the cithole.
- Schalm: The Schalm of the Bible was the treble of the bombard family and the precursor of the oboe. It consisted of a double reed and a conical tube. It was one of a group of instruments which could be played in combination. Mr. Lyndesay G. Langwill has suggested to me that the schalme of Assay takes its name from Auch, the capital of the Gars Department, Gascony, as the Muse d'Aussay occurs in Paul Lacroix's Les Arts au Moyen Age.
- Talburn and Tympane: are both kinds of drums. Tympane is also the name of an ancient stringed instrument.
- Trumpe: It was often an abbreviated form of trumpet. It was the word often used for the Jew's Harp.

As has been already said, the love of a catalogue of names may have led more than one poet to use lists of instruments for his poetic purpose, without any care for the exact and appropriate application of the musical terms to the matter in hand.

In the early part of the 15th century, the English poet John Lydgate (1373-1450) used a catalogue of instruments for his poetic purpose in a similar manner to that employed by the Scottish Chaucerians at a later date. It is found in his 'Reson and Sensualyte'.

For ther were rotys of Almayne
 And eke of Arragon and spayne...
 And Instrumentys that dyde excelle
 Many moo than I kan telle.....
 Harpys, fythels, and eke rotys
 Wel accordyng with her notys
 Lutys, Rubibis and geterns
 More for estatys than taverns
 Organys, cytolytys monacordys
 And ther wer founde noo discordys.....
 And for folkys that lyst daunce
 Ther wer trumpis and trumpetis
 Louds shallys and doucetes
 Passyng of gret melodye
 And floutys ful of armonye
 Eke instrumentys high and lowe
 Wel mo than I koude knowe.

The majority of the instruments in the preceding list were used for secular purposes. We know that some of them occasionally are found in records of music performed in churches but for the most part they were employed on ceremonial occasions of a secular character. Even on those occasions, where a considerable number of instrumentalists were engaged, it did not follow that they all played at once; some of them were solo instruments and small groups would probably be chosen for special purposes.

It has been stated from time to time, that there was no secularisation of music of an organised kind until about 1600 but this belief has been summarily dismissed by modern writers of musical history. Cecil Gray has written "If it may be conceded that on the whole, sacred music seems to have been more important than secular music before that date and that after it the balance seems to be active in the opposite direction, it is probably only because more of the latter was written down, published or otherwise preserved." In many countries—but, unfortunately, not in Scotland—much music has come down to us in various ways. Popular music has been preserved for us in mediaeval and later masses, wherein are found such tunes as *Si la face ay pale* and *Puisque j'ai perdu*. In France hundreds of tunes are extant, associated with minstrels, the Troubadours and the Trouvères: melodies of the aristocratic Minnesingers have come down to us from the secular music of mediaeval Germany as well as those of the Mastersingers, some of whose melodies Wagner employed in his great opera of that name. England has preserved such familiar melodies as the *Agincourt Song*, *Western Wynde* and others in Stainer's *Early Bodleian Music* and *Wynkyn de Worde's Song Book* (1530) the first

be
 music to published in England. But Scotland has preserved none of
 her secular music before the early 17th century. It is tantalising
 to know the names of many songs and many dances and not to be able
 to know a single air, which carried an inviting title. Yet, from
 several sources we know that music, both public and private, was
 cultivated long before we meet with a single authenticated example.

As has been seen, most of the music preserved from the Middle
 Ages was for the voice. The Troubadour, Folquet de Marseilles, (1)
 (1160-1231) wrote "La strophe sans la musique est comme un moulin
 sans eau" and Ronsard (1524-85) (2) said much the same thing later.
 On the other hand, music was performed without any voices at all.
 Little symphonies and ritornelli are found in association with
 vocal music and accompaniments were often of a unisonous character.
 However, as instruments began to group themselves into families e.g.
 four viols, of which two would be treble, one tenor, and one bass viol
 with similar groups of recorders and cornetts, a long step was made
 towards the creation of a true instrumental style. Early music for
 such 'consorts' whether whole, with all the instruments of one family,
 or 'broken', in which instruments of one family combined with another,
 was mostly of a vocal character, but by the early 16th century an
 instrumental style appears untouched by vocal methods. Examples of
 this is found in Hugh Aston's Hornpipe and an anonymous 'My lady
 Carey's dompe', both pieces for spinet (B.M. Roy. App. 58). The circum-
 stances under which Rizzio found a place in the Court of Queen Mary
 of Scots, the employment of four viols of different sizes and the
 popularity of French dances of the 16th century, which would bring

(1) Droz et Thibaut--Poètes et musiciens du XV^e siècle p.5
 (2) quoted in Gibbon's Melody and the Lyric p.68

Now fayre, fayrest off any fayre — (Margaret Tudor, wife of King
by William Broucker James IV)

Now, fayre, fayrest off any fayre Prin-ces most pre-cious
and pre-cious the best-est one a-lyve that byne Wel-
cum of Scot-land to the queene. Yonge ten-der plant of pul-cer-
-tud de-see-ning of In-per-i-ous blode Fresh frag-rant
floure of ffayre head shene Wel-cum of Scot-land to the queene

French music with them, are evidence that, at the Court, contemporary music was known and cultivated. Though Italy had not yet reached her position of eminence, when the Italian minstrels came to Scotland in King James IV's reign, it is a fair surmise that they were chosen for their merits in the first place and that they brought a knowledge of Continental music with them. Still there remains the fact which must be faced, that Scotland preserved little of her music of a secular nature before the Union of the Crowns and that we do not know first hand what music was played even though evidence points to the cultivation of much and worthy music in cultured circles. Perhaps an exception may be made for the setting of a poem by Dunbar which has come down to us, though we know nothing of the authorship, or date of the music. It is "Now fayre, fayrest off every fayre", ⁽¹⁾ and a transcribed version of the poem with the music is given here. The music is written in the notation ⁽²⁾ usually employed in the sixteenth century and is easily translated into modern notation, if no attempt is made by the modern translator to cram the notes within the stiff rigidity of a formal rhythm. It is a pleasant melody of the older sort with an agreeable device in the falling phrase on the word 'decended'. The method is one-note-one-syllable. However, by dividing the music into short phrases that exactly follow the grouping of the words, the sense of the poem is admirably sustained. No more than the melody is found.

(1) B.M.Add.Royal MSS. 58 & Poems of William Dunbar (S.T.S.)

(2) The best guide to this notation is in Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Musick* (1597)

MUSIC IN SCOTLAND FROM 1560 TO 1603

The year 1560 has been chosen as the opening date of a new chapter in the story of Scottish music because it saw the establishment of the Reformed religion in our country, and marked a great upheaval in the position held by music in Scotland. The reformed doctrines, with all that they brought in their train, had been steadily gaining ground for decades before that date and their effects were already felt in the nature of Church praise, but the abolition of the old Church brought with it the abolition of the cultivation of the principal form of organised music, cherished during the later Middle Ages and the first half of the sixteenth century. The sixteenth century was a period of radical changes in music throughout the whole of Western Europe. It was a transitional period when the effects of the Renaissance were being felt in all lands. It was a period of struggle between the old and the new in music when a composer had to choose between "the conflicting claims of polyphony and homophony and had to consider his attitude towards the treatment of melody as the slave of language or as a means towards expression." ⁽ⁱ⁾ Tonality was more freely treated, the relation between the principal melody and the accompaniment, either vocal or instrumental, was undergoing great changes and it was no longer essential that a composition should be bound from end to end by a *canto fermo*. Moreover, it was an era of great names - Palestrina (c. 1525-1594) who wrote masses of serene beauty, Lassus (1532-1594) who excelled in

(i) Alfred Einstein says much the same thing in his "Short History of Music". (p. 62)

music both sacred and secular, and Victoria (1535-c.1614), the composer of unaccompanied music of a mystical character. In England, Tye (c.1497-1572), Taverner (1495-1545) and Tallis (1510 c.-1585) composed Church music, while later in the century, Byrd (1538-1623 c.), Morley (1557-1603), Weelkes (1575-1623) and other English composers took over the madrigal from the Italians and outstripped them in ingenuity of device and fertility of ideas and treatment. The end of the century saw the meetings of the Bardi group in Florence and the beginnings of oratorio and opera: and in instrumental music, compositions for stringed instruments, such as the viol and for keyed instruments, such as the virginals, foreshadowed the changes that were later to come over music. While Scotland, as far as the creative side of music was concerned, was unaffected by these innovations until long after 1560, there were directions in the practice of music where their effects were experienced through contact with foreign visitors and through Scotsmen who had travelled abroad. The most violent changes in the cultivation of music came from the abolition of the music of the mass, the disappearance of the Sang Schules and consequent loss of opportunity for a skilled musician to obtain employment and find an outlet for his creative skill. There was no great change in the practice of secular music either in public or private life, and there are evidences that musicians at Court knew something of the innovations in the realm of secular music; but most of the organised music up to the middle of the sixteenth century lay with

the Church musicians and even music of a secular nature was written in the ecclesiastical manner. Palestrina wrote secular music that differed but little in manner from his ecclesiastical compositions. We can imagine the feelings of a musician who found his occupation gone and, as a consequence, had no longer the opportunity of cultivating the art with which he had been so long and intimately associated. Thomas Wood, the compiler of the St. Andrews harmonized Psalter of 1566, wrote bitterly on this matter. In a marginal note of his Psalter ⁽¹⁾, he said "I cannot understand bot musicke sall perish in the land alutterly" and when he reverted to his fears, he added that a musician of the standing of the English composer Robert Fayrfax ⁽²⁾ would be unable to make a livelihood in Scotland. Fayrfax was a Church musician who wrote in the florid style and Wood plainly believed that the supersession of the old music by a simple psalmody and the consequent lack of musical posts in the Church, meant the death of music and the disappearance of all true Scottish musicians. Wood, as one who had held post under the old Church, had in his mind the only music with which he had been familiar - the music of the Roman Catholic Church. This is borne out by the music of the old Church in Wood's Psalter. We have only to turn to England to find how important Church appointments were at this period not only to musicians, but to music itself. In the sixteenth century, Fayrfax, Byrd, Taverner and Farrant, and in the following century, Weelkes, Este, Morley, Gibbons, Hilton, Tomkyns, Blow and

(1) At the end of tenor volume after 1569.

(2) See treble volume of the St. Andrews Psalter.

later Henry Purcell, held ecclesiastical posts in connection with the music of the Church. The musician's view on this matter of Church appointments would not coincide with the reformed Churchman's and the abolition of Church music of any considerable artistic value and the loss of posts for skilled musicians that followed, hit a hard blow at Scottish music from which it took centuries to recover. In England, a compromise had been effected in the Church services that left plenty of scope for the activities of the creative and practising musician; there was no such compromise in Scotland. The solid and noble gravity of the metrical psalm tunes made as great an appeal to English Churchmen and musicians as they did to the Scottish Reformers, for many versions of the psalms, both words and music, were of English origin, but the Church of England took a generous view and permitted other music besides that of the Psalter. While there was a considerable party opposed to elaborate music, the Church of England, except for some breaks, retained a service in which the Psalter held a first place, but it did not permit the metrical psalms a monopoly in the praise of the daily and weekly services. Scotland, however, gave the Psalter the monopoly and never authorized, although it intermittently permitted, the few spiritual songs that were included in more than one Psalter, only to disappear in the middle of the seventeenth century. The subsidiary place taken by music, and the loss of the organ in the Service of the Scottish Church had a cramping effect not

only on ecclesiastical but on all music in Scotland. The question has been asked why the Scottish Reformers, having adopted the Psalter as their book of praise, and having put the verbal text first and music second, did not adopt the prose psalter instead of a metrical version. The former was certainly nearer the original and artistically superior to the ingeniously versified metrical version, but the difficulty of chanting, made the prose version unsuitable for large congregations. Besides, the example of Geneva was before them and that was really the deciding factor, for Geneva had settled the question before the Reformed Church was established in Scotland.

In the long discussions about ceremonial in church worship, it is most noticeable that very little was said about music and its place in church praise. Men's minds were occupied with doctrine and church government: music was of minor importance in the new ecclesiastical order. From the earliest days of the Christian religion there had been men, who regarded any music in the church services with pronounced disfavour and, as music itself developed and became intricate and elaborate, Popes, bishops and clergy had protested against the excessive ornament that characterised the music of the Mass.

The attitude of the early Reformers is clearly found in a lengthy paragraph in the "Institution of the Christian religion" of John Calvin. In his long discussion on the "Grace of Christ"; Calvin sets forth a statement on

how the churches were ordained to be houses of prayer, and argued that "neither voice nor song if they be used in prayer, have any force or do any whit profit, before God, unless they proceed from deep affection from the heart." Then he discusses the use of singing in churches, "by the way"; (his own words, implying maybe that this is of secondary importance), and finds Scriptural authority for the place of song in church praise. He quotes the warning of St. Augustine that "we must diligently beware that our ears be not more heedfully bent to the note (note meant music in those days) than our minds to the spiritual sense of the words." And he concludes the paragraph with the words "what songs woever are framed only to sweetness and delight of the ears they both become not the majesty of the church and cannot but highly displease God." Thus Calvin relegated music to a humble place in the worship of the church. Once it made any strong appeal to the senses, it went beyond its true functions and music could have no place in the church for its own sake: it was of secondary importance to the words. This was a guiding principle in the reforming of the church service.

What Calvin had said in the "Institution" of 1536, he repeats more fully in his Preface to the Genevan Psalter in 1543. Again he quotes St. Paul and St. Augustine in support of the use of singing in the Church but he sees a difference in the nature of the music for secular purposes and that for the service of the church and after setting himself the task of discoursing upon music from the point of view of its

verbal connections and also of melody, he spends a considerable amount of space in discussing the former aspect and dismisses the second in two lines. Yet these lines are succinct and illuminating, "Touching the music" (of the church) he said "it appeared best that it should be simple in the way we have put it and to carry weight and majesty suitable to the subject and to be fit even to be sung in Church as has been said." In the Preface, too, he argues that for Church praise no songs can be found better, after much searching, than the Psalms of David. In Calvin's works then, we find the two fundamental principles on which church praise was to be based, viz. the Psalms of David and a music that was simple, dignified and weighty.

Between the dates of the Institution and the Geneva Psalter, Calvin prepared and published a metrical Psalter of a most interesting character. It was called "*Aulcuns pseaulmes cantiques mys en chant*" and was published in 1539. The psalter was lost sight of for centuries but was recovered in 1919. The music in this early metrical psalter of Calvin's was done by composers of whom we know nothing and it is probable that the melodies were chosen from music popular in the early 16th century. Here then is sufficient evidence to refute the charges⁽¹⁾ made against Calvin that he was destitute of musical sensibility and never recognised music as a means of religious expression, and the preface to the Genevan Psalter contains Calvin's own opinion that, amongst other things, which are suitable

(1) see Hullah's Lectures on musical history and

for the "recreation of men and for yeilding them pleasure, music is either the first or one of the chieffe." (1)

THE SCOTTISH METRICAL PSALTER:

The narrative of the course taken by metrical psalms in Scotland makes a simple story but one of fascinating interest to musicians and lovers of psalmody; yet only a few of the metrical psalms and a handful of tunes can be proved to be of Scottish origin. The music of the Psalters of the sixteenth century, with which we can deal here, comes mainly from foreign sources. In spite of this, the claim may be made and substantiated that the metrical psalms belong to the region of Scottish song. Is there any good reason why popular song should always be regarded as secular? Popular song means the people's songs and embraces the songs of all classes and, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when there was not the sharp cleavage between sacred and secular music that we meet today, Scottish song included all song, beloved of the people, no matter what class they belonged to. There was nothing surprising in Luther seeking the music for his hymns, and Wedderburn the melodies for his Gude and Godlie Ballats amongst the popular melodies of the times. It never struck them as unfitting or sacrilegious to choose a favourite air for godlified verses or sacred poems; what did matter was whether it was a good tune or not. Were not some of the Hebrew psalms written for particular tunes? It was for the same

- (1) (1) quoted Macmeeken's Scottish Metrical Psalter p.99
 (2) The Rev Dr Millar Patrick informs me that the Synod of Lothian (1645-53) 'dischargeit' the singing of psalms from public services. This was a most unusual proceeding.

reason that the mediaeval musicians wrote their masses round popular melodies such as "L'homme armé" and "Westerne Wynde": they were good melodies and abuse only crept in when the secular words were sung to them at Mass. Whatever the origin of the metrical psalms, they have taken and retained so fast a grip on Scottish affection and are so much part of the inner lives of the folk, that they may take their place in the corpus of Scottish song and are no small adornment.

For the source of the metrical psalms we must go to Geneva and even beyond. It was not until 1564-5, that the General Assembly authorized the publication of the first metrical psalter, but the way for its adoption had been prepared and paved long before that date. There had been comings and goings between the Scottish and Continental reformers, especially with those at Geneva and Frankfort, and Knox's close connection with Calvin and the Genevan Protestants made him the protagonist of Calvinism in Scotland before the Reformation establishment of 1560. It is too well known to be repeated here in detail how Clément Marot began his labours by translating the sixth psalm into French verse in 1533, and in 1542, published his "Trente psaulmes de David" without melodies ⁽¹⁾ or references of melodies but with metrical notes at the headings of twenty of them, and how these metrical versions, sung to love and hunting melodies became popular with Huguenot and Catholic alike. A matter of more interest is found in Calvin's

(1) Crawford's "Clément Marot and the Huguenot Psalter"

(1)

First Psalter - "Aulcuns pseumes et cantiques" - published at Geneva in 1539 and including twelve of Marot's metrical versions. The tunes, all of a strong fibre, marked by a strict modality, variety of metres and a noticeable freedom of rhythm are of an eminently singable quality. There are good grounds for the belief that these early metrical psalters were meant for private use and Thomas Sternhold who published his "Certayne psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David and drawn into English metre" in 1548 or 1549, indicates that his set also was compiled for the same purpose (2). This probably accounts for Sternhold's small psalter having no tunes. Later editions of Sternhold's Psalter were meant for the use of the English Protestants who had gone to Geneva as exiles on account of their opinions, and in 1556, an edition was published called "One and fiftie Psalmes of David in English metre whereof thirtyseven were made of Thomas Sternholde and the rest by others". A new tune was given to each psalm but with the melody only and no harmonies. No one knows who wrote the tunes. H.E. Wooldridge in Grove's Dictionary under Psalter believes they are of English origin: Burney, who did not like the metrical psalms, thought they were "mostly German" but internal evidence of the fitment of the words to tunes shows that he is wrong in his surmise.

These Anglo-Genevan Psalters were brought to Scotland during the two decades preceding the Reformation settlement

(1) Terry's "Calvin's First Psalter" (1539)

(2) Written for his own "Godly solace" - Strype (quoted Julian p.857)

and serious Scots became familiar with their contents. Psalm singing became common in the years immediately preceding 1560 and at the same period, Wedderburn's "Gude and Godlie Ballats" were becoming familiar, for in 1546 George Wishart seems to have known one of them, the 51st Psalm which, according to Knox, ⁽¹⁾ was "put in Scotishe meter". With the full knowledge that metrical Psalms were the accepted psalmody both at Geneva and in England, and having considerable familiarity with the contents of the Anglo-Genevan, the Reforming party found it a short and inevitable step to adopt the Psalms of David as the material for Church praise when the music of the old Church disappeared. No doubt, they were also influenced by Calvin's ⁽²⁾ own opinions on the matter. They believed with him that the Psalms of David were before all the most suitable praise for the Church, and that the praise should be congregational. With him and with this end in view, ⁽³⁾ they emphasized the importance of the words and the need for simple musical settings. Even the contemporary Council ⁽⁴⁾ of Trent was opposed to the ornate complications of the music of the old Church and the Reformers subscribed heartily to Cranmer's opinion expressed in a letter to Henry VIII that "the song that should be made thereunto would not be full of notes but as near as may be for every syllable one note". This conflict between the simple and the ornate is an old one in art and is with us still in poetry and architecture as well

(1) Knox Works I 139

(3) *ibid*

(2) Preface in Genevan Psalter

(4) 1545-63

as in music. Thus the Reformers solved their problem in favour of the simple, for if a man was to understand what he sang, the words must not be overlaid with music to the extent of distorting the verbal text and obscuring the meaning. On no account, must music draw too much attention to itself, ^{if} this aim was to be achieved and, both in Scotland and England, the Reformers set their faces against what they called "wanton and curious" ⁽¹⁾ music and when they used these terms they meant the old florid discant with secular affinities and so would have none of it. The Reformers knew, as Calvin had acknowledged, that music served a perfectly legitimate purpose in reinforcing the emotion of the words but it must be secondary to the verbal text and do little more than carry the words with dignity and simple strength. To achieve all this, it were best if the service were sung in unison and without accompaniment and it was here that Scotland and England parted company. In Scotland, no harmonized psalter was printed with the authority of the Church, until centuries after the Reformation (the harmonized Psalter of 1635 never received ecclesiastical recognition): in England, harmonized Psalters were accepted before the sixteenth century was finished. Scotland eliminated all instrumental music from her Church Services: England, except for short periods under Puritan influences, retained the organ as the principal instrument in her Church music.

The first Psalter authorized by the Scottish Church,

(1) marginal note in Wood's Psalter tenor volume.

was published in 1564-5. Two years before this, the General Assembly lent Robert Leprevik, the printer, the sum of two hundred pounds to buy material and pay workmen for printing the work. The Psalter was not a separate publication, but part of what was named "The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments etc., used in the English Church at Geneva, approved and received by the Church of Scotland, whereunto besydes that was in former booke are also added sondrie other prayers with the whole Psalmes of David in English meter". This Scottish metrical version had a greater variety of metres than the English Psalter, but the foundation of the Scottish Psalter is found in the editions of Sternhold and Hopkins, whose metrical versions along with the versions of Whittingame and others, were freely drawn upon. In this Metrical Psalter of 1564-5, there were tunes attached to each psalm, but we do not know who composed the music. They have been partially traced to Geneva and to French and other sources, and some may have been of Scottish provenance, but the Calvinistic attitude towards Church music is evident in the restriction of the music to the bare melody and the exclusion of harmonies. At a later date, even the tunes disappeared from the metrical Psalters and the authorized Psalter of 1650 had no tunes at all.

(It is interesting to note that to-day in England, much more than in Scotland, we find a reversion to unisonal singing in congregational praise and except at festal services, we hear less of the organ and more unaccompanied

singing than we did a few years ago. Yet England had harmonized psalm tunes in the service from the seventeenth century onwards, while Scotland had no more than the simple tunes for her praise for many decades after England had her really great Psalters.)

The early editions of Sternhold and Hopkins had no music and the conjecture that their metrical versions may have been sung to popular tunes cannot be proved. In 1553, an English edition of the psalter translated by Francis Seagar, had nineteen psalms in full four-part harmony and, as the parts were so arranged that the singers could sing off one book, it may be that this edition was meant for private use. In 1562, the earlier versions of the Psalter culminated in the publication of John Daye's edition with four-part harmony called "The whole booke of psalmes collected into English meter by T. Sternhold and J. Hopkins and others conferred with the Ebrue with apt notes to synge them withal". In this edition, the tunes are unbarred and the notes are of unequal length. There were English Psalters in full harmony before the end of the century and in 1592 Este published his famous edition with four-part harmonies by ten of the foremost musicians of the day - Farmer, Hooper, Edward Johnson, Kirkye, Allison, Farnaby, Blancke, Dowland, Cobbold and Michael Cavendish. These composers are better known to us for their secular music, and, as might be expected, some of their settings run to vocal floridity.

Psalm tunes in four-part harmony also appear in various

Scottish sources viz. Wood's Psalter of 1566 and in several musical MSS. of the early 17th century. These versions are plainly meant for private use at a time when men met to sing music in parts for their own delight, and from the way in which psalm tune and lutenist-song mingle in some of the MSS., it is again evident that men drew no fine distinction between sacred and secular song. All that was good and singable was grist to their mill. A comparison of these harmonized psalm tunes in Scottish Compilations, with those of Ravenscroft's Psalter of 1621 brings out the simplicity of the former. They may sound unusual to the modern ear, but they were written in the idiom of the time and some of the later harmonized versions are very pleasing. The actual tune of course, is given to the tenor but not infrequently the cantus part (i.e. treble) floats pleasantly above like a descant with a pretty air of its own. Basses are solidly moulded but contra parts are often weak. Too often there is a lack of good counterpoint in the upper parts and yet those responsible for the harmonizations of the metrical psalms at that time must have been trained in the contrapuntal tradition. The use of the Picardy third is very frequent. In the early musical MSS. and in the first printed harmonized Psalter of 1635 there are a number of pieces called reports. They are short pieces of contrapuntal character and Sir Richard Terry was of the opinion that they were evidence "of the continuance of a sufficient number of old singers to induce the authorities to make a special provision for them".

One report "Quhan sall my sorrowful syching slaik" which occurs

in several Scottish Musical MSS, from 1622 onwards, was
 used by Tallis ⁽¹⁾ as the basis of an organ piece and it may
 not be the only report of English origin. Terry's surmise
 is far fetched for it was a far cry from 1635 back to 1560,
 and, since Millar, who compiled the harmonized psalter of
 1635, was an official at the Chapel Royal and as only two
 years before that date on the occasion of Charles I's
 coronation, singers had been brought from England for the
 ceremony in the Chapel, one cannot feel on firm ground in
 subscribing to Terry's opinion or even accepting the music
 of these reports as of Scottish provenance. It is much more
 probable that the motets and canticles that are found in
 Wood's Psalter of 1566, came down from the days before the
 Reformation and were familiar to the contributors to that
 compilation

The Gude and Godlie Ballats.

The full title of this work, of which the first known edition is dated 1568, was "Ane Compendious Buik of Godlie Psalms and Spirituall Sangs",⁽¹⁾ but it is familiarly known as the "Gude and Godlie Ballats". To-day it is accepted as the work of the three Wedderburns, James, John and Robert and from their association with Dundee, the book has been known sometimes as the Dundee Psalms. "The ballads are sanctified parodies of popular songs of the time, imbued with Protestant theology and in some cases are translations of Lutheran hymns and the Psalms of David". The sacred songs were probably sung by the Reformers and played no small part in rousing the fervour that followed the erection of the reformed religion in Scotland.

In many cases the original secular words and the tunes have been lost and we are left with nothing but the titles. However, there are instances in which the original words have come down to us and some of the tunes, attached to the titles of the Ballads, are to be found in seventeenth century MSS. It cannot be guaranteed that the airs, as we now have them, are identical with those sung by the Reformers for many of these tunes are in forms adapted for instruments. It is plain that the compilers of the Gude and Godlie Ballats, took it for

(1) The above is supplementary to the edition of the Scottish Text Society's edition, edited by Professor A.F. Mitchell.

granted that the airs as well as the original form of the verses were familiar to most people. ^{From} ~~From~~ the "Ballats", we can find the names of a considerable number of songs, words and music, that were popular with all classes in the middle of the sixteenth century. "Right sorely musing in my mynde", "Allone I weip in greit distress", "Grevous is my sorrow" and others are mentioned in the Complaynt of Scotland; other songs, however, such as "Tell me now and in quiet wayes" and "The Wynde blawis cald" cannot be found.

The following of the Ballads are extant in both words and airs.

Right soir opprest I am - appears by name in the Complaynt of Scotland; words and music are in the supplement to Wood's Psalter and in Sir William Mure's vocal MS.

Allace that same sueit face - is found with both words and music in the Panmure Manuscript.

For luv of one I mak my mone - words and music are in the supplement to Wood's Psalter and in Sir William Mure's MS.

Quho is at my window - this is a specimen of the fenster-lied common all over Europe. Here it is presented in a godlified form. The air appears in the Fitzwilliam Book and in Morley's First Booke of Consort

Lessons, 1599.

Intil ane mirthfull Maii morning - words and music appear in several seventeenth century manuscripts and in Forbes's Songs and Fancies (1662).

My lufe murnis for me - the old poem and the tune are in a music book printed by Wynken de Worde in 1530.

Jhone cum Kis me now - a favourite song on both sides of the Border. The air appears in several variants from the Fitzwilliam Book to the eighteenth century MSS. In the supplement to Wood's Psalter there is the husband's answer set to the "sam toon".

With huntis up - this song is mentioned amongst the dances in the Complaynt of Scotland. It was well known in England in the sixteenth century. A full account of the air and its history are given in Chappell's Popular Music of the Olden Times, I, p.62.

Hey now the day dallis - this is one of the oldest Scottish songs. Both Gavin Douglas and Dunbar referred to it. Montgomerie's poem may have been an extension of the old song. A tune bearing the title of the ballad appears in the Straloch MSS. but there is a totally different version in a cittern MS. forming part of the Panmure MSS. It is usually agreed that the original air was Hey, tuttie tuttie.

Remember Man - it has been said in several places

e.g. Rimbault, and in the edition of the Ballads published by the Scottish Text Society, that the original form of the poem is found in Forbes's Songs and Fancies (1662). If it is so, the problem remains to fit the words in the Ballad to the tune in Forbes's collection.

Welcum Fortoun - By some mischance, this love song found its way into the end of the volume of the Ballads. It was promptly suppressed by the General Assembly, 1568 (1) as "ane bawdy sang" and was lost until 1867. The words fit "Fortune my foe" in the Fitzwilliam Book which appears in Forbes's Songs and Fancies as "Satan my foe".

Here we have a small handful of songs which were popular in the early sixteenth century and are available to-day though, as has been said, the seventeenth-century airs may not be the same as those of the days when the Ballads were sung.

(1) Book of the Univeṛsall Kirk, 3/7, 1568.

Theoretical Musical Terms in Sixteenth-Century
Scottish Literature.

- Countering: Any voice part set out to be sung against the principal melody. The alto was called the counter in Scottish MSS.
- Decupla: This was one of the proportions used in mediaeval music. Its use is described in Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Musicke* (p.33) where it lies at the apex of the table of proportions.
- Diapson: - was the usual word for the octave.
- Diapenty: - the fifth.
- Diatesseron: - the fourth.
- Descant: This term was used at different times for different purposes. Morley explained it as 'singing extempore upon a plainsong' e.g. providing a second part to a known melody.
It also meant an early form of counterpoint or the art of writing music in parts. Rousseau made it the equivalent of counterpoint. It is still used, as discantus (or cantus) to mean the treble part of any part song.
- Duplare: Usually the octave. For its other connotation in rhythm see Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Musicke*. p. 27.
- Fabourdon: To-day the word is used for the freely

written part giving a 'soprano or body of sopranos an air to sing above the melody of a hymn tune sung by the congregation', but in mediaeval times it had other and different meanings. It might be a note-for-note movement with the canto fermo or the method of singing parallel thirds or sixths. There are still other senses in which the word is used. (See The Oxford Companion of Music, p.305.)

Figuration: The word is probably used in the sense of providing a florid counterpoint or some alteration of a theme. Morley defines it 'when you sing one note of a plainsong long and another short'.

Gemmel: - also gimel or gymel. It meant at first that a counter melody, a third below, was supplied to the air. Later it meant that two voices sang in thirds over another voice.

Modulation: This is the term used for the device to make a change of key. In the composition of a plainsong, the intermediate phrases could only begin and end on one of another set of notes which were called its Modulations (G.) This may have been the sense in which the Scottish Chaucerians used it.

Prick Song: The old term for music that was written down as distinct from music that was extemporized or

sung by heart.

Proportion: This term was used in the double sense of the relations between the vibration numbers of notes i.e. differences of pitch, and of certain differences in rhythm. Morley, in *Plaine and Easie Introduction* (p.27) has a long account of different kinds of proportion.

Prolation: This dealt with the time-values of the semibreve and the minim in the rhythm of a piece.

Quadruplait: - the double octave.

Reports: These may have been musical responses. They were also vocal pieces of a contrapuntal kind such as we have in harmonized psalters of the post-Reformation period.

Sesquialtera: This is a term coming under the head of Proportion and stands for the ratio 2:3 or the perfect fifth.

Triplare: This is the term for the ratio 3:1 or the interval of an octave and a fifth.

Note...Afiddler seems to have been a general name for the player on any stringed instrument .See Drummond's ^{miscell-}anies in *Arch. Scot.* V 4 p82

" A viller dying ,they writ of him,
A month three days befor June
Tom the fiddler went out of tune".

PSALMORUM DAVIDIS PARAPHRASIS POETICA
GEORGII BUCHANANI SCOTI.

PSALM 100 FROM THE EDITION OF 1608
(HERBORNE NASSAU)

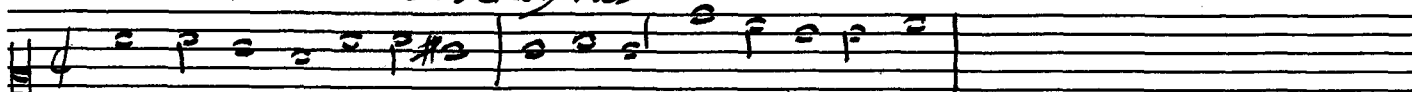
The original music is given with a translation
into modern notation.

The composer was called Olthorius a native
of Hanover. The air is found in the tenor
and the mode is Aeolian.

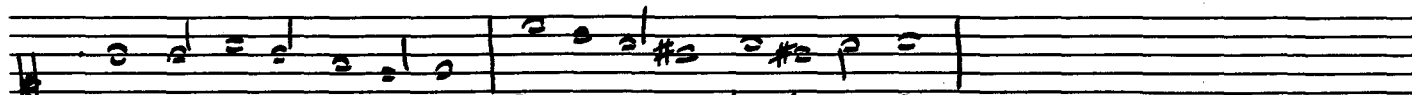
Psalm C. from George Buchanan's Paraphrase

of the psalms (Herborne's Lawrie) 1608.

Discantus

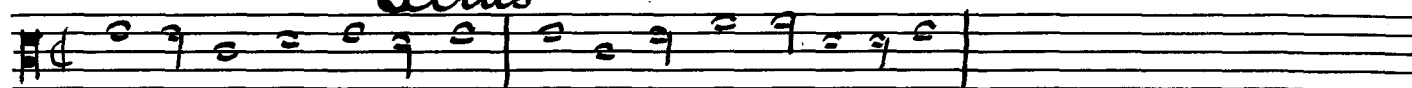


Orbis omnes incolae A sole Eo ad Hesperum

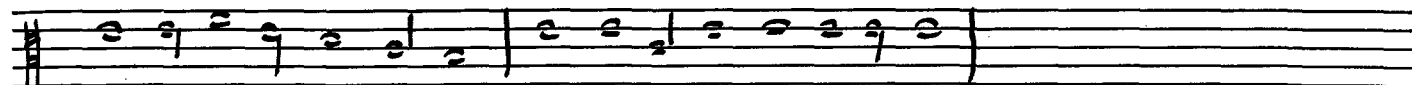


Jubilati et optimo Rerum parenti plaudite

Altus

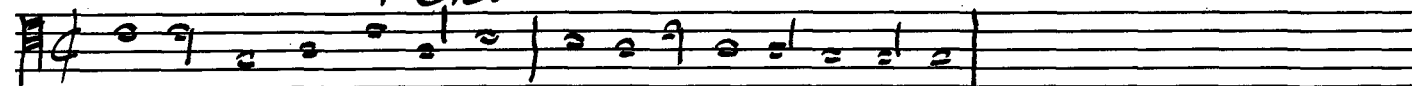


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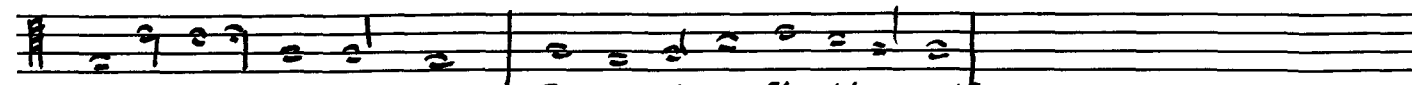


Jubilati et optimo Rerum parenti plaudite

Tenor

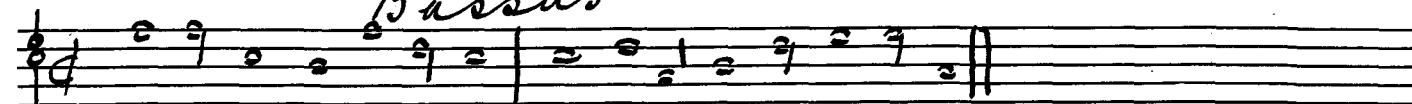


Orbis omnes incolae A sole Eo ad Hesperum

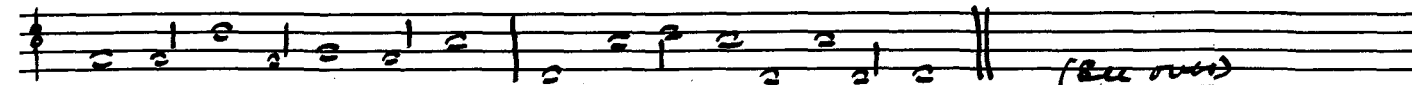


Jubilati et optimo Rerum parenti plaudite

Bassus



Orbis omnes incolae A sole Eo ad Hesperum



Jubilati et optimo Rerum parenti plaudite

Psalm 100. For George Buchanan Paraphrase

The first system of handwritten musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music is written in a simple, handwritten style with various note values and rests. The first measure of the upper staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The notes are mostly quarter and eighth notes, with some rests. The lower staff begins with a bass clef and a common time signature, with notes and rests corresponding to the upper staff.

The second system of handwritten musical notation also consists of two staves, treble and bass clef. It continues the musical piece from the first system. The notation is consistent in style, using simple note values and rests. The system concludes with a double bar line at the end of the second measure.

The lower half of the page contains seven sets of empty musical staves, each consisting of five horizontal lines. These staves are currently blank and are positioned below the two systems of handwritten music.

The St. Andrews (or Wood's) Psalter.

The only collection of music of importance made during the second half of the sixteenth century was the harmonized Psalter of Thomas Wood. No collection of secular music is known before the seventeenth century and the St. Andrews Psalter is a harmonized volume of the sacred music used by the Reformed Kirk. The Psalter consists of four manuscript volumes of which the treble, tenor and bass volumes are in Edinburgh University Library and the contra tenor volume is in the British Museum. There is a fifth or supplementary volume in Trinity College, Dublin, containing a few psalms in Wood's handwriting along with a number of canticles and hymns by Scottish composers. It is plain that the Psalter was the work of a number of the 'primest' Scottish musicians of the day ⁽¹⁾ who had received their early training in the Old Church and had not lost their sympathy with the older music in spite of having gone over to the Reformed religion. We know very little of Wood himself, but he was obviously on good terms with several sound musicians in whose musical ability he could put his trust and he called upon their help as early as 1562 to compile this Psalter in a harmonized version. From various notes and comments and other marginalia which Wood was accustomed to make on his copies of the Psalter, we learn a good deal about the way in which the Psalter came into being and

(1) 'Primest' is Edward Miller's word about these Scottish musicians in the Prefaces to his Harmonized Psalter of 1635.

about the small worries Wood had in getting it completed, with some amusing criticisms on his colleagues and their work. At the end of the tenor volume dated 1570, Wood tells how Lord James Stewart, Queen Mary's half-brother and afterwards Earl of Moray, caused David Peebles, one of the canons of St. Andrews where Lord James was then Prior, to set three parts of the Psalm to the tenor, which carried the tune. Lord James urged Peebles to neglect the "curious" in music and make all "plaine and dulce" - which he did. Here we have an echo of Robert Richardinus at an earlier day and of Calvin in the preface to the Genevan Psalter of 1543, wherein he said that such music should not be "light and frivolous but have weight and majesty". Wood found David Peebles a rather dilatory person for he was "ever requesting and solisting till they were all set". It may well be that Peebles would have preferred to provide music of a more elaborate nature than the metrical psalms permitted, for Wood says "he was not earnest". Wood thought highly of Peebles, however, and called him "ane honourable and singulare cunning man", and ^{one} of the "chieff musitians into this land". At another time, he wrote that Peebles had a singularly good ear and could sing what he had never sung before i.e. could read music fluently at sight, but his voice was "rawky" and harsh. Peebles had been one of the "coventual brethern" of the Abbey of St. Andrews and died in December, 1579.

It was apparently the slackness of Peebles that sent

Wood in pursuit of other musicians to complete the work of harmonizing the Psalms. He says he wrote to Andro Blackhall, Jhone Angus and Andro Kemp. Andrew Blackhall was a canon of Holyrood at the time of the Reformation and when he went over to the Reformed Kirk, he became successively minister at Ormiston and Musselburgh. It may have been Blackhall's skill in music that influenced James VI to grant a sum of money in order to establish a Sang Schule at Musselburgh. Dean John Angus, called by Wood "gude Angus, gude and meike John Angus", was born in 1515 and had been a cōventual brother at Dunfermline Abbey. When he turned Protestant, he received a pension and a living in connection with the Chapel Royal. He lived till 1597. Andro Kemp had attempted, with another musician, to set up a Sang Schule in Dundee, (1) but was ordered to close the school by the Town Council as it infringed the monopoly of the burgh Sang Schule. He held the mastership of the Aberdeen Sang Schule from 1570 to 1573. (2) He was also at the Sang Schule at St. Andrews. (3) Kemp wrote the harmonies for 40 psalm tunes in 4 parts. These tunes are found in a Dalhousie MS (4).

Some of Wood's comments, particularly in the contra volume in the British Museum are interesting.

- (1) Reg. Burgh & Head Court. 15/11, 1555.
- (2) B.R. Aberdeen. 16/10/1570
- (3) Wood's Psalter. Contra-vol. p.48.
- (4) Kinloch MS.

- (a) p.48. "The Sang of Ambrose set in four partis voluntary verray dulce and sweit by Andro Kemp, sometye maister of the Sang Schule at Sanct Androus."
- (b) p.52. "Maister Gudman, sumtyme minister of Sanct Androus gave this letter to Andro Kemp maister of the Sang Schule to set it in four pairtis. It is verray hard till it be threyie or foure tymes weill and ryghtly sung.
- (c) p.65. "Tak the better tent becaus it sinkis".
- (d) p.73. "In nomine set by two sundry men upone ane plaine sang and they bayth have done verray weill".
- (e) Qui consolabitur - "Heir begins ane gude sang in five pairtis but I never had the fyft pairt bot it is ryght weill with four".

He once wrote the bass part in the contra volume and thought he must have done so "rakelesly".

Thomas Wood is called Vicar of St. Andrews in 1583. (1) About the same time he became a reader and was summoned before the Kirk Session to account for the mahner in which he performed his duties. The session ordained that in time of prayera he "reid onlie the prayar in the psalme buik and the chaptouris alanerlie in the New and Auld Testament without any additioun of his awin brane, noit, or utherwis, except it be gevin him be writ from the sessioun and he to reid that without additioun simplie". Wood seems to have introduced innovations distasteful to

(1) K.S.R. St. Andrews. 27/5, 1584. and 15/2/1583/4

the stern taste of the session. He had other troubles with the Session (1) and on one occasion had to go down on his knees and ask forgiveness from the Session for his conduct towards one of the elders.

The four volumes contain 102 psalm tunes with instructions as to how they should be sung and also a number of canticles and hymns. These hymns and canticles are, in many cases, a carry-over from pre-Reformation times. The Te Deum by Kemp is dated 1566, and Psalm 101 by Blackhall was written in either 1566 or 1568, but the "Si quis diligit" appears at the end of the volume for treble with the words "set by David Peebles in four partis in the year of God 1530 or thairby and ane noveice Francy Heagy and was this David Peebles awing dissyple set the Fyft part a lytill before Pinky (1547) and that verray weill". Further on, Wood wrote that it was presented to King James V "quha wes ane musician himself".

The portion of the Supplement to the Psalter in Wood's own handwriting only runs to 33 pages, but it contains some interesting examples of music by Scottish composers. "O God abuse" was composed by Sir John Fethy "bayth letter and not" of whom some account is given under the Music School of Edinburgh. "Domine in virtute" V partes set in England "be ane baneist Scottish priest" and "Deus

(1) K.S.R. St. Andrews. 5/4, 1587.

(2) It is quite likely that Peebles, being Heagy's master set this fifth part as an exercise to his pupil, Heagy.

misereatur" were by Robert Johnson, who flourished during the first half of the sixteenth century and probably lived in Windsor after his flight.

List of Hymns and Canticles in Wood's Manuscript.

1. Veni Creator Spiritus. - Kemp. (1)
"Cum, Holy Ghost, Eternal God".
2. The humble sute of a Synnar. - Blackhall.
"O Lord, on whom I depend".
3. The Song of Ambrose. - Kemp.
"We praise thee, O God, we acknowledge thee".
4. The Song of the Three Childring. - Angus.
"O all ye workes of God the Lord, bless ye
the Lord".
5. The Song of Zacharias. - Angus.
"The onlye Lord of Israell be praised evermore".
6. The Sang of the Blessit Virgin. - Angus.
"My soule doth magnifie the Lord".
7. The Sang of Simeon, callit "Nunc Dimit~~tis~~". - Angus.
"O Lord, because my heart's desire".
8. The Simboll or Creide of Athanasius. - Angus.
"What man, soeuer he be, saluation will attain".

(1) The Contra part of this hymn is indecipherable. The melody of the piece and other canticles will be found in Sternhold and Hopkins's Whole Booke of Psalms (1605)

9. The Lamentation of a Sinner.

"O Lord, turne not away thy face".

10. The Lord's Prayer.

"Our father which in heaven art". (in rhyming
verse.)

11. The Ten Commands.

"Harke, Israell, and what I say".

12. The Complaint of ane Sinner. - Kemp.

"Where righteousness doth say, Lord".

13. The Ten Commands. - Angus.

"Attend my people, and give care".

14. The Sang of Simeon. - Angus.

"Now suffer me, O Lord".

15. The Lord's Prayer (another version).- Angus.

"Our Father which in heaven art,
And mak'st us all one brotherhood".

16. The XII Articles of our Belieff.- Angus.

"All my belief and confidence".

17. Da pacem Domine. - Angus.

"Give peace in these our dayes, O Lord".

18. Robber (Robert) Wisdome; rather call this a prayer
Blackhall.

"Preserue us Lord, by thy dere worde".

"Folloueth Sertan Godlye Songs, perfectly set in iiii.

pairtis, and singular gude musike, which I haue put in
heireamongs the rest, and first Te Deum Laudamus in prose,
set by Andro Kemp, 1566. - Wreattin and notit be me, Thomas
Wod, vicar of Sanct Androus.

(1) Robert Wisdom, Archdeacon of Ely (d. 1568). This prayer,
also found in Barker's Bible (1639), attracted the
attention of Dr. Johnson (see Boswell G.B.H.'s edition
V. 444)

19. The Sang of Ambrose and of Augustine, in iv. pairtes.
Kemp.
"Te Deum," etc.
"We praise thee, O God", etc.
20. Psalm CI. Voluntarie. In v. pairtes. Quod M. Andro
M.Vc.lxvj (corrected in one MS. to 1568). Blackhall.
21. Psalm CXXVII. Voluntarie. In v pairtes. - Blackhall.
"Blessed art thou that fearis God".

List of Hymns and Canticles in the Supplement to Wood's
Psalter

- Page 1. - CI Psalme, v. pairtis. Be Mr. A Blackhall (the
second tribble) "Of mercy and of judgement".
Finis, quod Maister Andro Blackhall, in Halyrude
Hous, (now minister of Musselburgh), 1569,
giffin in propyne to the King.
- Page 5. - Aspice Domine, in v. pairtis. quod ane Italian.
- Page 7. - Psalme CXXVIII. Set and send be Blakhall to my
L. Mar. at his first marriage with my L. of
Angus' Sister. Begins - "Blessed art thou, thou
fearest God". v. pairtis. quod Blakhall.
- Page 11. - "O God abuse", etc. in iv. pairtis, composit
be Shir Jhone Futhy, bayth letter and not, etc.
- Page 13. - "Domine in virtute tua letabitur Rex". v pairtes
set in Ingland be ane baneist Scottis preist.
At the end Wood had written - "Quod ane Inglishe-
man, and, as I have heard, he was blind quhen
he set it". This is erased, and on the margin
is added - "This was set in Ingland be ane
Scottis preist baneist".

- Page 18. - Omnes Gentes Attendite. v pairtis, set in
England.
- Page 19. - Deus miseratur nostri. iiii pairtis, at the end
Inglishe. Thomas Wod, Vicar of Sanct Androis,
with my hand.
- Page 22. - Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord". xliii.
Psalme, v. pairtis, Blackhall.
- Page 25. - ffollowis certain sangis vpon plaine sang of
dyvers men. and to singular gude musike. iiii
pairtis, plaine sang and all. - In Nomine. Quod
Talis, iiii pairtis. (This is by the great English
Composer, Tallis and one of the few pieces not by
Scottish composers)
- Page 26. - Ane uther sang, callit In Nomine. iii pairtis upon
the plain sang.
- Page 28. - Qui Conservabitur. v. pairtis. (On margin) "I
layk ane pairt".
- Page 29. - Si quis diligit me, v. pairtis. (At end) Quod David
Pables, sumtyme ane chanone in the Abbay of Sanct
Androus, ane of the principall mus^sitians in all this
land in his tyme. This sang was set about the zeir
of God Im Vc xxx (1530) zeirs.
- Page 30. - Descendi in hortum meum. 4 pairtis. quod.
(name blank)
- Page 31. - Susane vnioure. Italian. v. pairtis.
- Page 32. - Followis ane mirry sang liii pairtis, callit
Vniour, finis, correctit.

A. Knowledge of the attitude towards the organ taken by the Reforming party in England must have reached Scotland & no doubt, had some influence in directing opinion. A tract 'The Power, number & about 1567 says that 'not so few as a hundred organs were taken down & the pipes sold to make powder dishes' (see also *History of English music* p. 110)

While the chief interest in Wood's Psalter lies in its contribution to our knowledge of Scottish Psalmody, it has also a secular interest. At a later date than 1566, a number of secular songs were inserted in the four volumes. These songs are in four parts and almost all of them can either be traced to English sources or can be found in the Scottish musical MSS. of the seventeenth century.

- "What if a day". (Alison)
 "Earth's but a point". (Alison)
 "Love is the thing throe which all men"
 "Good man shoe if you can tell". (Campian)
 "O my poor eyes". (Jones).
 X "Remember O thou man"
 "Though your strangeness frets my heart". (Campian)
 "Vain man whose follies make a god of love" (Campian).
 "Thinks thou Kate to put me down" (Jones).
 X "Lyk as the lark within the marleon's foot"
 X "Come sweet love let sorrow cease"
 X "About a bank" - (Montgomerie's words set to the same music as "The Banks of Helicon").

X "No wonder is suppose"

"Mistress mine well may you fare"

X "Now let us sing"

X "Wo worth the time"

X "Depart, depart, alace I must depart"

X "Lyk as the dumb solsequium"

X "What mighty motion"

X "If care do cause men cry"

"Come again sweet love" (Dowland).

X "O Lustie May"

X "For love of one I make my moan"

"If floods of tears" (Dowland).

The songs marked X are only found in Scottish musical MSS.

The Supplement to Wood's Psalter is mainly occupied with secular songs, both words and music. The bulk of these songs come from the English Song Books, but a number of them have not yet been traced. There is also a number of catches, many of which appear in Pammelia and elsewhere. In addition sixteen of the songs appear only in Scottish musical MSS. of the seventeenth century and we may accept the inclusion of these songs, all popular at that time with the compilers of musical MSS., as evidence of the Scottish provenance of the whole of the Supplement.

Secular Songs in the Supplement to Wood's Psalter.

The names of the airs and sonnets contained w^tin this book which are all noted with the tenor or common pairt they ar sung with:

1. "Flow my tears or Lachrime" (Dowland II 2)
2. "Doe not O doe not prise thy beautie" (Jones III 1)
3. "why presums thy pryde" (Campian III 6)
4. "What if a day or a month" - In Sk., L-F., Sq., Bl., P.M. MSS. and F. (also in Alison).
5. "Caire goe thou away from me - In L., Sq., P., MSS. and F. (words in Tottel's Miscellany).
6. "With my lov my life was nestled" (Morley I and F)
7. "Mistresse myn well may you fair"
8. "Sleip, sleip O sweet dear ladie sleip"
9. "Good men shoew if you can tell " (Campian II 9)
10. "Disdain that so doeth fill me" (Jones III 6)
11. "Into a flie transformed" (Bartlet's Ayres 13 1606)
12. "Sall I seik to ease my greiffe" (Jones III 4)
13. "If thou longst so much to learn, sweet boy" (Campian III 16)
14. "Wer my hert as som mens ar" (Campian III 3)
15. "O my poor eyes that sunn qhose shyn" (Jones I 13)
16. "Thou joyest fond boy to be by many loved" (Campian IV 3)
17. "Never lov unlesse thou bear with all the faults of men" (Campian III 27)
18. "Fairest morne O fairest morne"

19. "Who doeth behold my mistresse fair" (Bartlet 4)
20. "Remember O thou man" (Ravenscroft's Melismata)
21. "My song is love yet strange love not myn oun"
22. "Thogh your strangeness frets my hert" (Campian II 16)
23. "If lov loves treuth then women doe not love"
(Campian III 11)
24. "Break now my hert and die" (Campian III 10)
25. "Beautie since you so much desire" (Campian IV 22)
26. "Turne all thy thoghts to eyes" (Campian IV 20)
27. "Vaine men qhose follies mak a god of lov"
(Campian II 1)
28. "Respect my faith, regard my service past"
(Campian IV 2)
29. "Sall I then hope when faith is fled" (Campian III 29)
30. "Sleip angrie beauté, sleep and fear not me"
(Campian III 25)
31. "What is all that men professe" (Campian III 14)
32. "Sillie boy, it is full moon" (Campian III 26)
33. "Sall I then hope qhen faith is fled" (Campian III 29)
34. "Young and simple though I am" (Campian IV 9)
35. "Must your fair inflaming eye"
36. "Toul, toul, gentle bell for a soul"
37. "Thinks thou Kate, to put me down" (Jones III 12)
38. "My lov bound me w^t a kisse" (Jones II 2)
39. "You meaner beauties" (East VI 1)
40. "As I lay latly in a dreame" (Jones V 13)
- X 41. "Lyk as the lark w^t in the merleon's foot" - In L. P.,
MSS. and F.

- X 42. "Come sweet love lett sorow ceasse" - In Str., L.,
P.,MSS. and F.
- X 43. "About a bank ghen birds on bows"- (Montgomerie's words
from the "Cherrie and the Slae" - music to
"Declare ye banks of Helicon").
- 44. "There was a wylie ladd". (Jones V 14)
- X 45. "No wonder is suppose, my weeping eye" - also in P.-M.
- X 46. "New lett us sing Christ keep our kyng" - also in L.-M.
- X 47. "Wo work the tyme and eke the place" - also in L.Sq.,
P.MSS. and F.
- X 48. "Lyk as the dumbe solsequium" - In Str., R.,P.,MSS and
F.
- 49. "Will said to his mamie" (Jones: Musicall Dreame
- 50. "Goe to bed, sweet muse tak thy rest" (Jones III 3)
- X 51. "For love of one I mak my moan" - In P.-MS.
- 52. "Come again, sweet love doeth now invite" (Dowland I 1
- X 53. "What mightie motion so my mynd mischieves" - In P.-MS.
- X 54. "O lustie Maie w^t Flora queen" - In P.-MS. and F.
- X 55. "If care doe cause man crie" - In Str. MS. and F.
- 56. "This is all that women doe"
- 57. "I die ghen as I doe not sie"
- 58. "Begone thou fatal firie fever"
- 59. "I cannot enjoy peace and yet I have no care"
- X 60. "Depart, depart,alane I must depart" - In P.-MS.
(Words by Alex. Scott)
- 61. "Cloras sight and sung and wept"
- 62. "Orpheus I can com from the deeps below" (Words in
Fletcher's "The Mad Lover")

63. "Heave you seen bot a bright lillie grow " (Ben
Jonson's words)
64. "Vertew, beautie, forms of honour".
65. "Weip no more, my wearied eyes".
66. "Fairwell, dear love, since thou wilt needs be gone"
(Jones I 12)
67. "Now I must begon and leav where I best love"
68. "Fairwell, fond youth, if thou had not been blind"
(Jones IV 8)
69. "Sweet if you lyk and love me still" (Jones III 6)
70. "What if I speed where I lest expected" (Jones III 5)
71. "Beautie sat bathing by a spring" (Jones III 2)
- X 72. "Come lett us walk into the Spring" - In Str., Sk.,
L.F.,SQ.,P.,MSS. and I
73. "Jon, come kiss me now" - In many Scottish MSS.
74. "Much doe I blame the grief"
- X 75. "Joy to the person of my love" - In L.,Sk.,B.,G.,Sq.,
MSS. and F.
76. "What dearer jewell can my thoughts enjoy"
77. "Sweet I long, that I suld sing"
78. "Over the mountains and over the waves" - (Playford's
Musical Recreation on the Lyra viol).
79. "You that in the countrie call"
80. "Wrong not sweet Empress, if my suit"
81. "If floods of tears could cleanse my follies past"
(Bateson II 12)
82. "Mad Tom Bedlam" - (Playford's Dancing Master 1650/1,
and in Chappell's Popular Music, p.328)
83. "March on, brave lads"

84. "Fair goddess, loadstar of delyght"
 X 85. "My bailful breast" - In Str., L., MSS. and F.
 86. "Sweet Musick brought Eurydice from hell"
 87. "Since the absence of my mistresse"

An amusing version of "John come kiss me now" occurs in the Supplement to Wood's Psalter:-

Wife:-

John come kiss me now (ter)
 And mak no more adow.

His answer to the same tune

Husband:

Peace, I'm angry now, now peace, I'm angry now
 Peace, I'm angry to the hert and know not what to do

Wives can fain and wives can flatter
 Have I not hit them noo
 When once they beginn they still do chatter
 And so does my wife too.

Wives can sport and wives can play
 And with little worth pass ower the day
 And wives hes many fair words and looks
 And draw silly men on folly's hooks.

Wives will not their meeting miss
 A cowp of seck they well can kiss
 Wives can ban and wives can curse
 Wives can toom their husbands' purse.

Wives can flyte and wives can scold
 Wives of their tongue they have no hold

Some they be right needful evils
 So is my wife noo
 Wives are nothing else than divils
 And so is my wife too.

Now of my song I make an end
 So heir I quit the noo
 All evil wives to the divil I send
 Amongst them my wife too.

Psalm 149 from St Andrew's Psalter 1566

Sing un-to the Lord with hearty ac-cord
How joyful songs

The first system of handwritten musical notation for Psalm 149. It consists of two staves, a treble clef on the top and a bass clef on the bottom. The melody is written on the treble staff, and the bass line is on the bass staff. The lyrics are written below the notes. The system ends with a double bar line.

His prais-es re-sounde by ev-erle grounds
His Sanct-es a-ming

The second system of handwritten musical notation for Psalm 149. It consists of two staves, a treble clef on the top and a bass clef on the bottom. The melody continues on the treble staff, and the bass line continues on the bass staff. The lyrics are written below the notes. The system ends with a double bar line.

Psalm 107. Tune by Andrew Kemp. in Dalmatini
M.S. (Parham)

Give thanks un-to The Lord our God for grac-i-ous in see

The first system of musical notation, featuring a treble and bass staff in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The melody is written in the treble clef, and the bass line is in the bass clef. The lyrics are written below the treble staff.

And what his mer-cy hath he send I all hon-our shall men may see

The second system of musical notation, continuing the melody and bass line. The lyrics are written below the treble staff.

Such as the Lord pre-fer-ent-ed hath I with thank's shew'd praise his name

The third system of musical notation, continuing the melody and bass line. The lyrics are written below the treble staff.

And show how they from sin were freed And how he brought the name.

The fourth system of musical notation, concluding the melody and bass line. The lyrics are written below the treble staff.

NOW ISRAEL MAY SAY - harmonized by David Peabody

Now Is-ra-el may say And that they - e - ly

Psalm 124

(1) 7 in M^{\flat} . (should be 9)

(2) B natural in M^{\flat} (should be C)

1 for St Anselm's metrical

Psalm 136

If the Lord had not our cause main-taine

If that the Lord had not our right sus-taine

When all the worlde a-gainst they fur-hous-ly

Made they up-ronnes and said we all shoulde dye

Si quis diligit me by David Peablos (Opening)
Secundus

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It includes a vocal line and four piano accompaniment staves. The lyrics are: "Si... quis di-li-git". The piano part features a simple harmonic accompaniment with some rests and repeat signs.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It continues the vocal and piano parts from the first system. The lyrics are: "qui di... li-git me... me ser-mo-rem me... an ser-... qui di-li-git me...". The piano accompaniment includes some dynamic markings like *ff* and *ff!*.



Handwritten musical score for the first system, consisting of five staves. The lyrics are: "Ser-mo-ne me - - - um Ser-mo-ne me - - -".

Staff 1: Treble clef, lyrics: Ser-mo-ne me - - - um Ser-mo-ne me - - -

Staff 2: Treble clef, lyrics: Ser-mo-nem me - - - Ser-mo-nem

Staff 3: Treble clef, lyrics: me Ser-mo-nem me - - -

Staff 4: Treble clef, lyrics: mo-nem me Ser-mo-nem-me - - - um

Staff 5: Treble clef, lyrics: Ser-mo-nem me - - - Ser-mo-nem me - - -

Handwritten musical score for the second system, consisting of five staves. The lyrics are: "um Ser-mo-ne me - um Ser-mo-nem me - - - me Ser-mo-nem me - - - up".

Staff 1: Treble clef, lyrics: um Ser-mo-ne me - um

Staff 2: Treble clef, lyrics: Ser-mo-nem me - - -

Staff 3: Treble clef, lyrics: Ser-mo-nem me - - - me

Staff 4: Treble clef, lyrics: Ser-mo-nem me - - - up

Staff 5: Treble clef, lyrics: um

Veyi Creator from St Andrew's Psalter 1566

by Andrew Kemp

Come Ho-ly Spi-rit e-ter-nal God pro-ceed-ing from a-bove

Body from the Fa-ther and the Son The God of heav'n & love

(a)

Vis-ible our hands & lin-tens Thy heav'n-ly grace in-spi-rit

(a) The Con-tra-tenor from this psalm is mutilated in the B.M. copy

That with all might & good li-ness we may have good de-sire

A NOTE TO THE ST. ANDREWS PSALTER (1566)

The St. Andrews Psalter was the first collection of harmonised psalm tunes made by Scottish composers but it has other claims on our attention besides this important distinction. It reveals more about the state of music at the middle of the 16th century than any other contemporary document can show. The actual psalms are worth a careful study but, at the end of these, there is a miscellaneous collection of music of an enlightening character. The supplementary section shows the range of Thomas Wood's interest in music. Wood engaged the best musicians of his acquaintance to write or contribute compositions for this supplement. Peebles, who was responsible for many of the harmonies attached to the psalm tunes, contributed 'S^ci quis diligⁱt me' and 'Immortal^e deo gloria'. Angus set various canticles, the Paternoster and other pieces: Kemp was a considerable contributor of settings for canticles and Veni Creator which is added as an example here of his work: Blakhall was represented by a variety of pieces including psalms in a contrapuntal style. All of these composers supplied music for canticles and hymns in the manner of an earlier day, when contrapuntal writing was the norm and several of their compositions in five parts were of considerable length and variety. As a rule the plan was to use the one-note one-syllable device when English words were used though a free style of composition was sometimes employed. It is clearly stated that some of the Scottish composers' works belonged to the days of the old church and were composed for its services--one of Peebles's works is stated to have been written about 1530 while other pieces such

The Psalter is profusely decorated with illustrations of a varied character. Taken all over, these illustrations are often crude and even amateurish. Some of the floral designs are not without taste and decorative skill. The use of conventional forms and pictures of an architectural nature is of some interest and these may have been taken from collections of native or foreign origin. Yet the appearance of the thistle as a subject for illustrations suggests the work of a native artist. Occasionally, attempts are made to illustrate the text of some of the psalms. For instance, against the 137th Psalm, in which reference is made to certain musical instruments, there are little pictures of lute, cittern, harp, viol, drum and schalms. It cannot be claimed that these decorative pages can compare with the lovely work in the illuminated service books of the Middle Ages.

We have no certain knowledge of the exact use to which the St Andrews' Psalter was put. There could not have been many copies of the original collection and it was most probably used for private devotions and not for public worship. On the other hand, we know from the first harmonized Psalter printed in Scotland (1635) that the harmonized versions of the psalms that bear Wood's name were familiar in the third decade of the 17th century to musicians, for the compiler of that Psalter of 1635, mentions the names of Feeblés, Angus, Kemp and others, who were intimately connected with the collection of 1566, though the Psalter itself is never mentioned by name. About half a dozen of the psalm tunes found in the Psalter of 1635 are found in the St Andrews Psalter in identically the same forms; almost a score of the tunes in the former appear with such minor alterations as make little difference. In other instances

the times and the general effect of the work pleasing. It may be added here that, even as late as 1622, (if not later) in the Panmure MSS, there are specimens of pre-Reformation music inscribed along with lutenists' songs, tunes for the metrical Psalter, dance airs and melodies taken from the madrigal writers. A 'Media Vita' appears in this MS. - one of the sequences associated with the name of Notker and sung on the third Sunday in Lent at compline according to the Order of Compline in the Salisbury Antiphoner.⁽¹⁾ One wonders whether the Latin hymns and other pre-Reformation music were actually sung by the compiler of the Panmure MS. or if they were merely copied from some earlier MS. and included for record and not for singing at all. This Media Vita⁽³⁾ is also found in a musical MS. (after 1604) transcribed by David Melvill whose Roundel Book is noted elsewhere.

THE ORGAN

The attitude of the Scottish reformers towards the use of instrumental music in the Church services was quite clear, but there was no immediate⁽²⁾ pronouncement against it. As Hay Fleming has pointed out, there is no mention of instrumental music in the Book of Common Order, the Book of Discipline or the Confession of Faith. Denunciation of the organ in the worship of the Church came at a later date. The Reformers, however, especially John Knox, were well aware of the attitude of the reforming party in other

(1) edited Palmer (1927).

(2) Hay Fleming's "The Reformation in Scotland" 308.

(3) B.M Add.M.S.S.36484

countries in this respect. In England, the Lower House of Convocation⁽¹⁾ in 1536 amongst 'Eighty Four Faults and Abuses of Religion' included ecclesiastical music and organ playing and when attacks on ecclesiastical music were renewed in 1552, the organ in St. Paul's was silenced. The Reformers abolished the organs from the Churches for two main reasons. First, its association with the forbidden service of the Mass made its use anathema to the extremists. The over-elaboration of Church music, which was so often a matter of complaint by critics of earlier times, was found as much in the floridity of organist's accompaniments as in the complexity of the vocal scores. This old association with the services of the old Church, even when the organs were quite small instruments, influenced the attitude of the Reformers, from the very beginning. (In later days, Calderwood wrote in his "Pastor and Prelate", (1628) "The Pastor loveth no music in the house of God but such as edifieth, and stoppeth his ears at instrumental music: the Prelate loveth carnal and curious music to the ear and therefore would have antiphony and organ in the Cathedral Kirks: lesser instruments as lutes, pipes and citterns in other Kirks". Rutherford also in "The Divine Right of Church Government" wrote that "na grace of joy in the Holy Ghost wrought by the droning of organs.....is the work of the Spirit merited by Christ".) For three 'belleges' of the organs, the Dean of Guild of Edinburgh received £6.⁽²⁾

In 1574, it was ordered that the organ at St. Nicolas

(1) Davey's "History of English Music" 107
 (2) Dean of Guild's Accounts Edin. 6 / 10 / 1560 (11p112)

From Palaise Hammy's Philomela v. 1.

(quoted in Santambrogio's *Manual Treatise of the Cantabile Period* Vol. 1)

Walk-ing I chanced in-to a shade, Which top-in-twini-ng trees had made

Of many sev-er-ally kinds These grew the high as-per-ing Elm's With boughs

hats-ing in gum-like balme Di-still-ing through their kinds The Map-le with a

shar-ry skin Did spread broad ball-of-leaves The quak-ing As-pine light & thin To thyme light passages

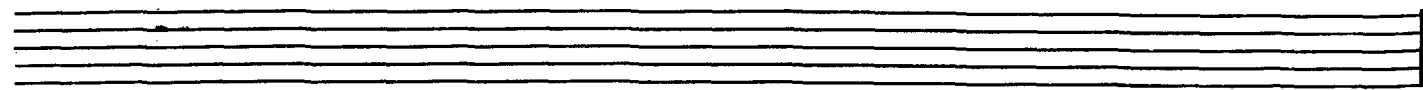
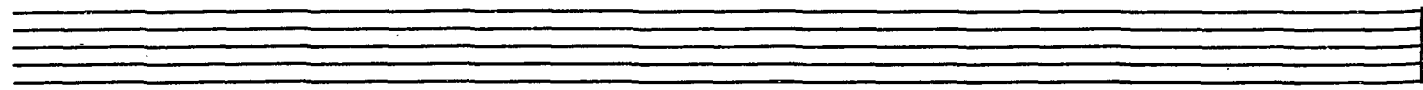
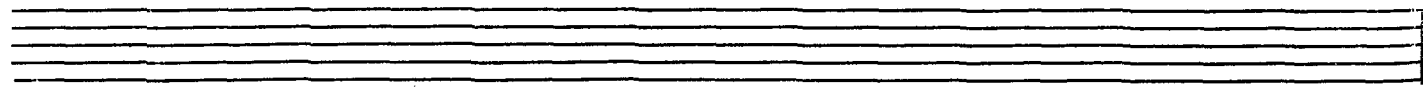
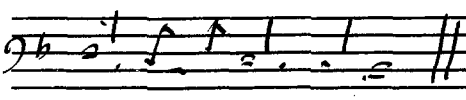
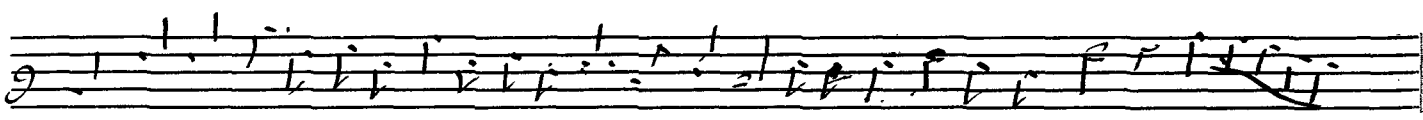
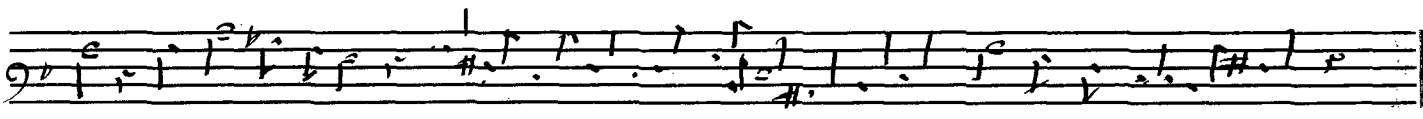
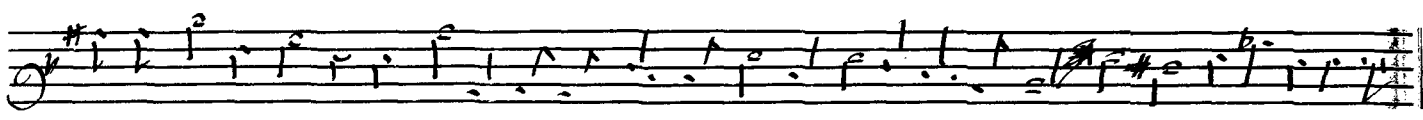
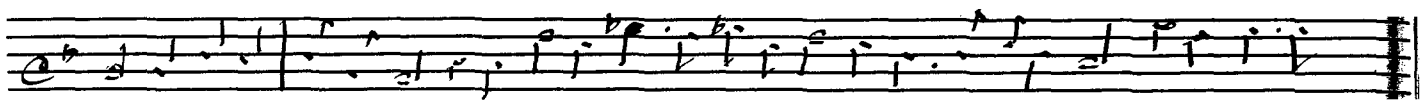
Just Re-semb-ling still The free-blew all of ^{troughs} ~~houses~~ of wo-men-kind's which ne-ver rest

But still are prest To wave ~~with~~ with ev-ery wind

(all the rests (being non-orn rests) must be crocket rests)

Therefore I pray you mind them with your pen or remember them.

The same tune on the frontispiece of *Phileas* by Patrick Hannay (1622)



(1)

Church, Aberdeen, [should] be sold and the proceeds given to the poor. The second reason for the abolition of the organ lay in the nature of the praise. It was to be congregational and neither organ nor any other instrument had a place in congregational praise. Organ-playing might be a distraction⁽²⁾ and organ music was in the category of that 'wanton and curious' music which was offensive to the Reformers. Nevertheless, Scottish music suffered by the abolition of the instrument in Church praise. One other avenue along which the musician could travel in the pursuit of his art was closed to him. When we examine the place that the organ, held in the history of music in England and on the Continent after the Reformation, we cannot but conclude that its abolition from the Scottish Kirk was a serious loss to Scottish music. In England, as we have seen, almost all the famous composers of the Tudor and Jacobean periods held Church appointments and most of them were organists. Many of the famous names in English music from Purcell to our own time have been associated with organ appointments. Dr. Blow, Purcell, Dr. Croft (Dr. Arne was an exception), Dr. Boyce, in the 17th and 18th centuries, and in the 19th and 20th, Wesley, Crotch, Goss, Stainer, Sullivan, Elgar and Vaughan Williams, only to name a few, were all organists and the tradition of sound organ playing has been a prominent feature of English musical culture down to our

(1) Reg. Privy Council Scot. 18 / 8 / 1574

This does not seem to have been carried out for part of a bellows and a few pipes were found in the crypt of St. Nicolas' Church in the 18th century. (MS description of the East Kirk Aberdeen.)

(2) A vigorous attack on the organ and other instruments is found in the Speculum Charitatis of Ailred (1109-1106), Abbot of Rievaulx Abbey, Yorkshire, on those "who, under the show of religion, do obballiate the business of religion" (quoted in Frynne's Hystrio-mastrix)

own time. The course taken by music in most of the European countries, which embraced the reformed religion, has been much affected by the organ and especially in Germany is this prominently noticeable, where Bach and Handel, and, at a later date, Reinberger and Reger have contributed music for the organ that is of the highest rank. The reasons for the neglect of the organ in Scotland, are not hard to find and all are quite comprehensible, but there can be no doubt that music and musicians suffered for centuries by being deprived of the opportunities which the instrument afforded to ardent professionals and to music itself. The organ loft has often been the centre of a city's musical life and the organist the moving spirit in musical activities. The post of organist, with all that it carried with it, provided able men to spread musical culture and perform a worthy service not only to music, but to education and religion.

It must be remembered, however, that in the Middle Ages, and up to the middle of the 16th century, the organ did not fulfil its functions in the same manner as it does today. Organ music was composed in the same style as vocal music, and was polyphonic, that is, in Luther's own words, "where one person sings a suitable melody or tenor (as the musicians call it) where three or four or five other parts all sing round along with it, which play and spring, as if in ecstasy, around this simple melody or tenor and wonderfully adorn and grace it with manifold devices and as it was perform a heavenly dance". Today, hymn-singing

is supported by the organ which plays broad and massive chords: but our idea of harmonic background and support had not yet been achieved and the organist could not play what he did not know. Harmonic support, such as we know it, had to wait until long after Luther's time, though it is hard to believe that an organist of invention did not love to fill in parts of sorts to accompany the melody sung by the congregation. We know, however, that in the Middle Ages and in the Lutheran Church, the organ played verse about alternately with the singing of the choir or congregation. Since the polyphonic style was ill-suited to the needs of a congregational praise, there could be no instrumental support for the voices as we know it and the Reformers, bent on a congregational service, could only regard the organ as an obstacle rather than an aid to continuous praise.

CALVINISTS AND MUSIC.

It has often been said that the decay of music in Scotland lay at the door of the Calvinists and was a result of the Reformation. Not only is this still glibly said but reputable writers have written it and it has been accepted as a truism that the Scottish Reformers set their faces against the cultivation of music as an idle pleasure. Buckle⁽¹⁾ wrote "The world afforded nothing worth looking at save and except the Scottish Kirk, which was incomparably the most beautiful thing under Heaven. To listen to music was wrong, for men had no right to disport themselves in such idle recreations". Aytoun in his poem "Bothwell" (l.292) wrote

(1) History of Civilisation in England III 285

"'Twas sin to smile, 'twas sin to laugh
'Twas sin to sport or play
And heavier than a hermit's fast
Was each dull holiday
Was but the sound of laughter heard
Or tinkling of the lute
Or worse than all, in royal hall
The tread of dancing foot
Then to a drove of gasping clowns
Would Knox with unction tell
The vengeance that in days of old
Had fallen on Jezebel."

Professor Kuijper in his study of Calvinism and Art in his Stone Lectures on 'Calvinism' in 1898 goes so far as to say that Protestantism in general and Calvinism in particular, emancipated music by cutting the strands that bound us to the Canto fermo, by abandoning the choir and adopting the people's melodies, by removing them from the saloon and the street and bringing them into the sanctuary. His claims for the benefits that Calvinism bestowed on music are exaggerated but he is correct in his exposition of the benefits which accrued to music by the work of Bourgeois and Goudimel and Kuijper contests that, not only is it untrue that the Calvinists were opposed to the cultivation of music but that while they had no room for the material arts, they positively assigned a new role to song and music by the creation of melodies and songs for the people.

The foregoing present two extreme attitudes towards the position of Calvinism towards music and it may be well to see how far each side can make a good case for itself. There are plenty of instances of music being forbidden by the authorities. In 1574, (1) the Kirk Session of Aberdeen charged fourteen women with dancing playing and singing of filthy songs on Yule Day and Sunday at even. In 1593, the Errol authorities noted that the "looney being (2) summoned for singing at the thorns, and confessing his offence, promised amendment" and it was ordained that 'carilleris' at all time were to be punished as fornicators! In 1605, (3) in Aberdeen, it was intimated from the pulpit that 'nane gang throch the toone on New Yeiris evin singing any songes'

These are only a few instances that may be cited but they are typical. The injunctions did not carry with them the prohibition of all music but only of music performed under forbidden conditions.

There is not the slightest evidence to show that the Scottish Reformers or the Kirk ever taught that 'to listen to music was wrong'. Nor would they have objected to the 'tinkling of the lute', since they permitted the teaching of instruments in the schools under their control. A wrong understanding of the attitude of the Kirk towards the enjoyment of simple pleasures has long persisted. Even dancing, though frowned upon by many, was not condemned by Knox who had no great admiration for it, but he

(1) Aber.K.S.R. 30/12/1574

(2) Errol Parish Register 30/12/1593

(3) Aber.K.S.R. 29/12/1605

said to Queen Mary "Yet do I not utterlie dampne it provyding that two vices be avoided". The vices were neglect of one's principal vocation and giving displeasure to God's people. (1) It used to be the custom to lay the blame of musical sterility in England to the door of the Puritans, but Mr. Percy Scholes and Mr. Henry Davey have disproved this charge with a wealth of incontrovertible evidence.

There is not a single pronouncement by political, civil or ecclesiastical authorities against music as music. Neither Parliament nor burgh nor Kirk Session issued an injunction against music. When music was banned, as it was frequently banned, it was because of its associations which, for various reasons, came under the censure of authorities. The Mass was abolished and so all music associated with the services of the old Church had to go. (2) Festal days and Saints' days were banned and all music associated with these occasions e.g. Christmas, Easter, was forbidden when the dates of these festivals came round. Mayday was the occasion of junketings of no decorous nature; so music was forbidden on this day and on other days of boisterous revelry. Penny weddings and lykewakes were accompanied by licentious ongongs and so were forbidden and all music on these occasions was forbidden too. Wherever music might be an incitement towards undue revellings and

(1) Nevertheless much of the dancing was laid aside because of Knox and Mary's musicians refused to play at morn or evensong. (Cal. State Papers Scot. I.186.)

(2) B.R. Aber. 25/12/1576

licentiousness and wherever music was associated with forms of Church service that ran counter to the principles of the Reformation, it was sternly prohibited. When music was forbidden, it was not because in itself it was immoral, but because its associations were disliked by ecclesiastical or civil authorities.

SANG SCHULES.

The most important evidence of the favourable attitude sustained towards the art of music appears in an Act of Parliament of 1579 urging the restoration of the Sang Schules. One of the consequences of the Reformation - and by no means the least disastrous to music - was the abolition of these institutions. They had been the chief centre of musical tuition and activity during the régime of the old Church and they disappeared not through any antagonism to music itself, but because of their association with a Church service that was obnoxious to the Reformers. They were part of a detested ecclesiastical system, and, when that system was abolished with all the external signs of its ritual and organisation, the Sang Schules ceased to exercise their functions and lapsed. Some of the buildings were "spulzied" (Aberdeen), or sold up (Dundee), or allowed to fall into decay (Glasgow) and numbers of musicians lost their only means of livelihood.

(1)

A Sang Schule master such as Edward Henrison in Edinburgh might be fortunate in having a trade to fall back on - he was made clerk of works at St. Giles for a period - and many

(1) Dean of Guild's Accounts Edin. 1562 et seq.

of these musicians went over to the Reformed Church but we have Thomas Wood's word for it in his Psalter that he failed to see how musicians could obtain a livelihood by their art any longer. Later in the century, King James VI in a letter to Restalrig deplored the decay of music in the realm and doubtless there were many others of the same opinion as the Vicar of St. Andrews and the Royal Rhetorician. We have no means of knowing how deep the feeling went that music had suffered a sad blow and that the community had been deprived of a valuable institution but it is significant that, when men sought for some way of staying the decay of music in the realm, they turned to the revival of the Sang Schules as the only means by which music might be restored to the high estate which it had held in the life of the country. They must have known that the revival of these institutions could not be achieved on the lines existing in the days of the old Church. That was impossible, but some modified form of the Sang Schule might prove salutary, and save music from decay. The result was that in 1579, Parliament urged the restoration of the Sang Schules in the following terms - "for the instruction of the youth in the arte of musicke and singing, quhilk is like to fall into great decay without timous remeid be provided, our Soveraine Lord with advise of his Three Estaites of this present Parliament requeists these provestes, baillies, councels and communities of the maist special burrows of this realme and the patrones and provestes of the colledges quhair Sang Schules ar founded to erect and set up

ane Sang School with ane maister sufficient and abill for instruction of the youth in the saide science of musicke; as they will answer to his Hienes upon the perrel of their fundationes"⁽¹⁾. This was practically an order and more than a strong recommendation or mere expression of opinion. It has been said that the post-Reformation Sang Schule found its function in training young people to sing the psalmtunes and so be useful in leading the Church praise. This was undoubtedly part of the duty of the Sang Schule but it must be noted that the object of the restoration of the Sang Schules was to save music from decay. This came first in the minds of the promoters of the Act of 1579.

It was one thing, however, to pass an act towards the restoration of the Sang Schules, but a totally different one to decide how the problem of stopping the decay of music by the restored Sang Schules was to be solved. Conditions were different; the music taught was no longer solely the music of the Church for this could not occupy a full day, and music itself had altered in character. It would seem that there were no clear ideas on the subject and it was left to the burghs and others to find a solution for themselves. It was probably for this reason that we find no general and immediate response to the Act of 1579. In some cities, e.g. Glasgow, Sang Schules had never ceased to operate,⁽²⁾ although they were not strictly burgh establishments and in other cities, e.g. Aberdeen⁽³⁾ and Edinburgh, Sang Schules had⁽⁴⁾ ⁽⁵⁾

(1) A.P.S. 20/10 1579
 (2) Charters and Documents (Glasgow) p. LXVI (18/5 1577)
 (3) B.R. Aber. Sp. 61. 4/10 1577
 (4) Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth p. 111
 (5) B.R. Edinburgh 27/11/1579

been restored before the year of the Act. It may have been the existence of these schools that suggested the form which the Act took. There was always the financial question and often, the endowments of the choristers under the old régime had passed from the hands of the Church into the hands of others, (1) King James VI showed his interest in the revival of the Sang Schule by making provision for such a school at Musselburgh (2) and by granting the Hospital of Maison Dieu at Elgin (3) in 1594 with all its rents to support a Sang Schule in that burgh. He also took an interest in the Sang Schule at Edinburgh and his Queen, Anne of Denmark, (4) in 1610 founded the Sang Schule at Dunfermline. Nevertheless, burghs were slow to revive their Sang Schules, but by the early years of the seventeenth century, we find very few burghs, even small ones, without a Sang Schule operating with their active support.

From what has been said, it is not surprising to find several types of Sang Schule. The pre-Reformation Sang Schule was strictly a choristers' school and, while it may have included more than music in its curriculum, it was almost entirely occupied with the music of the Church. Post-Reformation Church praise made no equivalent demands upon the time-table of the new Sang Schules, but it is well to remember the urgent demands made by Knox (5) for a scheme of national education. It may well be that this was also in

- (1) Rental Book of King James VI Hospital Perth ed. p.31
- (2) Grant's Burgh Schools p.448 (3) ibid.376
- (4) ibid. 448
- (5) Works of John Knox ed. by David Laing (Wodrow Soc.) ll 208-212 and V 520.

many men's minds when they restored the Sang Schules as elementary Schools whose duty it was to teach the three R's as well as the art of music. Sang Schules and Grammar Schools were still on an equal footing and distinct establishments in most of the burghs and even if the former might feed the latter, it was in no wise an inferior institution. So we find that most of the burgh Sang Schules of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were of the elementary pattern with music as part of their syllabus. Sometimes a special building was provided; often a room in the Master's house was deemed sufficient. There were Sang Schules, however, that were purely music schools, teaching music and nothing else except "maneirs and vertu"⁽¹⁾. The best example of such a school is found in the Music School attached to St. Nicolas Church, New Aberdeen. This school was revived in 1570, when Andrew Kemp approached the Town Council and petitioned them to permit him to hold the office of Master of the "Sang Scoill, quhilk presentlie is destitute of an exercitacione" and the Council in respect that "Sir Johnne Blak ane maister of the said Sang Scoill is presentlie absent of the realme and na exercitacione of musicke usit in the said Scoill," admitted Kemp to the office. For about two hundred years, the Music School of New Aberdeen carried out its duties as a purely musical institution and we find that the pupils received their education in reading and writing in English and writing schools⁽²⁾ under other teachers,

(1) Walker's Extracts from Melville's Commonplace Book p. XXVlll.

(2) B.R. Aber. Sp. Cl. 1/5, 1605

but in the same buildings as the music school. Sometimes, the burgh Sang Schule was merely a room in the Grammar School set apart for music teaching. This was the case in Stirling and elsewhere, but it was a makeshift method and seldom an entire success. These schools were frequently set up with the support of the burgh and when the master of the Sang Schule was a good man, he would meet with considerable success. There were other Sang Schules which were carried on by musicians purely for the teaching of music, and conducted by a teacher at his own risk and with only his fees for payment. As we shall see later, a continual dispute went on between the Councils, who regarded the Sang Schules as their special charge with music as the monopoly of these institutions, and the adventurous musicians who taught music without permission, until the Council either allowed them to continue or bade them desist. In some centres, e.g. Edinburgh, we find several Sang Schules carrying on simultaneously and all of them with permission of the Council. From this, it can be seen that the term Sang Schule was used in more senses than one, but the name was well chosen for music was often the constant with other subjects as the variables.

There is one aspect of the curriculum of the Sang Schules of considerable importance. We know that the psalm tunes were taught and the "air of music" by which we may understand notation and the simple elements of music. The inclusion of instrumental music (1) comes as something of a

(1) B.R. Edinburgh. 5/12/1593 "Mr. John Chalmers was certified to be qualified in the art of music playing on the virginals and in the writing.

(2) see B.R. Edin. 26/1/1627, 3/8/1631, 27/11/33, 8/12/1630;

surprise, however, and especially when we find tuition in music for instruments demanded not only by Town Councils but by Kirk Sessions. (1) The fact that responsible bodies of ministers and Church officials demanded that the Master of their Sang Schule should be skilled in the teaching of virginals in the early seventeenth century, is sufficient evidence of the attitude of the Church towards music as music. Antony à Wood stated that the Puritans had no **objection** to instrumental music, but only to vocal music since the latter was associated with a Church service that was "prelatical".

Throughout the whole history of the post-Reformation Sang Schule, we find that the authorities required that the popular instrument of ~~the~~ time should be taught in these institutions. At first, the instrument was the virginals, a keyed instrument that was the precursor of the harpischord and pianoforte. Macaulay (2) stated that under the Puritans it "was a sin.....to touch the virginals, to read the 'Fairy Queen'". Whether this was true in England or not, there is no evidence that this attitude was ever held in Scotland. There is no record of any instrument being taught in the Music School of Aberdeen, but in 1618, John Davidson (3) petitioned the Town Council that "sen the tyme he come from the Musick Schoole, he hes bestowit his tyme in service with his Maister Thomas Mylne, virginall macker.

(1) South Leith K.S. 23/4, 1613

(2) History of England Pop. Ed. I 41

(3) B.R.Aberdeen. 11/3, 1618

quhome he hes seruit seuin yeirs as prenteis and thrie yeirs sensyne as a feit servand” The Council noted that the making of virginals had only lately been put in practice in the city, but after having seen and examined Davidson's werk they admitted him to be a freeman of the city without payment. The virginals must have had a considerable popularity in Scotland or an import tax of £20 would not have been laid upon each pair brought into the country (with £4 on each viol and 12/- a gross on whistles for children). The lute is only mentioned once or twice as the instrument chosen for teaching in the Sang Schules and it never rivalled the keyboard instrument as a study for pupils in these schools. The viol seems to have had little popularity in the Sang Schules though another stringed instrument, the gutherie (cittern) was taught in Elgin. One instrument, the seistar, was also taught in Elgin and, if this was actually the sistrum or sistre, one wonders what it was doing in this galère. Still, not many years before, Alexander Hume in 1590 or thereby classed it with the lute in his "Epistle Montcreif" 1.30 in

"A leflie troupe of Ladies in array
Sum on the luth, sum on a sistre play".

MUSIC AT COURT

Queen Mary⁽⁵⁾, like every Stewart sovereign, was a good ?

- (1) Reg. Privy Council. 1610/13. p.1XX111
- (2) B.R. Haddington 31/12. 1610. & B.R. Elgin (Sp. Cl.) 14/9. 1597.
- (3) B.R. Elgin. 14/29. 1597.
- (4) Ibid.
- (5) Her son, James VI, however, was "naturellement peu adonné à la musique" according to Constantin Huygens--Musique et Musiciens de XVII^e siècle. p.11.

musician: She had been well educated, could speak several languages, had sympathy with the graces of poetry, and, amongst other accomplishments, was both a singer and a performer upon instruments. Brantôme wrote in his *Vies des dames galantes* II p.135 "La voix très-douce et très-bonne; car elle chantoit très-bien, accordant sa voix avecques le luth, qu'elle touchoit bien joliment...." The well known story, related by Sir James Melville about Mary's skill in the virginals and his reply to Elizabeth's question that she "played reasonably weill for a queen" need not be told here. Melville probably meant the adverb to be (1) quite complimentary for in commenting on Queen Elizabeth's skill in languages, he said she spoke Italian "reasonably weill". (2) Queen Mary played the lute and in a warrant of 1566, payment of £10 was allowed for lute strings. Of her musical skill it was written "In the excellence of her singing, she profited greatly by a certain natural - not acquired - modulation of the voice. She played well on the cittern, the harp and the harpsichord (clavicymbalum) as they call it". (3) Amongst the various entries in her Inventories is "Thrie bukis of musick". The poem "Adieu (4) plaisant pays de France" is often accredited to Queen Mary, but actually it was written by Meusnier de Querlon and published by him in his *Anthologie* in 1765.

- (1) Melville's *Memoirs* (Maitland Club) 124, 125.
- (2) Hay Fleming's "Queen Mary" 501
- (3) Jebb's *De vita et rebus Mariae* 11 15 quoted Hay Fleming's "Queen Mary" 203
- (4) Hill Burton's *History of Scotland* IV 262. n.

From August, 1561, when Queen Mary began her personal reign in Scotland, until her flight to England, music was a prominent feature of Court life. When she arrived in the country, she received a welcome in which music had its share. Two very diverse accounts are extant of this event. (1) The historian, Calderwood, relates the incident thus - "Some honest citigens went, accompaneid with some musicians and saluted her at her chamber window with musicke. She was so weill pleased with the melodie as she alledged that she willed the same to be continued some nights after." The (2) Seigneur De Brantôme gives a very different story of the serenade "Cinq ou six cent marauds de la ville, luy donner, aubade de meschants violons et petits rebecs dont ils n'y ont à faute en ce pays-là et se mirent à chanter psalmes, tant mal chantez et se mal accordez que rien plus". What may have been the artistic value of the performance, we cannot really say with certainty, but it is noteworthy that both voices and instruments were employed in greeting the Queen. Violins, which were crude instruments in the sixteenth century, and rebecs, small stringed and bowed instruments, shaped like half a pear, may have been played in combination, but what form such a combination would take we cannot say. Although the evidence is not explicit, there are reasonable grounds for assuming that music at Queen Mary's court kept pace with the developments of domestic music of the time. The story of Rizzio's first connection with the

(1) Calderwood's Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland II 143
 (2) Brantôme's "Vies des dames galantes".

Court is significant of the music sung in Queen Mary's domestic circle. Rizzio⁽¹⁾ had come to Scotland in the suite of the Ambassador of Savoy. Two versions are given of Rizzio's musical gifts and the use to which he put them in order to win the attention of the Queen. "He therefore, in order to procure access to her Majesty, bargained with her musicians, the majority of whom were Frenchmen, that he might be allowed to perform among them. After being heard once or twice, he succeeded in pleasing the Queen, and was immediately enrolled as one of the band."⁽²⁾ "Hir Majeste," says Melville, "had thre varletis of hir chamber that sang thre partis, and wanted a beiss to sing the fourt part; therefore they tald hir Majeste of this man to be ther fourt marrow, in sort that he was drawn in to sing somtymes with the rest; and eftirwart when the Ambassadour his maister retournit (i.e. to Savoy), he stayed in this contre, and wes retiret (? retenit or recivet) in hir Majestes service as ane varlet of hir chamber"⁽³⁾

We know more of instrumental than of vocal music during the second half of the sixteenth century. Vocal music had a long start over instrumental and there is ground for the belief in some quarters that the wealth of beautiful music for the voice that existed in the early and middle sixteenth century was one reason for the slow growth of instrumental chamber music. However, pieces for a "consort of viols" began to be written while madrigals "apt for voices and viols" were being published. Instruments were used to accompany

(1) Geo. Chalmers's MS. notes. (2) Aikman's Buchanan II 466
 (3) Melville's Memoirs p.132.

the voice or to play in "consorts". We find in Scottish records that, so long as the Court remained in Scotland, luters and violars were engaged as musicians at Court. There were three luters and players upon schalm and whistle in the Queen's entourage. When Queen Mary entered Edinburgh "at the head of the Strait Bow, there was a pageant richlie adorned and upon it a number of boys singing musick and playing upon instruments" (Herries's "Historical Memoirs").⁽¹⁾ Violars and luters were employed at Yule and Pasch in 1562, and an organ (probably at the Chapel Royal) was kept in order by one Macdowall in 1561. Payments were made to violars in 1551 and 1558 and the names of seven are given -⁽³⁾ ⁽⁴⁾ Jakis Dow, Johanne Feildie, Johnne Dow, Johnne Ra, Morris Dow, William Hog and Alexander Feildie. These made a group of players by which concerted music could be played. At Yule and Pasch in 1562/3, violars were employed and the popularity of the viol seems to have been undoubted. When Queen Mary abdicated the throne in 1567, four violars were retained in the service of the young King James VI. Their names were Thomas, Robert, James and William Hudson with William Fullarton as their servant. Thomas Hudson, known as Meikle Thomas Hudson on account of his size was the translator of the History of Judith from the French of Bartas, and Robert Hudson was a friend of Alexander Montgomerie, the author of "The

(1) L.H.T.A. 1/1/1562-3
 (2) ibid. 5/2/1561-2
 (3) ibid. 24/10/5
 (4) ibid. 24/2/1508-9
 (5) ibid 1562
 (6) Chalmers's "Queen Mary" I 275

Cherrie and the Slae". James Hudson⁽¹⁾ was a musician and during the negotiations prior to James VI's accession to the English throne he was a person of some political influence. Thomas Hudson was chief violar and in 1586 by royal letter was appointed master⁽²⁾ of the musical seminary attached to the Chapel Royal. Wood in his St. Andrews Psalter made a note that the father of Thomas Hudson knew the Scottish composer Robert Johnson.

The lute was a favourite domestic instrument in the sixteenth century. John Hume⁽³⁾ who was a chief luter at Queen Mary's Court, was responsible for the musical arrangements at various ceremonies. In 1601, one, William Chalmer, was admitted a luter at the Chapel Royal. When the king went to Denmark for his Queen, he brought back two trumpeters from that country who were clothed later at the expense of the State. (Pulver's Biographical Dict. of Old English Music p. 129).

Music of a domestic nature was practiced not only at Court but in most cultured circles. An interesting record occurs in the diary of James Melville⁽⁵⁾ concerning his student days at St. Andrews University in 1571 and thereby. "Mairower,⁽⁶⁾

- (1) Scores of letters from James Hudson to English Statesmen show his political influence (see Calendar State Papers Scot.)
- (2) Reg. of Presentations 5/6 1568
- (3) Chalmers' Queen Mary I 72 & 73
- (4) Edinb. Com. Reg. lxxiii p. 292
- (5) Autobiography of James Melville (Wodrow Soc.) p. 29
- (6) Melville's satisfaction in having limited the study of music finds a parallel in the statement of King James "Delight not also in your own person to be a player upon instruments especially on such as commonly men win their living with" (Basilicon Doron p. 199 S.H.S. edited by Craigie.) and a similar opinion expressed by Sir John Clerk of Penecuik noted later.

in these yeirs I lerned by music, wherin I tuk graitter delyt, of an Alexander Smithe, servant to the Primarius of our Collage, wha haid been treaned upe amangis the mounks in the Abbay. I lerned of him the gam, plean-song, and monie of the treables of the Psalmes, wherof sum I could weill sing in the kirk; bot my naturalitie and easie lerning by the ear maid me the mair unsolide and unreadie to use the forme of the art. I lovit singing and playing on instruments passing weill, and wald gladlie spend tyme whar the exerceise thair of was within the Collage; for twa or thrie of our condisciples played fellon weill on the virginals, and another on the lut and githorn. Our Regent haid also the pinalds in his chalmer, and lernit some thing, and I eftir him; bot perceaving me ower mikle caried efter that, he dishanted and left of. It was ^{the} grait mercie of my God that keipit me from anie grait progress in singing and playing on instruments; for, giff I haid atteined to anie reasonable missure thairin, I haid never don guid utherwayes".

Of his love of music, Melville wrote later in his diary "Far graitter and sweittar haid I in Glasgw of a gentilman's housse in the town, wha interteined maist expert singars and playars, and brought upe all his berns thairin". We hear Alexander Smith, mentioned by Melville, as the Master of the Sang Schule at the Abbey and he seems to have been a musician of parts for he is mentioned by Edward Miller in his preface to the harmonized psalter of 1635 as one of the "primest musicians that ever this country had." It is

interesting to find that students in a Scottish University in those days could obtain musical training and that music was cultivated privately. We get a peep into the attitude of the Presbyterian mind in the sentence where he is thankful that he did not give too much attention to music or else he would never have "dun gud utherwayes." He, with many another, feared the dangers of an idle pleasure.

There was plenty of music of a ceremonial character so long as the Court remained in Scotland. The arrival of Queen Anne of Denmark on 19th May, 1590, is a typical occasion when music abounded, and was celebrated with a pageant⁽¹⁾ wherein "nine maidens representing the nine muses, who sung verie sweete musicke where a brave youth played on the organs, which accorded excellentlie with the singing of the psalms". This more than suggests that the psalms were sung with an organ accompaniment. This was very unusual in Scotland at this period and is one of the very few records of the use of organ and voice together in psalmody. It occurs in the tract quoted from already, dealing with the celebration connected with the coming of the Queen and a poem describing the music of the ceremony runs -

Thocht Philamon his braith had blawin
For musick quho wes countit King
His trumpit tune had not bene knawin
Sic fugrit voycis thair did sing
For thair the descant did abound
With the sweit diapson sound

Tennour and trebil with sweit sence
Ilkane with pairts gaif nots agane
Fabourdon fell with decadence
With pricksang and the singing plane
Thair enfants sang and barnelie brudis
Quho had not hew begun the mudis

(1) Papers rel. to the Marriage of King James First (Bann.Cl.p39)
(2) see James Watson's Choice Selections 1709

Musichers thair pairts expound
 And als for joy the bells wer rung
 The instruments did correspond
 Unto the musicke quhilk was sung
 All sorts of instruments wes thair
 As sindry can the same declair

Organs and regals thair did carpe
 With thair gay golden glittering strings
 Thair wes the hautbois and the harpe
 Playing maist sweit and pleasant springs
 And sum on lutis did play and sing
 Of instruments the onely king

Viols and virginals were heir
 With githorns maist jucundious
 Trumpets and timbrils maid grait geir
 With instruments melodious
 The seistar and the sumphion
 With clarscha pipe and clarion.

Altogether fifteen instruments are mentioned in this poem and most of them will be found earlier in the works of the Scottish Chaucerians. The seistar was the "sistre" or the sistrum - an instrument consisting of a thin oval metal frame furnished with transverse metal rods loosely fixed in it and a handle by which it was shaken" (N.E.A.) The

(1)

sumphion was a name loosely given to various instruments including the pipe, dulcimer and virginals. Trevisa in his translation of Bartholomew's "De Proprietatibus Rerum" XIX c. XXXVI (1495) wrote "The Symphoyne is an instrument of Musyk and it is made of an holowe tree closyd in eyther syde and mynistralles betyth it wyth styckes." It may have been a fanciful picture of Queen Anne's processional entry and we need not press too closely the question whether fabourdon was still a favourite vocal device, whether plain song would probably be part of the programme or if children

(1) Stainer and Barrett's Dictionary of Musical Terms.

were likely or not to know the modes. The poet who provided an organ with strings must not be taken too literally. All sorts of instruments are certainly there, but in no sense did they make an orchestra, for some, such as viols and lutes, were for domestic use and would neither blend nor hold their own against the shrill hautbois, the organ and the clarion. It is very hard to imagine what sort of music they played, for strings could only be kept in tune with difficulty and the hautbois (formerly called the schalm) was still so raucous that it could not possibly combine with any other instrument without giving acute discomfiture to the sixteenth century hearer even if he had only half a modern musician's sensibility to exact pitch. Some of the instruments would only be played by soloists, while others would be employed in fanfares on purely ceremonial occasions.

In "Philotus," a comedy published in Edinburgh in 1603, a go-between describes the life of a fine lady to the youthful Emilia, whom the old and rich Philotus seeks to win as his second wife. Many inducements are put forward - clothes, and food and wine and servants. As one more enticement, the lady is told that after supper

The organs, then into your hall
 With shalm and timbrel sound they shall
 The viol and the lute withal
 To gar your meat digest.

Here was a choice selection of keyed, wind and stringed instruments which were suitable for music of a domestic character. It should be remembered that instruments of one family formed a whole consort, while instruments of

different families made a 'broken' consort. The function of the timbrel and other percussion instruments was "to act as ~~mythical~~ pointers to melodic phrases".

In both England and Scotland, there was one religious establishment which held a unique place in the history of music of these two countries - the Chapel Royal. In spite of the rigours of the reforming party in both countries, and the reduced musical activities in Church services, the Chapels Royal in both England and Scotland went on their respective ways with considerable ceremonial and music. With the suppression of the monasteries in England, the most gifted musicians associated themselves with the Chapel Royal. Farrant, Tallis, Sheppard, Tye and later Parsons, Richard Edwardes, Mundy, Byrd, Dr. John Bull were connected with this institution and added to its lustre. In Scotland, there was no such musical field to draw upon, but the Chapel Royal at Stirling and later at Holyroodhouse was the scene of elaborate state functions and religious ceremonies. No famous names are found amongst the musical officers, though we read that
 (1) John Hume, chief of the Queen's luters, was responsible for the music of at least one great ceremony and Thomas Hudson was
 (2) made Master of the Music School. One Sir James Castellaw had been preceptor to the "sex barnes founders within our
 (3) Soverane Lordis Chapell Royall of Stirling" in 1574. In
 (4) 1594, Parliament, once more deploring the decay of music,

- (1) Roger's Chapel Royal LXXII and LXXIII
- (2) Roger's "Chapel Royal of Scotland" XCVIII
- (3) Roger's "Chapel Royal of Scotland" C.1.
- (4) A.P.S. IV.75 quoted Rogers p.C. 1566.

secured the interest of musicians by an act that made provision for their upkeep. There were two State functions in particular that were performed with great ceremony and much music. The baptism of Queen Mary's son, afterwards James VI, and ~~he~~ was carried out with great rejoicings and ceremonial after the "papistical" manner. At this ceremony, the choristers sang and were accompanied with organs. In 1594, James VI's son, Prince Henry, was baptised in the Chapel Royal. The organ had been swept away by the Earl of Mar with other Church appurtenances, but the service, which was according to the Protestant pattern, included the singing of the twentyfirst Psalm "according to the art of musique". At the banquet that followed, a ship entered on an artificial sea with a cargo of fishes while "Arion, sitting upon the galey nose, which resembled the forme of a dolphine fish played upon his harpe: then begane his musicke in greene holyne howboyes in five parts". After that, followed viols, with voices in plaine counterpoint discoursing Latin hexameters composed for the occasion. Besides all this, there was a "stil noise of recorders and flutes" and a "general consort of the best instruments". A concert followed at which "there was sung with most delicate dulce voices and sweet harmonies, in seven partis, the 128th psalm with fourteen voices". Here we have music of much variety - a noise (as in Sneak's noise) of wind instruments, contrapuntal music for voices, with accompaniment of stringed instruments, and a psalm in no less than seven parts. There

(1) Roger's Chapel Royal LXIX. (2) A.P.S. 111. 62.
 (3) Rogers p. LXXX111 and Calderwood V.345.

must have been a musical company of considerable ability to provide both vocal and instrumental music of this quality. It is most probable that the singers associated with the Chapel Royal were expected to give their services on all sorts of occasions. This was the case in England where the Master of the Children was expected to superintend pageants and revels and the children themselves to act in plays. We know that James III meant one half of the choir to attend him on his travels while the other half remained at the Chapel Royal for the services there. (It may be observed that there is a curious parallel between the above pageant and a similar one at Kenilworth when Queen Elizabeth visited the Earl of Leicester there in 1575. According to Laneham's Letter from Killingworth (Kenilworth) - Laneham appears in Scott's Kenilworth - "Proteus appeared upon a large dolphin that was conveyed through the water upon a boat while a band of musicians concealed with the dolphin burst into a glorious consort of music." The English pageant may have suggested the Scottish one.)

As at Court revels, music, a concomitant of plays, whether musical or folk, was suppressed and music again lost one of its strongholds and musicians another of their sources of livelihood. Plays were not always frowned on by the early Reformers, but the seventeenth century saw a sterner attitude and with the removal of the Court to London in 1603, a second severe blow was struck at the cultivation of music from which it took nearly a century to recover.

(1) Pitscotties' Cronicles 1. 200
 (2) see Anna J. Mills' "Mediaeval Plays in Scotland" 86

In the poems of Alexander Montgomerie, the greater part of whose life covers the second half of the sixteenth century, there are references to music of just the kind that might be expected from an educated man of his time. He handles musical terms with knowledge of their exact import and, unlike many poets, never slips in his use of technical terms. In the "Cherrie and the Slae", he gave a complete stanza to music -

To heir thae startling stremis clir
 Me thocht it musique to the eir
 Quhair deskant did abound:
 With tribie sweit an tenor just
 And ay the echo repercust
 His diapason sound,
 Set with the Ci-sol-fa-uth cleife
 Thairby to knaw the note
 Thair soundt a miehtie semibreif
 Out of the Elphi's throte
 Discreitlie, mair sueitlie
 Nor craftie Amphion
 Or Musis that usis
 At fountaine Helicon.

The Ci-sol-fa-uth cleife was just the C clef which in those days was common to every part and probably the "semibreif" was mighty because of its length in comparison with other and shorter notes.

Montgomerie could employ a musical figure to good effect as he did in "Ane invectione against fortun," when he wrote of Fortune.

"Sing sho tua notis, the one is out of tone
 (1)
 As B acre lau and B moll far abone"

It is interesting to note that Montgomerie wrote several sonnets to Robert Hudson, one of the musicians at the Court of King James VI, but he never mentions Hudson's musical skill, probably because Hudson was largely employed in political matters.

Twice Montgomerie indicates the tune associated with his poems. He wrote a metrical version of the second psalm which was to be sung to the melody of his poem "In throu the windoes", and to his devotional poem "Away! vane world!" the tune was "Sall I let her go". The music of both these pieces is found in seventeenth-century MSS. and is reproduced in the musical appendix. The music for several other poems of Montgomerie is extant and these airs are also included in the appendix.

(1) Montgomery is thinking of the discord caused by a B natural against a B flat.

The Reverend Alexander Hume was one of the small band of ministers at the end of the 16th Century who, in spite of strong Calvinistic leanings, were true lovers of music, and there is no reason to believe that he was unique in this respect. Hume was born about 1560 and died in 1609. He had his early education at St. Andrews University before and after he went to France. It may well be that his love of music was fostered at St. Andrews, where we know from the diary of James Melville that music was cultivated in the years succeeding the Reformation settlement. Most of his life, however, was spent as minister of the Kirk at Logie near Stirling, and during his residence here one of his most intimate friends was William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling. He lent Alexander some of his books and seems to have borrowed a musical instrument from Menstrie House for, in his will he left instructions that his lute was to be restored to the "guid wyfe of Menstrie," - probably the mother of William Alexander, who was known as the "guid man of Menstrie," and was unmarried during Hume's lifetime.

Hume's poetry is of no special distinction though there are some fine verses in "The day Estivall." In this poem he declares that he would worship God with all his powers.

"O then it were a seemly thing,
 While all is still and calm
 The praise of God to play and sing,
 With cornet and with shalme."

He was no 'sour and savage Calvinist' as George Gilfillan called him but a man who found pleasure in simple pastimes. In his address "To the Scottish Youth" he set his face

against those assemblies of young people where the 'chiefe pastime is to sing profane sonnets and vaine ballats of love': but it is hardly likely that he aimed his shaft at the music but rather at the nature of the amatory verses. His home life seems to have been happy and music was one of his chief occupations in his leisure hours. He wrote in "His Recantation"

"Even on my jolie lute by night
And trimbling treble string
I sall with all my minde and might
Thy glorie gladlie sing."

In setting forth the experiences of his youth in "Ane epistle to Maister Gilbert Mont-crief 'Mediciner to the King's Majestie'" he wrote,

"A loftie troupe of ladies in array
Sum on a lute, sum on a sistre play,
Sum sangs of love begin and sweitly sing."

But his affection for music comes out most clearly in his "Treaties of the Felicity of the Life to come," where he ranks music amongst the "chiefest of earthly pleasures" and amongst other joys he hoped to hear "the pleasant harmonie of musicall instruments cunninglie handeled as of cornets or fine violls or to heare the sweet and delicat voices of cunning singers, intermedled with the melodious sound of lutes cisters, clairshoes or of other quiet instruments of that kinde." The instruments which Hume mentions were, except the cornet, those of a domestic character and without doubt, were the instruments which he heard - especially lutes and violls - in the musical homes that he frequented. He not only arranged that his lute should be restored to its earlier owner, but he bequeathed one musical instrument to David Balfour of Pow House and left another to the minister of Dunblane to do with it what he pleased.

MUSIC IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The Union of the Crowns and the removal of the Court to London, struck one more blow at the cultivation of music in Scotland. The capital city of the land had always been the centre of artistic enterprise and the gorgeous pageantry and the colourful ceremonies of the Middle Ages, that persisted until the end of the 16th century, gave occupation to a large number of musicians. When the Court was no longer resident in Edinburgh, the occupation of these musicians was gone, and what the establishment of the Reformed religion had achieved in reducing the cultivation of Church music to a minimum was followed in 1603 by the loss of opportunity for musicians and for instrumentalists in particular, to maintain themselves by fees accruing from state ceremonies and civic functions. Patronage, in spite of the evils that may come in its train, can be a worthy and fruitful stimulus in the history of art. In music, we have seen what the patronage of the Stewart kings meant in the history of Scottish music; in later days, music owed much to the encouragement of the French and Austrian monarchs; we know what the Duke of Chandos did for Handel and what great merchants, such as the Fuggers, did for contemporary musicians. The Union of the Crowns denied music both State and Royal patronage and was one more cause for the decay of the art in Scotland during the whole of the 17th and part of the 18th centuries. The Reformation and the Union of the Crowns were only two reasons for this decay in the cultivation

of music in the land but they were the two most important deterring factors between the Union of the Crowns and the Union of the Parliaments.

None of the arts flourished vigorously in Scotland during the 17th century. The well known saying of Andrew Lang "Scotland received the Reformation without the Renaissance" is only partly true, but is not without foundation. In Scotland, the arts received very little support for two centuries after the Reformation. The comparatively poor condition of the country, the ever recurring internal dissensions, the lack of any spur towards artistic creation from either Church or State, and the high estimation in which the arts were held elsewhere, discouraged artistic Scots at home and in many cases sent men, with artistic bents, to seek other centres where there was a more enlightened spirit and where they would come in contact with men of like inclinations as themselves. Painters, architects and even poets sought more congenial homes beyond the Scottish borders and though we do not find any drift among musicians towards the South during the first half of the 17th century, many ambitious Scottish musicians settled in London in later days.

The 17th century was one of the bleakest periods in the history of Scottish music. Artistic output was certainly meagre in every direction, but the other arts had at least a few works of a worthy nature to bequeath to later generations. In music there is practically nothing in the ^{region} region of organised music of any value. Of course, many of our folk airs and

national melodies may well have been composed during the 17th century, but of original music, keeping pace with the spirit of the times, we have nothing. The fountain of creation had dried up and men dipped into other wells when they went from labour to refreshment. As we have already seen, music and poetry went hand in hand in the past, and each of the arts could be a source of inspiration for the other. The close association of music and poetry still held good, when the 17th century opened, though the bonds that at one time had held them together rigidly, were loosened considerably. It is not without significance that this bleak period in the history of music in Scotland coincided with a bleak period in Scottish poetry. There was a plentiful output of prose literature, especially of political and religious writings as well as some good historical work; but of true creative work, there was very little. Drummond of Hawthornden was the best Scottish poet of his day, but the bulk of the writings was in the English manner. Hume of Logie blended English and Scots, but not in a manner particularly inspired. Sir William Mure of Rowallan showed sound craftsmanship in some of his works, but none of these poets or such poets as Sir William Alexander, later Earl of Stirling, and Murray of Gorthy can lay claim to high rank in the realm of literature. Some isolated poems however, stand out prominently---Montrose's 'My dear and only love I pray,' Gartmore's 'If doughty deeds,' Sempill's 'Blythesome Bridal' and 'Maggie Lauder'---but they are few in number and the century remains undistinguished by any creative Scottish

(1) Sempill's authorship has been doubted

literature of sterling and lasting value.

We have only to turn to England in the early part of the 17th century to find a galaxy of poets producing a steady outflow of fine lyric poetry along with a wealth of music of the highest order. The actions and interactions of poetry and music upon one another and their association in forming the third art of song have never been fully explored. When the two arts are combined in song, each has something to give and something to take. Music can reinforce and second the underlying emotion of the verses and illustrate what is said in the verbal text. Poetry can act as a pointer to what is going on in the music though it can do far more than that. The intimate relations between the two arts, found in the lutenists' songs, are so closely bound up that it is impossible to study one adequately without having regard for the other. It was a time when all England played and sang. Music was part of the equipment of every educated man, as Thomas Morley said in the well known passage in his "Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke" ⁽¹⁾ (1597). All the Tudors were musicians and the cultivation of the art persisted all through the reign of King James the First of England. Queen and noble, merchant and servant, the citizen in the tavern or in the barber's shop, and the scholar in his College---all took their share in music, for they were not mere listeners but performers even if not specially good ones. When Drake went round the world he took a company of musicians with him. The inspiration that the lutenists received from the poetry of their time cannot be

(1) p.1

overestimated; nor can the benefits bestowed on poetry by music. Poets wrote their poems for musical settings and musicians had a great field of beautiful poetry upon which to draw.

But Scotland had none of these advantages, for the poetic output was meagre and the quality but little suited to musical treatment. The country was quietly adding to its store of popular and folk song but of organised vocal music there was hardly any. It had no Dowland, Rosseter or Purcell; not even a Pelham Humphreys or a Jeremiah Clarke. It would be hard for anyone except a student of the music of the period, to name a single Scottish composer. When we look for the conditions under which music was cultivated in the 17th century, we find that while it had almost ceased to have any public character, it was still practised as a private activity. There seems to have been plenty of music in the homes especially of cultured people. The danger of decay had been recognised in many directions before James Sixth left Scotland, and in a letter to the King from Napier of Merchiston, the famous Scot wrote, "Let not your Majesty doubt that there are within your realm, as well as in other countries, godly and good ingines, versed and exercised in all manner of honest science and godly discipline, who by your Majesty's instigation might yield forth works and fruits worthy of memory, which otherwise lacking some mighty Maecenas to encourage them, may perchance be buried with eternal silence." What Napier said generally was particularly true of music.

When we seek to discover the conditions under which lovers of music followed their art in the early part of the 17th century, we find that the bleakness of the period is reflected in the paucity of the records. In the Golden Age of Scottish Poetry and Music, we have already seen that the poets added much to our information of musical conditions during the first half of the previous century; but from the writings of the poets of the first half of the 17th century we learn very little. Ayton, Murray of Gorthy, and Sir William Alexander of Menstrie---all of whom had lived at the English court---contribute little or nothing to our knowledge of musical activity. The only poet who shows any affinity with the English lyric writers of his time was Drummond of Hawthornden. He had made the Elizabethans his masters and his favourite was Sir Philip Sidney. As an active sonneteer, he often went to music for his material, for his analogies and for his figures of speech and showed the same felicitous and easy handling of musical references that marks the use of music by the English song writers. Yet as far as is known no song of Drummond's was set to music by a contemporary composer; and that, in spite of his having written many madrigals and lyrical pieces. The lute was plainly a favourite with the Scottish poet. Two of his sonnets are addressed to that instrument---'Sound hoarse, sad lute' and 'My lute be as thou wast'---both of which owe something to Sidney's example and even to the English poet's lines. These musical sonnets are entirely in the Elizabethan manner. Drummond may not have been a skilled

musician, but at any rate he was a lover of music for he had a copy of one of Campion's Song-books in his library. Another poem 'On the lute of Margaret' is a pleasant tribute to the skill of a musical lady but in the prefatory verse to Sympson's Heptameron, 'On the Booke', the poet pursued the analogies between the component parts of a lute and those of the Universe almost to breaking point. Like other poets of his day, he remembered the music of the spheres and the Pythagorean theory, for he wrote in a song:

"For those harmonies, sounds to Jove are given,
By the swift touches of the nyne - stringed Heaven."

One short reference to the music of pageantry occurs in "The Entertainment of the High and Mighty monarch King Charles"

"At the other side amongst the flourishes of instruments of peace is harpes, lutes, organs, cisseres, hauboises, stood Minerva."

It is also said that "in the belly of the mountain were a considerable number of quiresters of choise singing voyces;" an organist also with some other musicians who at the King's command approaching in a sweet harmony, emodulated ane pleasant aire, composed for the purpose called Caledonia."

One poem in particular, "The Life and Death of the Piper of Kilbarchan" by Robert Sempill of Beltrees, whose life covers the first half of the 17th century, provides the model stanza for many poems in the future written in the vernacular. It exhibits the various occupations of a piper in pursuit of his profession. He played the pipes to cheer on the workers in the field, at Beltan feast, at fairs, at Clark-plays and at

races. He was seen at weddings, and amongst the tunes that he played were "Day it daws", "Hunt's Up", "The cock he craws", "Trixie", and "The Maiden Trace." Most of his songs were of the popular order and appear by name in records of the times. "The Maiden Trace" was the tune played by the piper when a bride and her maidens walked three times round the church before marriage.

The drama in the past had offered occupation for musicians but in the 17th century the drama in Scotland⁽¹⁾ was all but dead. In England it had flourished abundantly and the incidental music had provided an outlet for the creative urges of composers, and for musicians to find a livelihood; the works of the Elizabethan dramatists are full of lovely lyrics and of directions for music of an incidental character. Musicians such as Rosseter and Jones were interested in theatrical ventures, and earlier musicians such as Cornish and Redford wrote plays. With the disappearance of the drama from the Scottish scene, another region of musical activity was closed.

As a rule travellers in Scotland have little to say about the music of the country and their silence is significant as showing that there was no great enthusiasm for the art anywhere in Scotland----with the possible exception of Aberdeen. Fynes Moryson, Ralph Thoresby, Brereton, Kirk and others from the South have no enlightening comments to make on their contacts with musical enterprise. The preoccupation of many minds was with more serious matters; the atmosphere was by no means sympathetic to the cultivation of the arts, and music was

(1) B.R.Edin 26/1/1581-A schoolmaster forbidden to make plays.

denied the encouragement and incentive upon which its very life depends. A stray entry in a diary or notebook, however, shows that the art was by no means dead. Christopher Lowther in his "Our Journall into Scotland" (1629) wrote an account of a visit to Sir John Pringle at Galashiels, where "three boys sang grace, then a thanksgiving, a paternoster and a prayer for a blessing." There was a pair of little organs in the chapel of Finlarg, in Glen Urquhart, and the author of "Polychronicon seu polycratica temporum" wrote of Simon, Master of Lovat, "He had a wonderful fancy for musick, variety of which he had still by him, the harp, the virginalls, base and trible viols in consort. He would say oft of musick that it was the best emblem of heaven...musica mentis medicina maestis. The trumpet and great pipe both most martiall, he would have a mornings and vocall musick was his delight, of which he had enough."

(3)

Mr. John Houstoune, minister of Wardlaw and his son were "great musicians" besides James Tarras and David Cerr, both domesticks." There was a harpsichord at Balloch, and at the wedding ceremonies at Tarnaway, in 1662, when Sir Hugh Calder espoused Lady Henrietta Stewart, Calder's domestic Edam Swith was "Master of the musicians in Murray for virginalls, violins, harp and organ." The daughter of the head of the house of Cawdor played the virginalls and the viol de gamba in 1644.

(1) Innes's Sketches of Early Scottish History. p.511.

(2) Wardlaw MS. p.265.

(3) " " (SHS) pp. 265, 453 and 502.

(4) Innes's Sketches of Early Scottish History p.511.

(5) Wardlaw MS. pp. 453 and 502.

(6) Cawdor Papers. p.420.

(1)

An examination of the lesson book of Lady Jean, daughter of the Earl of Loudon and wife of Lord Panmure in 1645, shows that ladies of good family were well trained by private masters in the music of the lute and the virginalls. Richard Franck, the Cromwellian trooper, who was in Scotland at the time of the battle of Dunbar, returned to Scotland in quieter days for the fishing and travelled far and wide in Scotland in quest of the sport. He visited Aberdeen in 1658 and wrote about the music in St. Nicolas' Church "Here you shall have such method in their musick, and such order of song decorum in the church, as you will admire to hear, though not regulated by a cantor or quirester but only by an insipid parochial clerk, that never attempts further in the mathematicks of musick than to compleat the parishioners to sing a psalm in tune." We can well understand an English visitor appreciating the good singing of psalms with which he was acquainted and being a little superior over the timid efforts of a precentor whose range was confined within very narrow limits by the findings of the Church.

From these and other records, it is plain that music was cultivated amongst the educated classes and, especially in the great houses. The dozen or more MSS. recently recovered in Panmure House, Angus, cover over a century from 1622 onwards and show the nature of musical activities in a noble house for more than a century. We find too that the barons of Kilravock and their families were all fond of music and practised the

(1) Dalhousie MSS.

(2) Franck's Northern Memoirs. p. 229.

art. The historian of the family records that the thirteenth baron, who died in 1649, was skillful⁽¹⁾ in music, both "vocal⁽²⁾ and organical⁽³⁾" and a daughter of the fifteenth baron, while attending a school in Edinburgh, paid fees for studying singing and playing on the virginals. The seventeenth baron, who had both literary tastes as well as musical skill, loved the music of Pergolesi and Jommelli and taught his daughter "the various cliffs, the niceties of time, the difference of keys, etc." The 17th century then was a period when music was practised for the most part in the homes.

MUSIC AND THE CHURCH.

The same opposition to music, having any affinities with the services of the pre-Reformation church, that we have already seen in the attitude of churchmen of the 16th century, persisted throughout the 17th century and, in fact, became hardened as the Puritan influence infiltrated. Beyond the psalm tunes, no music was permitted in the church services and before the end of the century it became customary to sing no more than twelve of these tunes and to ring the changes on that number. This left a service of an exceedingly meagre character and ecclesiastical music suffered not merely a hindrance but a positive set-back from which we have hardly recovered. It was not that the Kirk or the Puritans objected to Music as such; this slander arose with Dr. Burney and has been perpetuated by many writers since his day, including Ouseley and Hullah;

- (1) Innes's Sketches of Early Scottish History. p.450.
- (2) Ibid. p.458.
- (3) Ibid. p.466.

Mr. Henry Davey first and later Dr. Percy Scholes have shown how unfounded the opinion was that the Puritans were responsible for the decay of music in England. Neither the Puritans in England, nor the Presbyterians in Scotland, regarded music as a stolen pleasure and even the attacks of Prynne and Stephen Gosson were modified by admissions that music was lawful. This is equally true of Scotland in the 17th century, and we find no virulent attacks on music as such. We do not even find a self-denying ordinance, such as that of Sir Samuel Morland, who, according to John Evelyn, "buried £200 worth of music books, they being ⁽¹⁾ ~~of~~ love songs and vanity." ⁽²⁾ When we turn to the writings of Scottish divines we find no disposition on their part to deny the place that music should have in the life of the community. It had its place as a simple pleasure or as a means to divert the mind from sorrow and distress. ⁽³⁾

The Reverend John Weemse of Lathockar in Fife, was minister of Duns in the early part of the 17th century and wrote considerably on religious subjects. In the "Christian Synagogue" which ran into four editions he showed himself the possessor of no ~~small~~ scholarship and a deep knowledge of the Jewish religion. In a short chapter, he deals with the music of the Jews and makes a number of comments of an interesting character. His attitude appears in the first sentence, "that the Lord might stirre them (the Jews) up more earnestly to worship him, he ordained that they should have music." The music was either vocal or instrumental. He points out that their music had

(1) Henry Davey's History of English Music. p.244.

(2) School of Abuse (Arbair's Reprints) p.26.

(3) Diary of John Evelyn (Globe Ed.) p.438

four parts answering to the four species---treble, counter, tenor, and bass, and quoting Amos says that the Lord blamed them for their profane music. He then goes to Vêtruvius (De Architect. 5 cap. 4) and on the authority of Aristoxenus finds that there are three kinds of music. The first, grave and sad, drawing the music out and consisting of spondees, was specially recommended by St. Augustine and of such a sort in the days of St. Athanasius that it seemed to be rather read than sung. The second sort served to raise up the spirits when they are sad and consisted of dactyls, and the author believes that neither this nor the previous sort of music should be excluded from the churches. The third sort which he called coloured, by which he means chromatic, is of a subtle kind with breaking and quivering of notes. He thinks it a slight sort of music tending to stir up the affections to lasciviousness. Quoting Cicero's De Republica he said "Music being changed, manners are changed; there we must take heed that the most settled and grave music be kept". If there be any need of settled music in the commonwealth, much more so in the Church. Weemse had musical sympathies but they were for the sterner stuff and he was not alone in his preference.

The Reverend John Abernethy, who later in his life became Bishop of Caithness wrote in "A Christian and Heavenly Treatise -containing the Physicke for the Soule" (1630), "Pleasant objects may bee set for sorrowfull mind, which worke by diversion drawing the mind from grievous objects both internall and externall and amongst the rest, Musick excelleth."

While most of the references to music made by religious writers deal with psalmody and the simple music of the Kirk, occasionally illustrations from secular ^{m, music} appear. In that curious work "Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence Displayed" (1690), the Reverend James Kirkton, minister of the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh, is said to have preached a sermon on hymns and spiritual songs and to have departed from his subject so far as to discuss secular song. "There be four kinds of songs", he wrote "profane songs, malignant, allowable, and spiritual." Amongst the profane songs the author quotes 'Kind Robin', a song quite familiar to-day though the writer quotes an old version. Malignant songs were "Hei! Ho Cilliecrankie" and "The King enjoys his own again," against which the reverend writer had not much to say. They were malignant in the sense of being political but the minister was more concerned with morals. Allowable songs included "Once I lay with another man's wife"-----a most amazing choice for an allowable song, though Mr. Kirkton added 'I do not say indeed that you are allowed to do this for that's a deal of danger indeed'. The fourth kind of songs were the spiritual songs and these were the Psalms of David; but the Gloria had to be omitted as it was "the worste of all yet I have spoken of." It will be remembered that the Gloria Patri in the 17th century was a rock of offence and the cause of much discussion and how the scholarly Robert Baillie put up a spirited defence for the Gloria. It must be owned that the Rev. Mr. Kirkton was thinking more of the words than of the music and was not particularly

consistent in the contents of his categories but, at least, he had no objection to the use of secular songs unless they were, actually profane. In the "Answer to Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence Displayed" there are also a number of secular songs mentioned by name.

In "A Brief Explication of the Psalms", the Rev. David Dickson, Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh, wrote in 1653 in his comments on the 95th Psalm, that everyone especially the Lord's Ministers should stir up the people to sing with heart and voice in spite of their troubles. The singing of the psalms was a matter of honouring God and not a matter of pleasing our own ears or the ears of others. In his commentary on Psalm 98 V.4-6, there is a significant remark: "The joy of faith, the joy allowed unto believers in Jesus Christ is unspeakable and full of glory which cannot be expressed in words or the human voice, for this the variety of musical instruments in God's praise at the offering of the sacrifices did shadow forth under the law; and here it is signified by the exhortation to sing with harp trumpet and cornet." The writer plainly recognised that there are things of the spirit which cannot be expressed in words but may find their expression in music and that here music as music had a legitimate place: an echo of an earlier day.

As far as I can find there is no work in which the whole problem of psalmody is so fully treated and overhauled as in the "Vindiciae psalmodiae - ecclesiastico" by the Reverend William Douglas, Professor of Divinity in the University of

Aberdeen. This work was printed and apparently paid for by the Town Council, in 1657.

The greater part of the book is taken up with the Psalms as literature of a devotional kind, with the associated music treated secondarily. In presenting his view of the matter the writer has ranged over a wide field of authorities and the bulk of the writing consists of quotations from these authorities, from Moses, the Prophets and the New Testament to religious writers of the 17th century. Jewish religion, the Mediaeval Church and the reformed Church all come under his review, and references from competent authors are so many and sometimes so ill-arranged that it is hard to see the wood for the trees. The diversity of opinions expressed on church praise seems to be endless; the book is more expository than argumentative and the writer has been content in some of its parts to make the work little more than a compendium of other folk's opinions.

However, in the Preface, he expresses the root of the matter; he is at one with the opinion of the Reformers. "So that we may sing skilfully" he wrote, "neither the tongue nor the lips but the heart is the principal instrument." And again, "If the voice is not in concord with the prayer, the words with the sense of the vital principle, the sounds with the thought, and the tongue with the mind, then every symphony is a 'diaphonia.'" Calvin would have agreed with this sentiment. It is the sincerity of the praise that matters. "Corde canitur" he goes on "per intellectum et attentionem ad prolata corda

psallitur per intimum devotionis affectum."

He begins his enquiry by setting out the differences between the hymn, the psalm and the canticle and quotes ten authors, including Calvin, in his search for a definition. He shows that psalmody is of very ancient use, with a score, or more, references to make his point; he breaks a lance with those who deny that the psalms were written with a prophetic spirit and ^{who maintain that they} were purely unsuited for the service of the Church. He knows that psalmody may be abused, when music is seductive and secular in feeling, when vain things are introduced into the service and when music of a profane character is given to the organ, so that music is not present so much as part of the service as merely to give pleasure. These thoughts are echoes of an earlier day and can be found in the writings of pre-Reformation critics.

As for the organ, he points ^{out} that various writers have given good reasons against the use of instrumental music in divine service. Instrumental music was part of the Mosaic ceremonial and that has been abolished. Such music does not make for edification, for the "broken" music of the organ is as unedifying in the church as the music of cornets, trumpets and pipes. Experience shows that the organ tends to hinder the wavering attention rather than help it, and Erasmus bore witness to this when he said that we had introduced into the Church a certain laborious theatrical music and a tumultuous diversity of croaking voices with cornets, trumpet, pipes and sambucas. He has much to say on the metrical translations of (1) see Gordon's Scots Affairs Vol.3 p.218, about the organ in King's College Aber.--~~it~~ thing intollerable in the church of a college.

the psalms and he seems to agree with one writer who said "Rhythmos non esse de rei essentia sed tantum inservire memoriae nostrique temporis, diversi toni ac soni quibus utimur nulla tenus inferunt fidei divinitatem."

The Aberdeen writer puts many questions to himself that may have been posited in his time or in times before. The book does not actually give us a great deal of information about the music of the psalter but it contains a fair review of psalmody as such, about the position of the psalter in the Scottish Kirk and some of the problems facing the Church at all its stages.

In Glasgow University Library, there is a manuscript carrying the title "A breefe refutation of several errours in and about the singing of psalmes.....taken down by Charles Monat, 1661."(1)

The writer discusses the problem of psalm singing with considerable detail. He insists that "singing to God with your voice is an ordinance of God's worship under the Gospel" and that "Scriptural songs only are to be sung in God's public worship." He believes that not only men but women and all members of the church should sing and that it is lawful and profitable to do so. The writer is emphatic that musical instruments are not to be used in God's worship.

In these extracts, taken from various commentators, there is an obvious defence of psalm singing and the implication is that in the 17th century, there were those who doubted the use of any music in the church. Nevertheless, the opponents of

(1) I am obliged to Dr Henry.G.Farmer for this reference.

psalm singing must have been few in numbers, and, while the case for psalm singing is irrefutable, the authorities were determined that the amount of music to be employed in the service of the Kirk ~~was~~ reduced to a very minimum.

THE CHAPEL ROYAL.

While the musical praise in the churches was reduced to a minimum, there was one ecclesiastical institution in which sporadic efforts were made to sustain a more elaborate musical service. This was the Chapel Royal and, as it often happens that in the history of art, a strong man can carry out changes by his enthusiasm and thoroughness, ~~so~~ we find in the story of the Chapel Royal that the music there owed more to its directors than to the clergy or the Stewart Kings. Quite early in the century, Parliament revealed the fact that the intention of ^{service} James Fourth to raise a musical, in connection with the Chapel Royal had never been forgotten. When King James Sixth proposed to appoint his favourite, Gib, to be receiver and administrator ⁽¹⁾ of the rents of the Chapel, Parliament referred back to the intentions of King James Fourth and deplored the loss, that would ensue, which "will breid dirogation to the honour of the realme, whilke onlie among all Christiane Kingdomes will be the mean^e want that the civill and commendable provisioun of the ordinar music for recreatioun and honour of Princes." The act, which is of considerable length, is an enlightening illustration of the healthy regard for music in the minds of some of the most influential men in Scotland at that time, and amongst other matters the act refers to the benefit accruing to music through

(1) Roger's Chapel Royal. p. cv.

(1)

the revival of the Music Schools. When William Birnie was appointed Dean of the Chapel in 1612, he was given power to appoint "men skellful in musice" for the service. As might be expected, the Episcopal party, when in power, adopted a more elaborate ritual than was found during the Presbyterian ascendancies, and the encouragement that music received from King James Sixth and King Charles First came as much from their desire to set up the Episcopal form of worship as from their desire to further the cause of music in the realm. The projected visit of King James to his native land in 1617, was the occasion for busy preparations in which music played a prominent part. An organ builder received a payment for services rendered before the arrival of the King: we know that this organ came from England.

Several writers take notice of the introduction of the organ at this time. Calderwood wrote in his History, "On Satterday, May 17th, the English service was begunne in the Chapell Royall, with the singing of quiristers, surplices and playing on organs". It was also noted in the Apologetical Narration of the State and Government of the Kirk of Scotland that at the choral service, "this was the first tyme since the Reformation that the singing of quiristers and the playing of organs was heard in the Royal Chappell" and Row wrote "brave organs putt quiresters appointed to sing." A document

- (1) Roger's Chapel Royal. p. CX111.
- (2) L.H.T.A. 1/5 1617.
- (3) Dalryell's Musical Memoirs. p.128.
- (4) Calderwood's History. Vll p.246.
- (5) Scot's Narration (Wodrow Soc.) p.246.
- (6) Row's History (Wodrow Soc.) p.307.

of about 1620, called "Informatione anent the first and present estate of the K.M. Chapell Royall" gives us some information about the state of music in that institution in the last years of the reign of James First of England. James Castellaw was Master of the Sang Schule but his emoluments had fallen from 100 pounds to 100 merks. As for the six boys for whom provision was originally intended, it was said "The sax boys had 90 markis among them, wheirof their is none this day; and of all the 16 chanonis and nyn prebendis, only sevin attendis, and hes no meanes, so that only they sing the common tune of a psalme, and being so few, ar skarse knowen." Before the King had left Scotland he had ordered that the musical service should be ⁽¹⁾ performed daily but that injunction was not carried out. Once at a baptism the organ played and musicians, with four in each part, provided a musical service, as Bishop ⁽²⁾ Cowper wrote to King James, but mice and neglect threw the ⁽³⁾ instrument into disrepair.

In 1628, Edward Kellie was appointed a prebendary and musician of the Chapel Royal and in the following year was made Director of Music. Kellie seems to have been a man of some strength of character for he showed considerable energy and persistence in an attempt to put the musical arrangements on a sound and workable basis. A lengthy report by him in ⁽⁴⁾ 1631 is a witness of the goal he had set himself and of the lines upon which he meant to act. He reported that he had

(1) See Roger's Hist. Chapel Royal. p.CXXXI.
 (2) Ibid. p.CXXXI.&CXXXVI.
 (3) Ibid. p.CXXXI.&CXXXVII.
 (4) Ibid p.CLXVII

acquired twelve large books and twelve small ones with an organ book containing psalms, services and anthems, as well as an organist, two men to play the cornetts and sackbuts and two boys to sing the divisions in the verse parts. He re-organised the choir to make it up to a complement of six boys, sixteen men and an organist, all skilled in sight reading. This was all in preparation for the visit of the King to Scotland and for the coronation. For this ceremony Kellie determined to have a worthy music and to provide a satisfactory performance. He wanted to have complete control of all the musical arrangements and wrote to King Charles that the Coronation music could quite well be prepared and performed by the choir and musicians whom he had with him. He feared that English singers might be sent North, (probably singers acquainted with the Coronation music) and pointed out that the expense of transporting English musicians was quite unnecessary because he believed that a perfectly good service could be provided without them. When Charles First came North, however, he sent a chapel choir by sea and brought seven musicians with him by land. The choir consisted of a subdean, twelve choir-men, three choristers (presumably boys), two organists and four clerks of the vestry. Whether all these musicians were employed at the coronation functions or not we cannot say, but it is plain that ample provision was made for the music of the coronation services. Organ playing formed part of the music at these celebrations for we read that one Stephen Tilliedaff

(1) Roger's Hist. Chap. Roy. p. cclxlix
 (2) B.R. Edin. 7/8/1633.

was paid 200 merks "for acting and setting of the music on Parnassus Hill" and Andrew Sinclare received 100 merks for his work as organist at a banquet.

A full account of the Coronation ceremony is given in Sir James Balfour's Historical Works IV p.383. It was actually a repeat of the ceremony held in Westminster Abbey with the same anthems, Veni Creator, Te Deum, and the traditional Zadok the Priest. In spite of a diligent search and an enquiry from the Librarian at Westminster Abbey, I cannot trace who were the composers of the music used on the occasion. Kellie was dismissed from his post in 1634 and Edward Millar was appointed his successor. The music of the Chapel Royal ceased from this time to have any great interest, but one important contribution to the musical store of our country was made during Millar's occupancy of the office of Director of music and was done under his supervision and direction.

This was the harmonized Psalter of 1635 and there are several features in Millar's work that deserve special notice. It is worth observation that the Psalter was prepared when Episcopacy was in the ascendancy and this is significant as an indication of how little difference there was between the kirk praise under Episcopal and Presbyterian rule. Presbyterian and Episcopal alike were content with a simple praise. For a full study of this psalter the Reverend Neil Livingstone provided a reprint with an illuminating introduction, analysis, and copious notes, in 1864, and the late Sir Richard Terry reviewed the contents of the book in his work "A Forgotten

Psalter". There remain, however, some points worth considering, as they remain untouched by these writers, Millar wrote a very interesting preface from which we learn that the practice of singing the psalms in parts was far from uncommon. The Kirk neither condemned nor countenanced the practice of singing the psalms in parts and, in the case of the harmonized Psalter, of 1635, there is no evidence that it received official sanction. Millar points out that the versions of harmonized psalm tunes varied very considerably and he was moved to his task by "sundry troubles, bases and counters set by diverse authors, being sung upon one and the same tenor, ^{which} do discordingly rub each upon other offending both musically and rude ears, which never tasted of this art." He was plainly displeased by the variety of the tunes that came under his notice and determined to go to the sources and collect the harmonised versions as arranged by those Scottish musicians whom he calls the "primest musicians that ever this Kingdome had." He went on "I acknowledge sincerely the whole compositions of the parts to belong..to the Deane John Angus, Blackhall, Smith, Peebles, Sharp, Black and others famous for their skill in this kind.....The first copies of these parts were undoubtedly right set down by these skilfull authors but have been wronged and vitiated by unskilfull copiers thereof as all things are injured by tyme, and heerein consisted part of my paines, that collecting all the setts I could find on the psalmes, after painefull tryall thereof, I selected the best for this work, according to my simple judgement."

, Angus, Blackhall & Peebles all contributed to Wood's

Psalter of 1566; Smith was master of the Sang Schule at St. Andrews. Black had been master of the Sang Schule at Aberdeen, and Buchan in 1579 was master of the Sang Schule at Edinburgh. So far I have not been able to trace Sharp. There are grounds for the belief that Millar went to Wood's Psalter for the basis of his harmonized version, since we find in some instances that the harmonies of the psalm tunes are identical in both psalters. He merely acted as editor, examining all the variants of a tune that came under his notice and then making up his mind as to which one he considered the best. He was particularly anxious to make it plain that he was not the actual harmonizer, but only the selector of those versions, that he deemed most suitable for his purpose. We can easily imagine that unskilled hands must have left very indifferent harmonized versions and that his task was not invariably an easy one. The addition of a number of Spiritual songs gives this Psalter a special interest and the inclusion of a number of reports is a reversion to an old practice. Millar seems to have expected that the Psalter would be used at private rather than public worship for the parts are set up in an inverted form on opposite pages. This permitted the singers to sit on each side of a table and each of the singers to have his part before him as they sat two and two at the table.

The fate of the organ at the Chapel Royal is obscure.
 (2) In 1638, the "glorious organs of the chapel royal were broken

(2) Spalding's History of the Troubles. 1829. p.54.

(1) As has been shown earlier, the St Andrews Psalter contains many errors.

down masterfully, and no service used there; but the hail chaplain^s, choristers and musicians, are discharged and the stately organs altogether destroyed and made useless." The instrument obviously was no longer in a state for musical purposes and in 1643, the Kirk Session of Halyrudhous took the matter up and decided that "the matter being motioned concerning that organe which was taken down, and put into the yle, now lying idle, mothing and consuming; yea, moreover, the same being an unprofitable instrument, scandalous to our profession whether the same might not be sold for a tollerable price and the money given to the poore." In 1688, the Chapel Royal was devastated by the mob and with it went the only institution, with the exception of one or two sang schules, where the torch of music was, intermittently maybe, kept alight during the 17th century.

There seems to have been organs, however, in some private houses, although they were forbidden to the churches. At Finlarg, there was "ane pair of little organs" and an estimate for the repair of an organ at Glamis Castle shows us the nature of an organ in the 17th century. It had ten stops, named in the estimate - open diapason^s trible, principal trible, twelft trible, fifteenth trible, cornet of three ranks, fifteenth trible, principal bass, stopd diapason^s, fifteenth bass, and nineteenth bass. The organ was in bad repair and James Bristowe, the repairer, proposed to put the instrument in order

- (1) Halyrudhous K.S.R. 4/4/1643.
- (2) Innes's Sketches of Early Scottish History. p.511.
- (3) The Glamis Book. (S.H.S.) p.110.

for £20. We have no information as to where the organ was acquired but the interesting fact remains that, while the organ had no place in the church service, it was still used for private pleasure in Scotland.

SANG SCHULES.

All music tuition in the 17th century lay with private teachers or with the Sang Schules. As has been already stated, the burgh Sang Schule was usually an elementary school for which a special building was provided or else accommodation was secured either in the Grammar School or in the house of the Sang Schule master to whom an allowance was granted by way of rent. The Sang Schule retained its independent status all through the century, until towards the end when it began to show symptoms of decline. It sometimes acted as a feeder for the Grammar School for as early as 1598, the High School of Edinburgh ⁽¹⁾ required each boy on entrance to show proficiency in reading and writing. Nevertheless, the Sang Schule was considered on an equal footing with the Grammar for in 1597 ⁽²⁾ the town authorities of Aberdeen sustained the right of the Grammar School to be the only school in the burgh with special privileges and prerogatives except the Music School and re-enacted that no school could be carried ^{on} without the permission ⁽³⁾ of the Master of the Grammar School, with the exception of the Sang Schule.

The one purely Music School of which we have much information was that of Aberdeen; it was conducted in a special

(1) B.R. Edin. 21/7/1598.

(2) B.R. Aber. 31/8/1597.

(3) Lecture and vulgar schools provided elementary education as well as the Sang Schules
chules

building, and was a music school in the strict sense, having no elementary subjects within its curriculum. In fact it was a very superior institution of which the city was deservedly proud. It had little in common with the average burgh Sang Schule of the century and cannot be regarded as typical of the times. For one thing, the Town Council took great pains to engage the best teachers and looked for professionals such as Louis de France when they had a vacancy in the mastership.

Before the Reformation, the master of the Sang Schules were usually the organists in the parish churches or in the church to which the school was attached; all through the days of the post Reformation Sang Schule, the master was precentor in one or other of the burgh churches and frequently held the office of session clerk as well. Salaries were poor and the extra emoluments were no doubt welcome additions to the income of the Sang Schule master. The custom of joining these offices was practically a right of the masters as we see in the Kirk Session minutes of St Machar's Aberdeen--⁽¹⁾ "It was the custome past memorie of man that he who was Master of the Music School of Old Aberdeen was likewise admitted Reader, precentor and Session Clerk" This sometimes meant that the head of the music schools had to serve two masters for Kirk Sessions were content with a good precentor while the Town Councils wanted to be sure that the successful candidate was a good citizen. In 1696, this clash occurred when⁽²⁾ the Kirk Session of St Machar's Old Aberdeen reviewed the

(1) K.S.R. Old Aberdeen 15/11 1691

(2) " " " 3/8 1696

qualifications of candidates for the mastership of their Sang Schule and rejected one because he kept an inn and was disaffected towards the government and another because he had raised disorder in the kirk. The Town Council, on the other hand, objected to another candidate because of his weakness in instrumental music. The post went to an outsider.

One difficulty that faced the authorities was the scarcity of efficient teachers for the Sang Schules. Aberdeen seemed to have solved its difficulty but other burghs frequently complained that music had fallen into decay. Sang Schules had been the centres of musical life in the community in pre-Reformation days but there ceased to be any pool of capable musicians upon which Town Councils could draw. and during the 17th century private teaching was often in the hands of French musicians, who sometimes were assisted financially by the Town Councils. As has been said, salaries were miserably small though it is worth noting that in 1648 the Master of the Sang Schule of Dundee, ⁽¹⁾ was able to lend the city the sum of one thousand merks

Some indication of the nature of the music teaching may be found in the tutorial section of Forbes's Songs and Fancies of 1662, 1664 and 1682 and in the Twelve Common Tunes for the Church of Scotland of 1714--both Aberdeen publications and both containing music in four parts. The title of each of these books states that the contents were used in the Music Schule of Aberdeen and as far as the theory went in the Songs and Fancies the theory was in use over a hundred years before the publication of Forbes's Song Collection. It is impossible to say certainly if the songs in that

(1) Maxwell's Old Dundee after the Reformation p.339

volume were taught and sung but the theoretical part was certainly used in the school. A little MS. of vocal music compiled by a later master of the Aberdeen Music, Louis de France, contains psalm tunes, in four parts, a French song or two, songs from the Elizabethan song-books, and a few airs popular in England in the 15th century. The music of the burgh sang-schules may indeed have gone no further than the psalm tunes, though there is one instance of a school in Edinburgh having taught Scottish music.

It has already been said that there was more than one type of sang schule, which had the support and encouragement of the burgh authorities. In Elgin, they made the experiment of appointing one master for both Grammar and Music Schools but the combination of the offices was found to be no success and the master was ordered to confine his activities to the Music School. It was reported in 1657 in Elgin, that the Master of the Grammar School was encroaching upon the province of the Music School and he was ordered to send all children at the Grammar School who were taught English and no more to the Music School. (It is interesting to note that although the Sang Schule at Dunfermline has long vanished the Master of Song at the Abbey still draws part of his salary from the mortification of Queen Anne of Denmark, who founded the Sang Schule and that the organist of the parish church of St Andrews is also paid in part by the King's Remembrancer) So the Sang Schules were not standardized. Some centres regarded

(1) B.R. Elgin 9/11/1603

(2) ibid. 27/7/1657

music as a recreation and little more, as in the case of
 (1) Dunbar where in 1679, the Town Council ordered music to be
 taught between the hours of one and two. The relations
 between the Grammar School and the Music School may be judged
 (2) by the arrangement in Restalrig in 1673 when the Grammar School
 master agreed that the children attending that school might
 go to the Music School on Tuesdays from 11-12 and on Saturdays
 and Wednesdays at 2 p.m.

It will be of interest to choose a few 17th-century Sang Schules and survey the course that they took over a hundred years or thereby. In relating their career briefly, it will make for completeness if the 17th century be treated without a strict rigidity, and some attention given, at this point, to the conditions of the post-Reformation Sang Schules during the last years of the 16th and early decades of the 18th centuries. As musical institutions, these Sang Schules, in spite of being revived to check the decay of music, were never far from a struggle. Only in a few of the large burghs, was there even a mild enthusiasm for the cultivation of music, and, as the century went on, with the growing rivalry of the professionals, and the gradual disappearance of the monopoly that gave the master of the Sang Schule a privileged position, these 17th-century Sang Schules lost their peculiar function and in time disappeared.

(1) Grant's Hist. of Burgh Schools Scotland. P379.

(2) South Leith K.S.R. 23/10/1673.

The Aberdeen Music School

There were two Sang Schules in Aberdeen before and after the Reformation - one attached to the parish church of St. Nicolas in New Aberdeen, and the other to the cathedral of St. Machar in Old Aberdeen. The former was a type of Sang Schule in post-Reformation times which confined its activities to the teaching of music and the other was a typical Sang Schule of the seventeenth century, performing the functions of an elementary school in which vocal and instrumental music were taught with the addition of reading and writing.

The story of the Music School at St. Nicolas Church is an interesting one and had been briefly told by Mr. William Walker in his Extracts from the Commonplace Book of Andrew Melville (Aberdeen, 1891). It is possible here to extend Mr. Walker's sketch very considerably and give a fuller account of the school that, in so far as it was a purely musical centre, holds a peculiar interest in the history of music in Scotland.

Aberdeen had sustained a high standard of music under the influence of Bishop Elphinstone and it is interesting to note that the city did not wait for the Act of 1597 to revive its Sang Schule after it had fallen into abeyance in 1560. Ten years after that date, Andrew Kemp (1)

(1) B.R., Aber., Sp. Cl. 6/10, 1570.

approached the Town Council and petitioned them to permit him to hold the office of master of the "sang scioll quilk presentlie is destitute of alexercitioune" and the Council in respect that "Sir Johnne Blak, anesmaister of the said sang scioll is presentlie absent of the realme and na exercitioune of musick usit in the said scioll" admitted Kemp to the said office to instruct the youth and children in "musick, meaners and vertew" at a payment similar to that allowed in older days and after agreement with the parents. As we have seen, this aim "musick, meaners and vertew" was no new thing or peculiarly Scottish, and it occurs in the statutes of St. Paul's Cathedral, London of 1263. Kemp was a musician of no small ability who had been associated with Wood in the St. Andrews Psalter 1566. Amongst the canticles and hymns appended to the Psalter are a Veni Creator, a Te Deum (incomplete) and a piece called the Complaint of a Sinner, all of Kemp's⁽²⁾ composition, and against one of them Wood wrote - "Quod Kempt, noted be his awen hand and not myne". A payment of £14:13: 4 was made to the Master of the Sang Schule in 1574 (Misc. Maitland Club App. p. 39).

In their contract with Kemp quoted above the Council had referred to Johnne Blak as "presentlie" absent from the country and the inference is reasonable that he had not lost touch with his old friends. In 1575 Black (1),

(1) B. R., Aberdeen, Sp. Cl., 19/8, 1575.

(2) Kemp's share lay in the harmonization of the canticles; the melodies are found on Sternhold and Hopkins.

with more than a little cunning, along with other chaplains of St. Nicolas, handed over all the properties and rents that they held in respect of their ecclesiastical office and agreed that on the death of each holder, these properties should pass to the Council to be used on behalf of the Hospital of St. Thomas. Black seems to have been an accommodating sort of man, for in the previous year (1), he received a payment from the Council of 30/- for taking down the pipes of the organ at St. Nicolas Church and for providing a case to put them in. He must have secured the favour of the Council for he superseded Kemp, and resumed his old post in the Sang Schule. In 1577, his doctor (2), having fallen on evil days, was granted £4 Scots by the Council to help him buy decent clothes. Black died in 1587 (3) and was succeeded by John Anderson who only held the office for two years. In 1589 he was succeeded by William Skene (4). When Skene died in 1598 (5) the Town Council was afraid that unless a suitable man was found to succeed him, the school might be dissolved "to the prejudice of the youth" and they appointed John Leslie to the post but only as an interim master since he had no skill in teaching instrumental music. About this time attempts were made to set up private schools in Aberdeen

(1) B.R., Aber, 4/2, 1574/5 (quoted in Chart. St. Nicolas)

(2) B.R., Aber. 4/10, 1577.

(3) Ibid 14/8, 1587.

(4) Ibid 1589.

(5) Ibid 15/11, 1598.

but the Council (1) decreed that there was to be "na uther school within the burght except the musick school, bot sic as sal be subalterne to the maister of the grammar school". The demand made by the Grammar School that boys should have a certain amount of elementary education before entrance was allowed, and forced the Town Council to permit the establishment of English and Writing Schools. In 1583 (2) permission had been granted to a teacher to educate young children and ^{the Council} allowed him a small grant to pay his rent. This school became the English School and in 1605 (3), the "hous callit the Kirk Ludge" was divided into three for the Sang, English and Writing Schules, with a caveat on the part of the Council that they were only obliged to support two schools - the Grammar and Sang Schules. The inference is that, since all three schools were under one roof, pupils attended the Sang Schule for their music and the other schools for those subjects of an elementary nature, and that these were compulsory studies before the doors of the Grammar School were open to them. This arrangement permitted the Music School to persist as a purely musical institution.

A difficulty was presented to the authorities in 1596 (4), when the Church of St. Nicolas was divided into

- (1) B.R., Aber., 31/8, 1597.
- (2) Ibid 25/4, 1583.
- (3) Ibid 1/5, 1605.
- (4) Ibid 23/7, 1596.

two Kirks. It was the duty of the master of the Music (1) School (as the Sang Schule was now called) to "uptak the psalm at St. Nicolas' ", and since he could not be in two places at once it was arranged that he should present in one Kirk and his assistant in the other. Ten marks were added to his salary of 120 marks to help him to pay his assistant. As precentor, the Music School master had to lead the praise in Kirk and as master of the Music School he was expected to provide young singers to assist in the psalm singing, for in 1592 the Town Council had ordered the master and the pupils to attend evening prayers daily to assist in the singing of the psalms.

As might be expected, the success of a musical school depended on the abilities of its master, and there is plenty of evidence to show that the Town Council of Aberdeen during the greater part of the seventeenth century set themselves to secure the best available man and ^{to} ~~set~~ their Music School in a foremost place. In 1607 (2) Patrick Davidson was appointed master of the Music School at a salary of £80 Scots with the school fees and certain perquisites from special functions at which he and his pupils were expected to attend. The Rev. Gideon Guthrie, Episcopal minister of Brechin at the end of the seventeenth century left a short note about the Music

(1) B.R., Aber., 23/11, 1597

(2) Ibid 1607

School master (1); "Davidson", he said, "was bred in Italy and was forced to leave that country on account of a young princess who was much in love with him". There were a few foreign musicians in Scotland in those days but a native Scot with an Italian training was a rarity and no small acquisition to a Song School.

During Patrick Davidson's régime at the Music School, two matters of serious dispute came to a head. They had their roots in pre-Reformation customs. The first was the curtailment of holidays. Schools had been accustomed to receive holidays on the Old Church festivals and in 1574 the Council (2) decreed that "the Master of the Sang Schule be advised that no play or privilege should be granted on the days dedicated to superstition in Papistrie". Four years before this, in 1570 (3), the scholars of the Grammar School had presented an epistle in Latin concerning the abolition of their old holidays. In 1581 (4), the Council on account of unruly conduct on the part of the boys stopped all Yule holidays in both Schools and granted three days holiday before each quarter as a compensation. However, there was continual complaint over the curtailment of holidays. Patrick Davidson had his first experience of trouble with the boys in 1609 (5) when the pupils of

(1) Gideon Guthrie: A Memoir, p.122.

(2) B.R., Aber., 30/12, 1574.

(3) Ibid 9/1, 1570. and H.F.Simpson's Bon Accord

(4) Ibid 26/12, 1581.

(5) Ibid 9/8, 1609.

Grammar and Music Schools became unruly and assaulted the servants of their neighbours. The Town Council thereupon ordained that no boys should be admitted to their schools unless their parents could find surety for their sons' behaviour. In spite of this precaution, the Town Council were faced with the determined resistance of the boys of the Grammar, Music and Writing Schools in 1612 (1)--"long before the superstitious time of Yuill"--when the boys, armed with guns and swords, held the Music School for three days against the authorities, helping themselves to the property of the neighbours and also to the viands of folks on their way to the market. The Aberdeen boys did not get off so easily as their brethren in Edinburgh did when they rioted, nor did the school masters, who were severely admonished for the slackness of their discipline. (2) As for the boys, twenty one of them, all the sons of ^{the} country gentlemen were expelled from the school of the burgh. (3) But the trouble did not end even yet. In 1619 (4) the allowance of three days' holiday at the beginning of each quarter was for some reason withdrawn and the boys refused payment of the usual fees to the school master until the new quarter was far advanced. The Council promptly took the matter up, ordered the boys to pay their fees within fifteen days of each quarter or else pay double with expulsion as punishment

- (1) B.R., Aber., 3/12, 1612
- (2) Ibid 4/12, 1612
- (3) Ibid 4/12, 1612
- (4) Ibid 24/3, 1619

if they still failed to pay.

One of the perquisites falling to the Master and boys of the Music School was found in the old custom of singing at banquets and lykewakes. These lykewakes were held at the time of a death and were watches over a corpse. Too often they were occasions for debauchery and unseemly conduct, but fees for attendances at these lykewakes were part of the contract between Council and schoolmaster. The boys too got small allowances and any attempts to stop these old customs with their accompanying junkettings were resented by master and pupil alike. The pupil lost both entertainment and pocket-money and the master had practically a reduction of his salary. The Town Council wavered in its decision. At one time, they reduced the number of boys to four⁽¹⁾ and then they forbade lykewakes altogether but the practice persisted. In 1644⁽²⁾, long after Davidson's time, we find the master of the school granted £53:6:8 Scots. in compensation for his loss through the abolition of this old custom.

During the greater part of his regime at the Music School, Patrick Davidson⁽³⁾ had as his assistant, Andrew Melville⁽⁴⁾ who came to the school in 1617, married

(1) B.R., Aber., 4/5, 1631 and 1643 (Spalding's Hist. Troubles)

(2) Sp. Club. Misc., V, p.163

(3) Davidson's reputation as a musician appears in the following:- *If my Gossope Patrick Davidsoun will gif yow the auld toinis containit in the auld psalme buik I mean the speciall thair of the nynt and tuelt and sik uthers under the four parts, I will request you to send thame and gif him xxli. for his painis. I seik none of the tuelff toins quhilk ar callit the new toins". Letter from Th. Nicholsons to George Nicholsons, Provost of Aberdeen 2 Jan. 1624. (Aberdeen Council Letters p.223 (1942))

(4) B.R., Aber., 1617

Davidson's daughter and succeeded him in 1636 (1). Patrick Davidson must have been held in high regard in his old age, for in 1633 he was granted a special allowance of £20, and we may be certain that under him and his son-in-law, the Music School of Aberdeen was in a healthy and vigorous condition, for the Town Council had no hesitation as to who was the only possible successor to Patrick Davidson. The Council made reference to Melville's long service of eighteen years as doctor in the Music School and to their promise that he should succeed his father-in-law. He was appointed to the Music School to teach the art of music, singing and playing "ad vitam vel ad culpam", at the same salary and fees as Patrick Davidson had enjoyed. The Rev. Gideon Guthrie, who married a grand-daughter of Andrew Melville, spoke of him in even more appreciative words than he did of Patrick Davidson. He wrote that Melville "refined the music of Aberdeen, composed the common tunes and prickt out all the other music". This indicates that Melville's interests were wide and probably "all the other music" refers to a delight in music of a secular nature. In 1625, Raban printed at Aberdeen an edition of the version of the psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins, "together with the tunes diligently revised and amended by the most expert musicians

(1) B.R., Aber., 24/2, 1636.

in Aberdeen"(1). This was the first harmonised psalter to appear in printed form in Scotland. It contained fifteen psalm tunes and if Davidson and Melville were not consulted about the compilation it would be difficult to say who in Aberdeen was responsible for the work. It is very likely that Guthrie had this Psalter in his mind when he wrote his appreciation of Melville and Davidson. From the list of books that appears in his diary, Melville appears as a well read and cultured man of his time (2). Amongst his music books were lute books and psalm books, books of prickt music and singing books, books of dances such as galliards, pavaues and other light music of French and Italian origin, Ravenscroft's Definition of Divisions of Moods and, if either his "grytt" or "litle Book of the airt of Musick" was not a copy of Morley's Plaine and Easie Introduction of 1597, his successor and brother-in-law Thomas Davidson must have acquired his copy elsewhere, for we know that Morley's book was the foundation of musical teaching in the Music School when Melville's successor Thomas Davidson was master.

The scholars in all seventeenth-century Schools had a long day. In the Grammar School as well as in the other schools, the hours (3) were 7 - 9 a.m., 10 - 12, and 2 - 6 p.m. - an eight hours day and a heavy one, even if the

(1) Bib. Aber., II, p.225 (Third Sp. Club)

(2) See Walker's Extracts from the Commonplace Book of Andrew Melville, p. 26.

(3) B.R., Aber., 23/10, 1639.

scholars were spared the burden of home lessons. It is difficult to believe that the boys were at the Music School for eight hours a day, week in week out and did nothing more than music. Even allowing for the time taken up by their attendance at the daily services which the Council insisted upon (1) we can only think that the pupils spent part of their day with the Music School master whose contract was for music teaching only. They probably went to either the Writing or the English School for other subjects on the usual elementary curriculum.

Melville did not occupy the headship of the Music School for many years. In 1640 (2) he made way for his brother-in-law, Thomas Davidson. The Town Council seems to have had full control of the Music School, for in 1666 they fixed and paid the whole of his salary of 250 merks. They had long taken an interest in all schools by arranging annual visitations (3) by Town Councillors and others to take notice of the discipline and to report on any deficiencies that came under their notice. (However much the master of the School may have dreaded inspectorial visits, the boys had some compensation. In 1668 (4) the Council, in fixing a visitation, allowed four pounds of plumdamus to the boys of the ^{Old Aberdeen} Music School. These

- (1) B. R. Aber., 15/1, 1640.
 (2) Ibid
 (3) Ibid 9/5, 1627.
 (4) Ibid 16/1, 1668. (Old Aberdeen)

were (1) Damascus plums (or prunes) and cost 4d. a pound; so the Council were by no means extravagant in their allowance.

The name of Thomas Davidson is closely associated with the only volume of secular music printed in Scotland before 1725. This work was the "Songs and Fancies apt for Viols and Voices", ⁽²⁾ published by the printer John Forbes in 1662. This work is examined fully elsewhere, but here it may be pointed out that the tutorial section, which was the work of Thomas Davidson, is called "A brief introduction to Musick as taught in the Music School of Aberdeen". In reality, it is not an original tutor from Davidson's pen but a compressed version of Thomas Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Musick* of 1597. Davidson chose those portions of Morley's work that suited his purpose for instruction in the Music School and took Morley's words and phrases almost verbatim. It is in sixteenth-century notation and its interest lies in the information which it provides of the music taught in a Music School of the seventeenth century. Davidson's initials are appended to the title page of the first edition of 1662, but in the later editions of 1664 and 1682 they are omitted although the tutorial section remains intact. It is impossible to say whether Davidson was responsible

(1) ~~Dist.~~ Book King's Coll., Aber., 1660.
(see Arnot's *Hist. of Edin.* p. 169.)

(2) Kennedy in his *Annale of Aberdeen* p. 135 says that lute and virginals were taught in the Music School of Aberdeen

for or even consulted about the songs included in Forbes's collection, nor is there any indication that the children of the Music School sang the songs in that volume.

Davidson had as his assistant one William Forbes and, in the course of a difference, claimed that the Master of the School had the sole right of appointing an assistant. The Council took the opposite view, declared that the appointment lay in their hands and confirmed Forbes in his offices with all the liberties of stipend that the post carried with it. Davidson died in 1675.

The Council thereupon advertised for a successor to Davidson (1) and received an application from Louis de France, a musician of Edinburgh. Louis pointed out that he had been invited to apply for the vacant mastership of the Music School in Edinburgh but preferred to come to Aberdeen. The Council ⁽¹⁾ thereupon offered him £200 per annum with increased fees and shorter hours during the first quarter since he was a stranger and expert in music. He was also permitted to have 30/- Scots each quarter from each scholar in the School, where his hours were to be 7-9 and 10-11 a.m. and 2-3 p.m. Louis de France was probably the best known music teacher in Scotland at that time and we know from the little MS. of music which he compiled that he had studied under the best French masters. The

(1) B.R. Aber. 24/11, and 31/12, 1675.

MS. contains airs which he distinctly says were taught in the Music School of Aberdeen. Many of these airs were English and were the melodies favoured by Scottish singers in those times. There were also French and Italian airs in the MS. with a few songs that he calls Scottish on account of their popularity in musical circles, but most of them are actually of English provenance.

The activities of the School under Louis de France must have been considerable for he had two assistants (or doctors as they were called), William Forbes⁽¹⁾ who had been assistant for many years under Davidson, and one David Melville, who, however, was only allowed to teach "upon his own hazard". Louis de France remained in Aberdeen until 1682 when he returned to Edinburgh as Master of the Music School there.

From the day of Louis de France's departure, the Music School of Aberdeen gradually fell away from its high estate. For reasons given elsewhere this was the fate of most of the Scottish Song Schools. The breakdown of the monopoly of the Grammar and Song Schools in the burghs and the rise of a professional class of musicians and the increasing difficulty of music itself were a few of these reasons. John Inglis⁽²⁾ who succeeded Louis de France in 1682, held the post for ten years. Two years after his

(1) B.R. 23/11/1664

(2) B.R. Aber. 1682.

appointment he reported that he had an offer from Montrose at a better stipend and asked the authorities to make it worth his while to stay in Aberdeen. He had the sympathy of the Kirk Session (1) and his wishes were met. This action of the Kirk Session is significant for in 1673 the payments to the master of the Music School had been transferred from the Common Good to the Kirk and Bridge Account. He was followed by Alexander Coupar who was master of the Music School from 1692 to 1721. Coupar had been master of the Sang Schule at St. Machar's and came to the Music School after he had been relieved of his office there. In 1710 (2) the Town Council decided that children should not enter the Grammar School until they were nine years of age and were grounded in reading and writing, arithmetic and music and it seems most likely that the Music School was concerned only with the last of these subjects, leaving the others to the English and Writing Schools. After Coupar's death the School began steadily to decline. The posts of master of the Music School and precentor were in the hands of Alexander Scott, but in 1729 (3) the Town Council broke down the monopoly of the Music School since there was "no fitt person for teaching of thorough base and other (4)

(1) K.S.R., Aber., 23/11, 1684.

(2) B.R., Aber., 23/10, 1710.

(3) Ibid 19/3, 1729.

(4) "A bass part ,accompanied by numerals, to indicate the structure of the harmony." (G.) This throws a little more light on the theoretical teaching of the time.

parts of modern music", and granted permission to a lady from Edinburgh, one Anne Toshach, to teach music at a salary from them of 100 merks annually. Scott held his office for some time at the Music School in spite of this rebuff but in 1736 he deserted his post and Charles Maclean from Montrose was elected to fill his place. Maclean seems to have been a musician of parts for he undertook to teach spinet, harpsichord, violin, German flute and common flute - a representative collection of keyboard, string and wind instruments. He also agreed to teach vocal music and was allowed a salary of 300 merks per annum. In addition to this he could charge for "Italian musick and all other parts both vocal and instrumental £3 Scots, and for Church/music, Scots tunes and the lower pairts of musick", 30/- monthly, and had to behave himself in a seemly manner. This is one of the very few instances when Scottish music is explicitly stated as part of the curriculum of a Sang Schule. The last master of the Aberdeen Music School was a musician of high ability. Andrew Tait (1) was organist of the Episcopal Church of St. Paul in Aberdeen and became later one of the founders of the Aberdeen Musical Club. He was the inspiring force in musical matters in Aberdeen for a long time. He published a little book of psalm tunes

(1) B.R., Aber., 17/11, 1740.

harmonised in two parts which ran into several editions, and he was a highly respected citizen of Aberdeen. When Dr. Johnson visited the city in 1773, he worshipped at St. Paul's Church with James Boswell who wrote in his Journal - "We found a respectable congregation and an admirable organ well played by Mr. Tait". Long before this the Music School had come to an end. In 1758 after the Music School had been closed for some time with compensation to Tait, it was exposed for sale and in April 1758 it was purchased by a wright for the sum of £780 Scots.

St. Machar's (Old Aberdeen) Music School

While the Music School at St. Nicolas, Aberdeen, was fostered by the Town Council as a true Music School, the Sang Schule attached to St. Machar's in Old Aberdeen was throughout the whole of its career an elementary school and typical of the usual seventeenth-century Sang Schule. The first mention of the School is in 1607 when William Lindsay (1) the master appeared before the Principal of King's College and two heritors about the payment of his salary. The school is heard of again in 1628 when Gilbert Ross (2), having been tried by the Bishop, Minister and Elders was admitted to teach an English and Music School in the burgh, i.e. an elementary school. As master of (3)

(1) B.R., Old Aberdeen, 16/7, 1607.

(2) K.S.R., Old Aberdeen, 29/6, 1628.

(3) and B.R., Old Aberdeen, 3/6, 1636.

In 1639, Ross seems to have fled the City, on the approach of the Covenanting army (Hist. of the Troubles in Scotland p.88.)

the music school his salary was paid by the trades. In 1640 (1) he is mentioned in the records as Master of the Sang Schule with a stipend of 40 merks Scots for his services in reading, singing and teaching the school. In 1641 (2), he gave place to Alexander Wilguiss, who was admitted reader and master of music. As reader, his duties were given in full detail. He "sal reid be himselfe alane (helth of bodie serving) the inveniing prayer on the Sabath day from Witson day 1641 yeirs to Witson day 1642: as lykways the said Alexr. to begin his reading precislie at the end of the service bell and thane to reid ane chapter and thairefter to sing twa verses of ane psalme and im^ly theirefter the Catecheise be said and quhowe suone the said Catecheise is endit the said Alexr. to reid quhill the Minister cum to the pulpeit...." He was also made clerk of the Session and to teach a Music and an English School within the town of Old Aberdeen and the bounds of the University of King's College. The School was to be visited four times a year by the Minister, College Members and the town. For every baptism he was to receive 4/-; every proclamation of banns and marriage, 13/4; every burial in the Kirk, 6/8; every burial in the kirkyard, 4/-; every bairn he taught to read 6/8; everyone taught to read and write, 13/4; everyone taught to read, write and sing 20/-;

(1) B.R., Old Aber., 26/11, 1640.

(2) K.S.R., Old Aber., 30/5, 1641.

and everyone taught to read, write, sing and play, 26/8, *quarterly*.

The contract in 1641 was typical of the agreements made between authorities and masters of seventeenth-century Sang Schules. The Master of the Sang Schule soon ceased to be a reader and as a rule became a precentor. The school was an elementary school and it is very significant that Wilguiss controlled Music and English Schools, e.g. taught music and elementary subjects. However, Wilguiss proved to be slack in his discipline and neglectful of his duties and was dismissed in 1646 (1). His superiors did not want to be hard on him, however, and out of consideration of his "mene estat" they allowed him a gift of £100 Scots. He was succeeded by William Logan from Ellon, who was to fill all the offices which Wilguiss had filled, teach reading, writing, music (vocal and instrumental) and arithmetic for all of which he was to receive 200 merks as a stipend with an allowance for the rent of a room in his house where the Sang Schule might be conducted. A house had been mortgaged for the use of the master by the Laird of Corse (2) and the elders saw that the writ of this mortification was placed in safe keeping. Dr. Guild, Principal of King's College, took the stones from the Bishop's dovecot to help build the Sang Schule. (3) "He turred bakehouses, brewhouses, byres, stables yea and some too-fall chambers and carried

(1) K.S.R., Aber., 24/5, 1646.

(2) Ibid 27/5 1646.

(3) Spalding's Hist. Troubles in Scotland (1829) p.289

roof and slates away wherewith he roofed a Sang School and thatched the same within Berold Innes's Close where never was any Sang School before". Logan resigned the Music School in 1655 in favour of William Hay (1). This William Hay is said to have been succeeded by his son William Hay about 1668 (2) who later became Bishop of Moray, but it is doubtful if the second William Hay ever entered office as master of the Music School. He may have been precentor and clerk - Mr. George Hay is mentioned as master of the Music School in 1673 (3). The next master of the Music School of whom we have any information was Alexander Couper who appears in the Kirk Session Minute Book concerning a "discharge" in 1677. There was plainly a house for the Master, for in 1681 Couper complained that he did not live in it and it had got into disrepair. Couper (4) complained of rival schools being set up and also that the people of the town and parish neglected to send their children to school. In 1691 Couper resigned and in 1692 he became Master of the Music School at New Aberdeen. The Town Council seemed to have been very much concerned about his successor and, after long consultation, appointed Robert Gillies (5) as successor to Alexander

(1) K.S.R., Old Aber. 12/11, 1655.

(2) Craven's History of the Episcopal Church in Moray,

(3) B.R., Old Aber., 4/8, 1673.

p.70.

(4) K.S.R., Old Aber., 17/12, 1682.

(5) B.R. Old Aber. 5/3, 1691.

Coupar. However, Gillies declined the post as he had received an appointment elsewhere. Apparently the Town Council made the appointment and, from what followed later, it looks as if political considerations entered into their deliberations. They invited William Cumming (1), a student of Elgin, to appear before them and be tried in his qualifications to teach reading, writing, arithmetic and music, both vocal and instrumental. His trial cost the Council £6:11/-. Having satisfied the Council as to his abilities, Cumming was appointed Master of the Music School, precentor, reader and session clerk, after an attestation by Alexander Coupar, his predecessor, that he was qualified to give service in the Music School. Cumming was forthwith admitted a burghess of Old Aberdeen. At once the claim was set up that he had been appointed at a hole and corner meeting in an alehouse and the demand was made that William Smith should be given the post. The Council would not have William Smith as he was known to be disaffected towards the Government and "unchristian heat and debate" went on for months. In the end Cumming was accepted by all parties. At a later date, (2) he made a public statement of his loyalty to King William. In 1696, having resigned, Cumming went back to Elgin. The dispute was thereupon renewed between the Town Council and others

B. R. 1.
 (1) Old. Aber. 22/11, 1691.
 (2) Ibid 1/12, 1695.

concerned in the appointment. There were several candidates for the post but one was rejected because he was weak in instrumental music; another was objected to because he had caused disaffection in the Kirk; Smith again became an applicant but was ruled out because of his politics and because he kept an inn. By a large majority of the Kirk Session, William Crystel from Perth was appointed (1). There is little more to record about the work of the Music School. Crystel died in 1731 (2) and was succeeded by William Molyson who held the post until 1744 (3) when he became minister of St. Cyrus. The School must have flourished under Molyson who was given an assistant called James Hadden. In 1733, Hadden resigned in order to succeed his father as beadle in the Kirk. When Molyson left, he was succeeded by another of his assistants James Paterson, called in both Town Council and Kirk Session Minutes "usher of the school" (4). He took the usual oath of allegiance and was asked to accomplish himself in the subject of book-keeping so that he could add that to his curriculum. This is another indication of the growing importance of the elementary side of the school's activities, and the permission given to one Binnie Elphinston (5) seamstress, to open a

- (1) K.S.R., 30/7, 1696.
- (2) Ibid 13/6, 1731.
- (3) B.R., 25/4, 1744.
- (4) K.S.M., 28/4, 1744.
- (5) B.R., 22/4, 1776.

private school for the teaching of Music, English and French shows the gradual loosening of the monopoly hitherto enjoyed by the burgh school. The Music School gradually lost its distinctive character and became an English School in purpose and name. Paterson was the last Master of the Music School and, according to a note in George Chalmer's MSS. (Edinburgh University Library), he died in 1806.⁽¹⁾

South Leith

The musical activities of Restalrig ceased at the Reformation and the good intentions of James III, IV and V came to nothing. The memory of the planned musical college remained, however, and James VI⁽²⁾ in 1586 wrote that he was aware that the Collegiate Church at Restalrig had been founded by his forefathers to sustain the art of music. He said he knew that purpose had been neglected and that music would soon die away since money given to foster the art of music had been bestowed upon persons who were neither skilled in music nor meant to qualify themselves in the art. Therefore he assigned certain emoluments to David Cumming, Master of the Sang Schule in Edinburgh, who had given satisfaction by the manner in which he had taken up the psalm gratis with the children at Holyrood. The King made earnest efforts to restore the musical activities at Restalrig, but the destruction of the Church and its

suppression as a separate charge prevented the scheme from

(1) Some of the material in the above has been taken from Professor Sanford Terry's paper on The Musick School of Old Machar, which I revised and edited for the Miscellany of the Third Spalding Club Vol 2

(2) Trans. Scottish Ecclesiological Soc. Vol 2 Pt. 2 p.273

coming to full fruition. The charge was transferred to South Leith and it may be that the Restalrig tradition accounts for the interest taken in the Sang Schule at South Leith after Restalrig was destroyed. The concern felt for the cultivation of the art is found in the Kirk Session Records. In 1610 (1), the Kirk Session sent to Aberdeen for a man who was skilled in music. This is one more evidence of the reputation of the Aberdeen Music School at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Not only was the Kirk Session concerned with the teacher but with the subjects taught and we find in 1613 (2) that it was the Kirk Session who were willing to pay 80 merks for a pair of virginals, to be the property of the Music School. The School seems to have met in King James's Hospital (3). The School, which was also known as the Vulgar School, seems to have prospered, for in 1643, an assistant was appointed (4). In so far as they would not allow a teacher to give instruction in music in his spare time (5) but ordered him to do so in the school session, they were plainly satisfied with the music tuition there. Conditions of teaching must have been cramped in all the schools of South Leith for the Grammar School in 1655 was held in a

- South Leith*
- (1) K.S.R., 6/5, 1610.
 - (2) Ibid 23/4, 1613.
 - (3) Robertson's South Leith Records, p.43.
 - (4) Ibid 23/11, 1643.
 - (5) Ibid 30/11, 1649.

loft (1) above a soap house and in 1656 (2) the Master of the Sang Schule was ordered to look out for a convenient house with a division near the Grammar School where he could teach his Vulgar and Music Schools. This shows also that the Master really had an elementary school in the two rooms. However, they paid the rent for the accommodation. In 1656 (3), George Runsiman was appointed to the Music School for vocal and instrumental music having £60 as stipend and the rent of the School. Suitable teachers were hard to obtain and the authorities at South Leith were faced with a difficulty. In 1673 the inhabitants entered a protest against having to send their children to Edinburgh for vocal and instrumental music and so the Kirk Session agreed that the fees paid for baptism, marriage and other contracts should be devoted to the payment of a music master along with the usual fees from the children for their tuition. The increased payments drew John Lyall to be an applicant for the post. The close contact between the Music and Grammar Schools (4) appeared in 1673 when the Grammar School Master agreed that the children should attend the Music School for tuition in music on Tuesdays from 11-12 and on Wednesdays and Saturdays at 2 p.m. In South Leith, as elsewhere,

- (1) K.S.R., ^{South Leith} 1/11, 1655.
 (2) Ibid 9/9, 1656.
 (3) Ibid 23/10, 1656.
 (4) Ibid 4/12, 1673.

the relations between the Grammar & Sang Schules were close.

Dundee

The post-Reformation Sang Schule in Dundee had a chequered career. The school had been sold up at the time of the Reformation and the first record we have of its restoration is in 1584, when John Williamson (1) the Master, appeared in connection with a payment for a tenement of land. Apparently Williamson had been the Master of the Hospital (2) since rent was paid for the "tenement callit the ruid land" where he taught a school. In 1609, (3) the school entered its course as an elementary school when John Mow became its Master. He was "bound to attend upon the musick school diligently, to instruct the youth of the burgh in music and also in reading and writing: to take up the psalm at the East Kirk at a salary of 200 merks along with the fees that he charged his pupils". Each scholar was to pay $13/4$ quarterly for singing; $26/8$ for instrumental music; while the youngest children were to pay only $6/8$ for reading and writing. The Council promised John Mow that in the event of his having a family, allowances would be increased. In 1612 (4) his salary was raised to 300 merks with a grant of £20 for the rent of his house and in succeeding years out of appreciation of his good work and his growing

(1) Reg. Burgh and Head Courts, 20/9, 1584

(2) B.R., Dundee, 12/7, 1603.

(3) Ibid 10/10, 1609

(4) Ibid 21/1, 1612

family he received further additions to his salary. John Mow seems to have been a good type of schoolmaster and, as evidence of the interest taken in the teaching of instrumental music, the order by the Magistrates that Mow should deliver to them a pair of virginals (1) is very significant. Apparently, the Sang Schule was conducted in John Mow's house "on the west side of the Kirkyard" for in 1636 (2), the Council agreed to rebuild it owing to its ruinous condition and allowed him an extra £10 because of the increase in his family. Mow died in 1647. He had been factor for the Bishop of Edinburgh and was so successful that in his later years he had an assistant teacher - one James Fithie (3) who helped to teach reading and was precentor in one of the parish churches. Fithie was able to lend the city one thousand merks in 1648. Mow's successor was one James Hervie (4) whose salary was augmented by the usual fees - 46/8 for music and writing; 30/- for music alone and 10/8 for writing from the children of the burgesses with higher fees from others. We can see the estimation in which the Sang Schule of Dundee was held from an entry in the Wedderburn Book (I, p. 33). John Wedderburn wrote - "I doe confirm and approve the donation of the Sang Scoll.

- (1) B.R., Dundee, 22/2, 1614.
- (2) Ibid 18/10, 1636.
- (3) Ibid 22/8, 1637.
- (4) Ibid 23/11, 1647.

I mead be vord to the honoruble magistrats of our town quhen I vos at now sen ten yeir agoe". This was written by Dr. John Wedderburn from Moravia in 1647; whether the promise was carried out or not it is difficult to say but in 1637 (1) ten years before, the Sang Schule was in such a bad state of repair that it had to be rebuilt. The school grew and the Council had to find it better quarters, so in 1650 (2) the Council decided to put "over ane gallery from the schoolroom door west of the schoolhouse wall to contein the youths of the burgh to write and sing music". General Monk's sack of the city led to the closing of the Sang Schule for a period and in 1651 (3) the school was destitute of a master. However, a master was found in George Runsiman (4) who was expert in vocal and instrumental music. He was given the highest room in the churchyard with £50 a year in addition to the usual fees. The Sang Schule building was often an occasion for complaint and in 1677 the school again fell into disrepair and caused the master grave concern not only on behalf of the children but because the damp was spoiling his musical instruments. The Council (5) at once agreed to put the property in order. Before the end of the century

(1) See supra.

(2) B.R., Dundee, 14/4, 1650.

(3) Ibid 12/2, 1651.

(4) Ibid 5/6, 1652.

(5) Ibid 6/3, 1677.

the Sang Schule began to fall into abeyance. The Master, one Alexander Keith (1), outstayed his welcome and because of his age the Council sought for a new man from Aberdeen, John Coupar, who could set up another Music School in the burgh. He received a burgess's ticket to secure him a proper standing. For some time after the beginning of the century, various men held the privilege of conducting a Sang Schule without any statement of where it should be held but with the Council's support. The music master in the words of a minute, "served the Council in that office." He kept the burgh's Music School and had the monopoly. When one Alexander Scott from St. Andrews was appointed in 1720 (2) after a strict examination he was offered £10 per annum paid by the Town Council, Guildry, Seaman's Fraternity and Hospital. He was to have from his scholars 30/- for vocal music alone and for instrumental and vocal music together £3 Scots. He had to give four hours a day for five days in the week and no other Music School was to set up as a rival. When Scott left in 1722 (3) the rigidity of the monopoly began to loosen and, since there was no one to take his place the Council permitted the precentor, Mr. David Bruce, to teach music in the burgh without salary or any assistance towards the payment of his

- (1) B.R., Dundee, 1/8, 1713.
- (2) Ibid 2/2, 1720.
- (3) Ibid 8/11, 1722.

rent. He made a poor living, however, and to aid him financially the Council allowed him 1/- for every baptism and 2/- for a marriage. After Bruce's time the monopoly dropped out. In 1727 one William Herriott, a music master, got into low water and was granted a small allowance weekly out of the Kirk Fabric Stock. One Ferdinand Shuman, a teacher of music in the burgh, craved the use of the English School for teaching music and asked for a salary. As far as music teaching in schools was concerned, the change was found in the decision of the Council in 1763 (1) to advertise for a teacher of English who understood Church music in the new method.

Montrose

(For some of the material for this sketch I am indebted to articles by John G. Low, Esq., Montrose.)

The Sang Schule at Montrose represents the type of Music School that had a close and intimate connection with the Grammar School during the greater part of its existence. In 1623, the Master of the Sang Schule claimed eight boys out of the Grammar School to assist him in the church choir, and he gained his plea on condition that he conveyed them back to school at the close of the service. There is evidence that for long the Sang Schule was conducted in a room of the Grammar School and was an elementary school of the usual type. Later, a room seems to have been found

(1) B.R., Dundee, 28/9, 1763.

elsewhere for the Sang Schule. The Master - one John Croll, from about 1620 to 1670 - was succeeded by Alexander Webster who was appointed by the Kirk Session and Town Council. He had to teach music, had to "uptake" the Psalm and keep a school for teaching young children to read, learn songs of verse and other things. His charges were fixed at 13/- quarterly for each town child and 40/- for each landward child. His successor in 1680 came from St. Giles, Edinburgh and had to present in the parish kirk, do the work of the clerk to the Kirk Session, attend to the Music School, read well both instrumental and vocal music and teach arithmetic. As was the case in other centres, political troubles were felt in educational matters and, early in the eighteenth century, the Master of the Sang Schule, John Gillies, had an assistant of Jacobite sympathies. Gillies was described as a quaint and unobtrusive person who apparently could not keep his assistant within bounds and in 1715, when the Jacobite cause became more active, the Town Council ordered the assistant to be dismissed. In 1718, Gillies complained to the Council that the Music School was ill-lit and had no chimney. So the Council broke a door through to let in light and let out the smoke. On Gillies' death in 1731 there was difficulty in securing a suitable man for the Music School. No local man seemed eligible and the

Council entered an advertisement in the Edinburgh Courant for "one well-skilled in music, vocal and instrumental and arithmetic and having a fair hand of write". The salary was £300 Scots. In spite of the salary suitable men refused the post and by 1736, the Council, following the practice of other burghs, renounced the right to continue a monopoly in the Sang Schule for music teaching in the burgh. The Council had found that people in Montrose who could afford it were sending their children to Edinburgh for their education and for tuition in music. They therefore permitted a musician called McLean to have a Music School of his own. With the advent of professional musicians and especially with the coming of Frederick Shumann who was granted a room in the public school where he could teach music, the burgh school changed its character. In 1742, its curriculum included not only arithmetic and writing, but navigation. Music fell more and more into private hands and in 1772 Thomas Hill the last Master of the Music School in Montrose died.

Edinburgh :- Sang Schule

When the Sang Schule attached to St. Giles' Collegiate Church lapsed in 1560, Sir Edward Henryson, who had been head of the Sang Schule, lost his post. The city,

however, did not lose his services as a man, for in 1562 (1) we find him engaged upon the work of "bigging up" the "stoppis" of the town dykes and on the work at St. John's Aisle and the Holy Blood Aisle at St. Giles. He sold slates (2) to the Corporation and acted as an overseer in regard to some of the burgh's mason work for which he received 12/- a week for a considerable period. The City, however, did not wait for the Act of 1579 to restore its Sang Schule. In 1574 (3) we find Henryson and his son appointed to "uptak" the psalm in St. Giles Church. How long the Sang Schule itself was closed we cannot say. There is evidence, however, that Henryson was restored to his old post in a Confirmation of Gifts (4) made by the Town Council of Edinburgh. (In 1579, his son, Gilbert (5) was allowed 25 marks for acting as precentor. Edward Henryson died in 1579 (6).) In his will there was a note that the Council owed him £41 for the "bigging" of the Sang Schule. Henryson was one of the musicians who held office before and after the Reformation and seems to have adapted himself to the new conditions without difficulty. He bequeathed a pair of monochords to his son James. Gilbert Henryson, his son, did not succeed his father in the Sang Schule, but the Council (7) made him an allowance

(1) Dean of Guild Accounts, 1562.

(2) Ibid April, 1565.

(3) K.S.R., Edin., 1574.

(4) Edinburgh Commissariat Register, app. II, 16.

(5) B.R., Edinburgh, 27/11, 1579.

(6) Charters of St. Giles, p. LXXXVIII.

(7) B.R., Edinburgh, 27/11, 1579.

for passing him by in favour of Andrew Buchan who was praised later by Edward Miller in the introduction to his Harmonized Psalter of 1635 as a fine musician. Gilbert Henryson seems to have been well thought of by the town, for in 1585 (1) the Council made him an allowance of 10 marks in recognition of his services as precentor, and permitted him to have a vulgar school of reading, writing and singing. By the terms of his agreement, Buchan was to have 20 merks as Master, 20 merks as rent of the Sang Schule building, with half a merk from each of his pupils for music quarterly. Buchan did not stay long at the burgh Sang Schule and he disappeared from notice in 1582. During Buchan's time of office we find the Town Council (2) taking action on behalf of poorer children. He had bought certain things for the bairns to play and was given £5:17: -. On another occasion, they delivered to the Master "aucht elns of bukrum of calloreis to by breikis to the bairnes at aucht shillings the eln". After Buchan, the school fell into the hands of James Henryson who died in 1585 and was succeeded by David Cuming (3) who was made Master of the principal Sang Schule of the burgh and was responsible for "uptaking" the psalm in both the High and the East Kirk. The use of the word "principal" makes it plain

- (1) B.R., Edin., 25/2, 1585/6
- (2) Treasurer's Accounts, 1581-96.
- (3) B.R., Edin., 25/2, 1585/6

that there were other music schools in Edinburgh such as that carried on by Gilbert Henryson. Cuming was head of the burgh Sang Schule attached to St. Giles. He had been assistant in the Sang Schule before 1585, and had to teach music, reading, and writing without charge to poor children. He became later Master of the Sang Schule at (1) South Leith. In 1593 (2) the Town Council enquired into the qualifications of one John Chalmers not only in the art of music and the playing of virginals, but also in reading and writing. The examination into his qualifications was left to an expert committee of whom one was a Frenchman and the other two apparently professional musicians. This committee was allowed a pint of wine and a box of comfits at a cost of 20/- as a solatium. The inclusion of reading and writing in Chalmers' qualifications indicates that the Edinburgh Sang Schule came into line with the usual Sang Schules of the time and became an elementary school. By the terms of his appointment (3) Chalmers became precentor of the High and East Kirks, at a salary of £40 per annum with a special allowance because of the "dearth". From the children of burgesses he could charge 6/8 for reading and writing; 10/- for singing; 20/- for instrumental teaching and 13/4 for teaching them descant. The inclusion of "descant" in the curriculum of a Sang

- (1) B.R., Edin., 7/4, 1585.
- (2) Ibid 23/11, 1593.
- (3) Ibid 21/12, 1593.

Schule appears no where else amongst the records of seventeenth-century Sang Schules. This was a revival of a pre-Reformation practice and it is hard to say what form the descants took. Could it be that, since the tenor carried the melody of the psalm tunes, the treble part, often called the discantus or cantus, and a sort of descant over the air was taught by heart, since no volume of printed psalm tunes in harmonized form appeared in Scotland before Raban printed one in Aberdeen in 1625. This would be the simplest form of descant for Sang Schule pupils. During Cuming's period of office, the Council decided to build a new Sang Schule (1) in the New Kirk Wynd. It took thirteen weeks to build and cost £502: 4:10. Three Henrysons in succession were Masters of the Sang Schule from 1597 to 1616. Alexander Henryson (2) controlled the school from 1597 to 1602 at a salary of £60 when he resigned in favour of his son, Samuel (3). Samuel Henryson was permitted an unusual privilege which encroached upon the prerogative of the Grammar School. He was allowed to teach the rudiments of Grammar (i.e. Latin) ⁽⁴⁾ and the first part of the authors belonging thereto. Town Councils were jealous of the privileges granted to their schools and this unusual feature in a Music School curriculum is a plain indication of the value of the Master in other

- (1) B.R., Edin., 14/3, 1594.
- (2) Ibid 10/6, 1597.
- (3) Ibid 13/7, 1602.
- (4) B.R.Edin. 11/2/1602/3

directions besides music teaching. In 1609 Samuel Henryson gave place to his brother Patrick who had been a precentor of the West Kirk in 1600 (1). He became reader, precentor and master of the Sang Schule at a stipend of 300 merks and kept office till 1616. In that year, the Music School was used for other purposes than those of music teaching, for one Archibald Simpson (2) was committed to the ward for acting as clerk to a "mutinous assembly of certain brethren of the ministrie who assembled in the Musick School of Edinburgh". The next Master of the Sang Schule was one Walter Troupe who failed to please the Town Council and in 1620, for some unknown reason, he was asked to remove from his house. His salary of 200 merks was stopped and he was told that he could support himself quite well on the payments made by his scholars.

Edinburgh had occasionally been strict with adventurous teachers who set up music schools without permission. In 1617 and 1618 several cases occurred where the monopoly of the Sang Schule of this burgh was upheld, but by the middle of this century, permission was given to several men to open music schools. The Council still regarded one Sang Schule as the principal music school but quite early in the century permitted musicians (3) to set up as

(1) B.R., Edin., 3/9, 1600.

(2) Grant's Memorials of Edinburgh Castle, p.297.

(3) B.R., Edin., 26/1, 1627 and 8/12, 1630.

(4) There is some confusion about his successor who may have been his brother Patrick.

teachers of instrumental and vocal music. In 1627, they gave leave to Charles Buccellis and in 1630 to Stephen Tillideff to open schools but they had to serve the town when they should be required to provide music. In 1662, Mrs. Christian Cleland was allowed to keep a school (1) and teach reading, writing, singing, playing, dancing and the speaking of French. In 1663, James Gib (2) was allowed to teach vocal and instrumental music. In 1657, John Skene (3) was permitted to set up a music school. Louis de France (4) applied for permission in 1675 to set up a music school and received permission from the Council. From these acts of the Town Council, it is plain that the monopoly of the Music School was steadily being broken down. Louis de France left for Aberdeen in 1675 and returned to Edinburgh in 1682 (5) when the Town Council permitted him to "set up his sign". In his application he was hopeful that the Council would give him all due encouragement for, he said, he had all the finest and newest tunes that had been sung at the French Court. He asked if the Council would pay his house rent and such a quarterly allowance as they would think fit to grant him. The Council allowed him 200 merks annually for his work.

- (1) B.R., Edin., 30/9, 1662.
- (2) Ibid 10/7, 1663.
- (3) Ibid 5/6, 1657.
- (4) Ibid 26/3, 1675.
- (5) Ibid 8/3, 1682.

He also seems to have received a *douceur* from the Faculty of
of Advocates though there is no record of what services he gave
in return. In 1687, he applied to the Town Council of Edinburgh
as Governors of Heriot's Hospital for permission to teach the boys
boys church music in four parts so that a "competent number may
be able to attend the several precenters in the churches of
Edinburgh to assist and bear up the true melody of the four
parts of the psalms." He appears to have left Edinburgh in
1687 when the Town Council of Glasgow invited him to teach music
in their city. Other foreign musicians taught in Edinburgh
towards the end of the 17th century. Henry Crumden was a harpsi-
-chord player and the promoter of the first concert in Edinburgh
of which we any record. Jacques de Canton was allowed 300 marks yearly
and 100 marks for teaching the children of Heriot's Hospital after
Louis' departure. It has not been possible to discover when the
Edinburgh burgh Sang Schule lapsed but from the number of music
teachers in the Capital it is plain that parents in Edinburgh and
elsewhere favoured those musicians who had sang schules of their
own.

Ayr

The burgh of Ayr had a sang schule from 1583 onwards. In 1602
The girls attending the Grammar School were transferred to the
Sang Schule for reading and writing "besaus it is not se melie th
that sic lassies suld be in the Grammar Schule amangis laidis"

- (1) *Analecta Scotica* 11 p262
(2) B.R.Edin.24/8/1687
(3) B.R.Ayr (S.H.S.)
(4) B.R.Ayr 4/5/1602

Haddington

In 1583 (1), the Town Council "understanding how necessary it is to have ane sang scole and for the obeying of Parliament fee John Buchan to serve in the office of Master of the Sang Schule". In 1610 (2), a new master was appointed "for teiching baith men and bairnis to sing and play upon virginallis, lute, gutherie and sic instrumentis whereupon he can play". He was to take up the psalm in the Kirk and in the Grammar School and also to teach reading and writing. This is one of the few occasions where reference is made to the Act of Parliament of 1579: it is the only instance so far met with when "men" were to be taught and the lute and gutherie (cittern) are unusual instruments to find amongst those taught in a Sang Schule. Further, the connection with the Grammar School suggests that music at this time was the first concern of this Sang Schule even if reading and writing were also part of the curriculum. In 1728 the master taught hautboy, flute and bass-viol and in 1733, the burgh had a singing master for its provost.

Musselburgh

With Dunfermline and Elgin, Musselburgh owed its Sang Schule to royal patronage. James VI made provision for the rent of both Grammar and Sang Schules. The

(1) B.R., Haddington, 16/6, 1583.

(2) Ibid 31/12, 1610.

minister at the time of its foundation was Andrew Blackhall, one of the musicians associated with Thomas Wood in the compilation of the St. Andrews Psalter of 1566, and it may have been Blackhall's reputation that was responsible for the King's act. A statement in the "General Assembly Enquiry" of 1627, is enlightening and shows the chequered career of the School. "Thair is ane musick schoole in Musselburgh quhair unto umquhile King James quha lait deceissit of worthie memorie giftet 300 merks money furth of the yeirlie dewtie of the erectet lordschip of Newbotle. This pensum was given by the umquhile Kingis Majestie to umquhile Mr. Andro Blackhall, minister for the tyme at the said Kirke of Musselburgh and to his sone Andro Blackhall present minister at Aberlady to the use and behove of the said Musicke School and the said Mr. Andro his sone sauld and disponit the said pensionn sua that the parochine and the schools is frustrat of his Majesties gift". The best that can be said of the younger Blackhall is that he had not his father's gift for and love of music.

From the brief accounts of various Sang Schules we see that they were not all to one pattern. Aims vary in different quarters but a general purpose informs the recording of all the Sang Schules and that was the provision of some musical education, vocal, instrumental and theoretical. After all the initial aims of the Sang Schules were high and if they fell short of their high endeavour, they were not without their merits in a tale of faithful and useful service.

There remains one aspect of our Scottish music of the 17th century to be considered. We have seen that the only original Scottish music before 1600, which has come down to us, is of a sacred character and that we have hardly a scrap of secular music extant that belongs to the 16th or earlier centuries. The names of popular Scottish songs and dances appear frequently in the literature of the time but of the music itself we know nothing, until we study the written musical records of the 17th century. No Scottish music appeared in print until the following century and for this and other reasons these 17th and early 18th centuries deserve a careful study as far as wartime conditions permit for in the M.S.S. of that period we find the music of songs and dances bearing the names of pieces mentioned in the literature of the previous century and also the earliest forms of many airs familiar to us today.

In most cases, I was able to examine the 17th century M.S.S. before the war, to copy many of the instrumental and vocal pieces and to translate into modern notation many of the airs found in lute, viol and cittern tablatures. In a separate volume will be found about 200 airs taken from the M.S.S. or from printed collections of the early 18th century that are difficult of access.

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