

LECTURE V.

THE Church of Columba was destined, ere three centuries had seen the summer's sun shine on his island sanctuary and heard the winter's storm howl above his tomb, to lose those unique characteristics whose outlines we have traced. The Roman influence, with its external uniformities, its prelacy, its cold disregard of national individuality, was destined, following up its success at Whitby, to advance northward from its Anglican headquarters, and to gain a mastery, first in the regions where Kentigern's evangelisation had laid the foundations of the Church; in Lothian and the south-east, where Cuthbert had lived and laboured; and later, throughout the whole of Alban. That influence, essentially the same under its successive manifestations, from these early days down to the "Oxford movement" of the nineteenth century, has always reached our country from the south of the Tweed. On its

first invasion, it found elements of weakness in the Scottish Church which lent themselves to its triumph. The monastic system, under which the Church had developed that high ideal of which I have spoken, was unable to adapt itself effectively to the changes that began to affect the civil and social condition of the people. It lacked the coherence and the power that come from unity.

It is during the period in which this defect becomes most noticeable, that we mark the frequent recurrence of a name which has been the subject of much antiquarian interest, and the theme of much learned debate—"the Culdees." It has afforded a kind of battle-ground for the discussion of prolonged arguments as to whether Presbytery or Episcopacy was the original form of Scottish Church government. The dispute loses its interest when we discover that neither of them, as we understand them now, had anything to do with that government. The Columban Church knew nothing of diocesan bishops on the one hand, or of kirk-sessions and presbyteries on the other; and the Culdees throw no light whatever on the question of the relative merits of Presbytery and Episcopacy, or of their relation to the Scottish Church. As to the signification of the name itself there is a controversy, I suppose still surviving — for such

controversies tend to become interminable—as to whether it means *servus Dei* or *cultor Dei*. In the English and Irish records we find the latter idea predominate; the word used in these being *colideus*, from *colo* and *Deus*, and reproducing the classic phrase, as we know it, for example, in Horace's "parcus deorum cultor et infrequens." Hector Boece and George Buchanan in their histories followed this example, shortening the word into *Culdeus*, whence the common form Cul-dee. But in the old Scottish records it wears a different garb: it is there "*keledeus*"—the *kele* representing not the Latin *colo*, but the Celtic *kelei*, a servant, and meaning therefore not *cultor Dei*, a worshipper of God, but *servus Dei*, a servant of God; or, as some render the phrase, a spouse of God. This seems the preferable etymology, not only because it is reasonable to suppose that a name familiar to a Celtic people, and popularly designating persons well known among them, is more likely to be derived from a Gaelic than from a Latin etymon; but because the word conveys, more exactly than its classical counterpart, the idea which suggested its use. *Cultor Dei* was a general term which might be applied to any worshipper of God; but *servus Dei* had a specific meaning which was only appropriated to a certain class of worshippers. That class was composed of those who followed the anchorite life.

The caves of the Scottish "deserts" and the beehive cells, the remains of which may still be seen in Eilean Naomh and other Hebridean isles, bear witness to the long survival, in the West, of the mode of religious life which had travelled thither from the East. They are the memorials of the same idea that animated the oriental hermits, and peopled with these devotees the Nitrian solitudes and the Vale of Meteora. Such was the exaggerated value attributed to this species of religious seclusion and self-discipline, that in the heyday of the monastic enthusiasm "*servire Deo*" meant to forsake the world and enter the cell or the cloister. Thus the Pictish Chronicle, wishing to state the fact that in his latter days King Constantine withdrew from public life and joined a fraternity of Culdees, says, "In senectute decrepitus baculum cepit, et *Domino servivit.*" The statement "*servivit Domino*" was equivalent to saying (at that date) that he became a Culdee. It was the highest — the ideal — form of service of God. The earliest instances in which we find the name employed in Scotland are in Jocelin's Life of Kentigern, where the term Keledei is used to describe a religious society of men (altogether, observe, unconnected with Iona) living together, each in his separate cell, under a common superior. There was, he says (though the fact

is doubtful), such a society at Glasgow in Kentigern's time.

Such societies were not peculiar to the Celtic Church, whether in Ireland or Scotland. They were more or less known in Ireland, in Southern Britain, and throughout the continent of Europe. On the Continent, however, their position differed from that of the societies in Ireland and Scotland. In the system of the Roman Church monasticism—whatever its special type—was an organisation within the Church, but in subordination to a hierarchy of secular clergy—*i.e.*, of clergy who were not necessarily monks, and who derived their authority from an ecclesiastical and not a monastic source. In Ireland and Scotland monasticism was not a mere feature of the Church, or an institution within it. The Church was wholly monastic, and governed on monastic principles. There was thus the stronger tendency, on the part of any religious body, to draw together in a kind of monastic association, as did the Culdees, who were what we may call mere voluntaries or independents, clerics under no monastic vow or rule, and yielding no allegiance to Iona or any other recognised authority. It was inevitable, therefore, in these circumstances, that as Roman influence grew, and the rule of an episcopal hierarchy began to be urged as the

only canonical government of the Church, the most zealous efforts on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities, who looked to Rome as their metropolis, should be directed to the reduction of the solitaries and cœnobites to canonical conformity. A rule, or canon, of this conformity was first elaborated by Chrodigang, Bishop of Metz, in 747, who founded the institution of what were called "secular canons," or clergymen, who, though not monks, should observe a rule which might bring their lives into a closer uniformity with each other, and a more orderly agreement with one model than hitherto. The hermits and cœnobites of Ireland—who, like their Scottish brethren, it must be remembered, were not necessarily monks of any regular order, although adopting a monastic mode of life—accepted the rules of Chrodigang, or others of a similar character, early in the ninth century; and about the same time, or a little later, these were introduced into Scotland, and were, presumably, adopted by many, if not most, of the Culdees. We find Wyntoun, the Prior of Lochleven, designating the Keledei by the name of "secular canons," indicating thereby that, though not monks of a regular order, they had adopted the canons of Chrodigang.

We may conclude, therefore, that the title Culdee, which originally and strictly described

the hermit, or solitary, who resorted to the desert, or its nearest equivalent the lonely island or remote glen, to live there the ascetic life, was applied also later to the cœnobite, who associated himself with others in their effort to live out of and above the world, and continued to be so applied after these cœnobites had been brought so far into line with the secular priesthood as to accept the secular canons, and had in fact become what we should call, popularly, *Clergymen*. In later days the name was used with considerable latitude, as applicable alike to the solitary or the cœnobite; to the regular or the secular; but, however employed, it seems always to have had some reference to the hereditary connection or tradition of the person whom it designated, marking him as one who had a sympathy with the distinctive Columban methods and usages, as differentiated from those of Rome,—with the Celtic race and type, as opposed to the Saxon and Norman.

The existence of these Culdees in organised societies of their own, and their expressly religious or clerical character, were, after the expulsion of the Columban monks from Pictland, taken advantage of by the founders of churches in order to provide ministers for the necessary services. Mylne, a canon of Dunkeld, in his *Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld*, states that King Constantine,

the founder, placed in that church religious men who were popularly called Keledei, otherwise Colidei; and these, he intimates, conducted the services of the church. He also mentions that, like the priests of the Oriental Church, they were married men—another point which emphasises the practical divergence between the Celtic Church and the Church of Rome; for though celibacy was not absolutely imposed upon the clergy till the second Lateran Council in 1139, it was regarded in the Roman Church as an all but essential element in its discipline and order. The old Celtic idea and practice were much less rigorous; and the many Scottish patronymics, which attest a clerical or Culdee descent, bear no stigma of illegitimacy. Indeed, had any disgrace been associated with these names, they would never have been assumed. Thus we have M'Nab, the son of the abbat; M'Briar, the son of the prior; M'Taggart, the son of the priest; M'Kellar, the son of the superior; M'Vicar, the son of the vicar; M'Pher-son, the son of the parson; M'Anaspie, the son of the bishop; M'Clery, the son of the clerk; and, more suggestive than any of an origin in Culdee times, M'Gilchrist, the son of the "ghillie" of Christ.

This fact of the married life of the Culdees, however, marks the distinct difference between them

and the early members of the Columban orders, among whom celibacy was the rule. But the Culdee, although a Celt and traditionally attached to the usages of Iona, and bearing a name which had at first signified a specially ascetic and un-domestic life, had not preserved the asceticism in its original force and purity. Nor was there for the Culdees any one great centre and authoritative Scottish standard of monasticism, to which they could refer or submit themselves, even had they wished. Iona had been despoiled and its community broken up. Dunkeld had never gained the same spiritual ascendancy that had belonged to the seat of the first great abbat. The supremacy which Columba had exercised was now little more than a tradition. In a country almost wholly Christianised there was not the old call for heroic missionary enterprise; and there was no one great spiritual leader, to gather round him a monastic family and to evoke the enthusiasm of his followers. The marriage of the clergy (for, as I have said, we may call the Culdees by that name) had, in one respect, a disintegrating effect on the discipline and on the endowments of the Church. It tended to create a set of hereditary clerics who, for convenience' sake or motives of family advantage, rather than in virtue of personal qualifications, handed on their incumbencies from

father to son, and assumed office without "spiritual collation," and at the institution of a lay patron. It tended equally to the alienation of ecclesiastical property, as the hands of the family at large could not always be kept off the possessions, which ought to have descended with the title or cure.

The state of St Andrews in S. Margaret's day will serve as an example of what was common throughout the Culdee churches. The old endowments of the monastery founded there by King Angus were in lay hands. The "oblations of the altar," as the offerings and dues of the Church were called, were divided among several persons, of whom one was the "Epscop Alban," Bishop of Alban; some were married officials, apparently laymen; and the services of the church, such as they were, were performed by a prior and twelve canons cleric, or Culdees, who held their benefices by hereditary right, or "carnal succession," as the phrase went. The religious persons, who at first had formed in their association a priestly or clerical caste, with a profession of superior unworldliness and piety, had degenerated to a caste of another sort—of persons who seem to have traded on their religious character, in order to support their families. The degeneracy was the natural result of lack of strict control and absence of central authority, and of

the obligation to regular and continuous duty. It was a natural result in a Celtic community.

The Celtic Church was stamped with the Celtic character, which is full of noble daring, of visionary fervour, of capacity for personal devotion and self-sacrifice; but is rarely equal to sustained exertion—prone in solitude and ease to lapse into indolence and content—requiring the stimulus of rivalry with others, or the pressure of a master's will, to rouse it to systematic labour. The Celt, left to himself, is apt to become indifferent to progress, and lives rather in the memory of the past than in the activities of the present. If he is deprived of his leader—be the leader his priest or his chief—his strength and energy are sapped. The Celtic race is possessed more strongly, perhaps, than any other, by what we may call the patriarchal instinct. If you would sway a Celt, you must appeal to him through his chief, or leader. Him he will follow when he will follow none else. He will go with the family or the clan whither it goes: he will obey the word of the head of the family or the clan, whatever it command him. The monastic system appealed to this instinct. The monastery—like that of Clonard in Ireland, or of S. David in Wales, or of Iona—was the home of a great religious family, at the head of which stood the abbat. They came and went at his command: now he led

them forth in person to some strath or island, specially dangerous or desolate, as when Columba made his way to the court of the pagan Brude, or landing from his coracle faced the wild boar of Skye; now he remained behind to show hospitality and preach the Word, in their absence, and to pray for their safeguard from the perils that beset the heralds of the Cross. In many cases the authority of the abbats had the twofold sanction of ecclesiastical pre-eminence and personal rank. Several of them, like Columba himself—such as Fillan, Cormac, Modan, and others—were of princely lineage, and added the claim of hereditary rank to the dignity of spiritual chieftainship.

The Abbat of Iona was the Primate of Scotland, because he was the spiritual chief of the Celts. The other abbats, under that primacy, were, each, the spiritual chieftains of their monasteries, and of the regions around these. The monks were under them like a regiment under its commander, ready to go anywhere or do anything at his command. But when the commander had fallen, or had gone away, or no longer personally led them, the regiment fell into lax and careless ways. The old *esprit de corps* and its accompanying loyalty and irresistible energy were gone. We see this illustrated in the fortunes of the Church in those times in which the Culdees were most

numerous, and had gained prominence in the Church. They were times of slow decadence and gradual disorganisation, alike in the old monastic foundations and in the Culdee communities. The old fire had burnt out. The Church wanted *solidarité*, and union within itself. The solitary instance of united action on its part, in the Council of Scone, appears to have originated not with the Culdees or the monks, but with the temporal monarch on the one hand and the head of the gradually advancing body of secular clergy on the other—the king and the Bishop of Alban. The Celtic Church was drooping just because it was Celtic—because it lacked nerve and energy to grapple with the religious wants of a rapidly developing nationality—because it clung to the form of its old monastic methods, after these had lost their spirit and had ceased to be effective, and when the tribal and local peculiarities on which they were based, and to which in earlier times they had been well adapted, were year by year being absorbed in the forms, if not of a higher, yet of a more comprehensive, civilisation.

The religion of Scotland, in fact, instead of owing purity and vigour to the Culdees, was stagnating around their settlements, and was in danger of permanent decay, when God's providence brought into our country a fresh and reviving influence, under which that religion was

to recover some, at least, of its former vitality and to renew its life, though the life was to flow in new channels, and to develop under an organisation to which it had not hitherto adapted itself. This change and revival came about towards the end of the eleventh century, and is associated with the saintly name of Margaret, Queen of Malcolm Canmohr.

Out of the mists of legend and fable that lie thick over the heights and levels of that distant era rises, with exceptional distinctness, the figure of Malcolm Canmohr — Malcolm with the big head—the son of “the gracious Duncan.” He was but a child at the date of his father’s assassination by Macbeth; and many years passed ere time brought about revenge and restitution. Duncan was slain in the year 1040: Malcolm was crowned at Scone on the festival of S. Mark, in April 1057.

The kingdom was beginning to consolidate, though it was yet but limited and disorderly, bounded on the south by lines equivalent to those of the present Border, but on the north and west encroached upon by the petty territories of turbulent earls and mormaers, who maintained an unruly and pugnacious independence. Malcolm discerned the weakness and danger which must threaten both kingdom and dynasty from these restless neighbours; and set himself to reduce

their strength, while he concentrated and enlarged the power of the Crown. At the same time, he welcomed to his dominions the exiles whom the strifes and intrigues of the Saxons, and afterwards the advance of the conquering Normans, drove to seek refuge beyond the Tweed. Nor did he fail to take the opportunity, afforded by the intestine troubles of Northumbria, to push his frontier southwards. The region between the Humber and the Tweed was the theatre of perpetual turmoil and bloodshed, amid which Saxon, Dane, Norman, and Scot dealt indiscriminate ravage and slaughter. The victory of Hastings gave Norman William no secure hold over this ill-used debatable land; and it was again and again wasted by Danish piracy, Northumbrian insurrection, and Scottish foray.

On one of his inroads Malcolm met his future queen, as she waited with her disinherited family at Wearmouth, for a fair wind to carry them out of the kingdom her brother had lost. The Scottish king offered the royal fugitives an asylum within his dominions. They had thought of retiring to Hungary, where Edgar's father had found shelter during the tyranny of Canute, and where he and his sisters had been brought up; but they accepted Malcolm's promise of a nearer refuge, and agreed to come to Scotland.

The result was their arrival, by-and-by, at Dun-

fermline; and finally, Malcolm's asking the Saxon princess to share his throne. Her brother was, against the advice of his friends, averse to her marrying the Scottish king, and at first she recoiled from it herself. She had seen enough of the stormy and distracted world, with its factions and battles, intrigues and murders. Young as she was, she had known the peril and bitterness of exile, of war, of homelessness, of disinheritance, of flight from enemies by land and sea. After all the restless tumult and confusion, the only note of peace was rung in her memory by the convent bells of Hungary. She and her sister made up their minds to seek the calm haven of the Church. Her sister, Christina, carried out her purpose and became the "bride of Christ"; but another destiny was reserved for Margaret. After a brief delay, she yielded to Malcolm's suit. The wedding was celebrated at Dunfermline with all the magnificence which the unrefined Scottish Court could display. This was in the year 1070; Margaret was about twenty-four years of age, and Malcolm some ten years older. They took up their abode at the King's Tower, which was enlarged and beautified, and of which a broken fragment still may be seen within the demesne of Pittencrieff. And from this "city set on a hill"—this stronghold of "grey Dunfermline"—the light of Margaret began to shine,

graciously and beneficently, over her husband's realm.

Like all good women, she first shed her influence on her own home. Malcolm lived among his rugged chiefs, with little of the grace or culture of a Court about him or his retainers. Hard fighting and rough living were more familiar to them than domestic quiet or social intercourse. Even the king, though he could speak both the Latin and Saxon tongues, could neither read nor write.

Into this rude and churlish circle Margaret, like a second Una, brought the unconscious charm of her own purity, piety, and refinement. Her religion was the ruling principle of her life; and it was not with her, as it was with the later queen, whose name alone has left a deeper mark on Scottish annals, a ritual and a policy—it was a force, a passion. It was in most of its outward features very different from the religion of our day, which has, perhaps, lost as much in spiritual intensity as it has gained in intellectual breadth. Her love of relics, and special devotion to the jewelled crucifix, with its shred of the true cross, which accompanied her from Hungary, and which was revered for generations in Scotland as the "Black Rood"; her washing and kissing the feet of the poor; her night-long vigils in the church, "herself assisting at triple matins—of the Trinity,

of the Cross, and of S. Mary—and afterwards repeating the Psalter, with tears bedewing her raiment, and upheaving her breast,”—these bear to us, whose theory and practice are less rigorous and more “enlightened,” an aspect of almost superstitious zeal. We are tempted to think of her, as of S. Elizabeth of Hungary, as a morbid devotee: yet the religion thus expressed was of the sincerest and most self-sacrificing character, and fitted to impress the spirit of the age, as no less demonstrative devotion could have impressed it. It wrought upon the bold and generous nature of the king like a humanising spell. Fearless and warlike in the field, and ready as ever to encounter the foe, he set the example in his palace of the decorous and charitable life of a Christian knight. The home of the king of Scotland, under her influence, began for the first time to wear the aspect, never afterwards lost, of the residence, not of a mere chief amidst his retainers, but of a feudal sovereign, surrounded by the chivalry of a settled and polished Court.

In two wide spheres beyond the palace gates the influence of Margaret was soon recognised as “quick and powerful.” These were the national policy and the Church.

* As regarded the first of these, the two principles she held by were industry and order. It is somewhat difficult after more than seven cen-

turies to distinguish, with exactness, between the measures of Margaret and those of her illustrious and like-minded son David, but we are tolerably certain that the spirit which originated the policy that was carried to its completion by the son was the mother's; and that he, like his father, had learned the truth of the old Saxon belief that "something divine dwelt in the counsels of woman"—and especially of this one woman. While Malcolm strove to consolidate the royal power and to extend the area in which it was supreme, Margaret invited the settlement within that area of her own countrymen, and others from foreign lands, whose industry and skill stimulated those of the natives, and gradually raised the character and the value of Scottish produce and handicraft. She did all that royal patronage could do to encourage traders from Continental ports to visit Scotland. To the impetus thus given to commerce and manufactures is directly referable the growth of those burghs and guilds, to which David afterwards granted charters, and which became the nursing mothers of traffic and enterprise, of civil liberty and popular rights.

Although the formal and regular administration of justice and the construction of a code of laws were, in Margaret's day, still but promises of the future, the idea of them was familiar to her love

of order and of peace; and here, too, David was afterwards able to realise the prophetic visions of his mother. We trace to her the beginning and suggestion of the great popular movement, if we may so call it, which by degrees was to substitute the robust and practical civilisation of the Anglo-Saxon for the more visionary and graceful culture of the Celt; to introduce, among the less coherent elements of national life in Scotland, the Norman system of organisation and of feudal interdependence; and thus out of the cluster of tribes and races over which Malcolm's predecessors had held uncertain sway, to form one homogeneous nation. All this, perfected by David, was commenced by Margaret.

It was, however, as a Church reformer Margaret achieved her greatest work.

The Whitby Conference, from which Colman of Lindisfarne retreated indignantly to Iona, had committed the Anglo-Saxon Church to the discipline and unity of Rome. The Church in Scotland remained true to the traditions of Columba, and long continued to exhibit the Celtic characteristics with which his apostolic force and fervour had imbued it at the first. As Margaret's era approaches, we see the Church still Celtic in character, though more tinged than of old with Roman ideas and practices, and materially strengthened by the possession of substantial

endowments. The centres of such religious life and light as existed were beside the Culdee colleges or convents—at St Andrews, Lochleven, Monymusk, Abernethy, Dunkeld, Dunblane, and elsewhere. But the clergy had fallen behind the age. Isolated from the general interests and movements of the Church Catholic, the Scottish Church, which has in its later age been so often rent with schisms, then stood in peril of the sectarianism of tribal and local rivalries, and the blight of an unenlightened provincialism. Usage was lax—authority was vague—life was indolent—thought was unproductive. Not only the Church but religion was in danger, and Margaret set herself to the task of reformation.

One might have expected that the zeal of a queenly devotee would have shown itself in lavish endowments, or benefactions to the clergy. But Margaret and her husband did comparatively little for the Church, in the way of bestowing worldly goods. Her love of the Church and religion was manifested in a more thoughtful way than in mere buildings and gifts. The richer a corrupt Church is, the more infectious grows the corruption. Margaret knew she might leave the endowing of the Church to her children, if she helped to make it worthy of their love and care. Her concern was to reform its usages, and to regulate its orders into harmony with the dis-

cipline of Rome. She began with the practical point of erroneous usage. As perhaps was natural in a female reformer, questions of mere ritual were dealt with as earnestly as those of deeper moral meaning. One of her most solemn conferences with the clergy was occupied with the discussion of the right day for beginning the austerities of Lent—in the practice of which the queen was rigidly scrupulous. The king acted as interpreter between her and the Celtic clergy, who knew no Saxon, and for no less than three days “did she employ the sword of the Spirit in combating their errors.” “Often,” says Turgot enthusiastically, “have I heard her, with admiration, discourse of subtle questions of theology in presence of the most learned men of the kingdom.” So gifted a royal disputant was certain to prevail, and Margaret’s three days’ debate ended in her persuading the clergy to forsake the ancient usage, and to adopt that which Rome had introduced about two hundred years before, of beginning Lent on Ash Wednesday, instead of on the Monday following Quadragesima Sunday.

The Lord’s Day had come to be little regarded. The people went about their work and their pleasure on that day as on any other day of the week. The queen remonstrated and urged, until the day was kept with decent propriety, as a day of rest and of religious observance. In Columba’s time

the "Dies Dominica" was observed as a day of special religious services; but Saturday was still regarded, as by the Jews, as the day of rest—the Sabbath. Thus Columba on the day before his death said, "This day is called the Sabbath; and indeed it is to me a Sabbath, for it is the last day of my laborious life." This usage no doubt accounted for the practice of using Sunday, except as regarded its public solemnities, like any other day, for work or pleasure.

Superstitions about the Lord's Supper, which linger in the Highlands to this day,¹ were rife among the Celtic priests. Some would not celebrate the holy sacrament at all, on the plea of dreading to communicate unworthily. They quoted to Margaret S. Paul's warning against so communicating. "If none but the worthy are to partake," said the queen, "then no one dare, for no one is sinless." Her arguments at this point too prevailed; as also in inducing the clergy to abandon (so at least we gather from Turgot's language) most of those national peculiarities in which theirs differed from the Roman, which to her was the type of the perfect, ritual. The loose system of marriage also felt her correcting hand;

¹ In the Synod of the Free Church of Sutherland and Caithness the Free Church minister at Dornoch stated that in his congregation of 1200 there were only 100 communicants.—'North Star,' 16th April 1896.

and it was no longer possible for a man to wed his stepmother, his brother's widow, or within the like prohibited degrees, as hitherto.

Reforms such as these, touching so closely ecclesiastical usage and domestic life, must have been as difficult as they were necessary, and called for no common firmness, wisdom, and tact, in their execution. But what Margaret, as a Church-woman, most desired was to do for the Scottish what Wilfrid had done for the Anglo-Saxon Church—to release it from the Columban tradition, and to complete its union with Rome. The lax orders of the Culdees were letting Church property slip away to secular use and possession. The absence of recognised authority was engendering an easy and worldly mode of life. Norman feudalism was close at hand, ready to “grip greedily” the abbey or convent lands, which had lapsed or were lapsing to laymen. The old tribal episcopacy, or the jurisdiction of the Columban abbats, was incapable of ruling a Church into which Saxon and Norman ideas had begun to penetrate. The queen's plan for keeping the ecclesiastical property together, and for providing a regulated government in the Church, for the security both of discipline and faith, was to weld it into the “Catholic” unity, at the head of which stood the successor of S. Peter. Moreover, under a monarchy which, year by year, was surrounding itself

more formally with the orderly gradations of rank associated with feudalism and chivalry, a reverend hierarchy tended to lend greater dignity to society and support to the throne than the simple grades of the Culdee communities. Not improbably, besides all this, Margaret, like most pious women, had that secret love and reverence for spiritual authority, which delights in exalting its possessors. Educated too, as she had been, in Hungary, and not unfamiliar with English life, she could not fail to see how widespread and how potent was the influence of the Roman hierarchy and system. Roman ecclesiasticism was destined to mould and govern the Western Churches for the next four hundred years, and Margaret was determined that Scotland should be weaned from its Celtic isolation. Neander laments the sacrifice of local freedom involved in universal submission to the central power; but the loss, she believed, would be compensated by the more uniform order and discipline—the healthier energy—the wider sympathy and community of interest, which were attained by union.¹

It is noticeable that in her conferences with the clergy, and advocacy of reforms, Margaret never hints at any irregularity in their orders. This is

¹ Turgot's Life of Margaret, in the 'Acta Sanctorum,' is reprinted in Dr Metcalfe's edition of Pinkerton's 'Lives of the Scottish Saints,' 1889.

the more remarkable because, both in Hungary and in England, she may very probably have heard doubts expressed as to the apostolic character of the Scotie missionaries and itinerant bishops, and the validity of ordinances as administered in their Church. But if she did, she had too much common-sense to give weight to them. She accepted the ministry of the Church as she found it, though she strove to effect changes in it, as she thought, for the better. At the same time, she showed her veneration for the memory of Columba by rebuilding the monastery of Iona, which the Danes had burnt; and her respect for the true type of the secluded life, where that still survived, in its purity, either in the single cell or the cœnobite group, by kindly and pious intercourse with many of the solitaries, visiting them in their retreats, and bestowing a grant of land on the Culdee fraternity of Lochleven. She was no fanatic, no revolutionary, no irrational prelatist.

The change which she initiated was, however, a vital change; but it was effected without violence, or any visible break in the coherence of the Church's life. There was no forcible revolution—rather we may say, the Church glided out of its sequestered Celticism into the broad stream of Western Romanism, without any rupture of its continuity or erasure of its nationality. For

by this time the force of the Celtic element in the life of Scotland had begun to run low. But for the changes that were modifying the character of the people, the queen could never have initiated the changes that were wrought in the character and constitution of the Church. The ecclesiastical and the national life developed together, and in harmony. The Church lost its distinctively Celtic character, which had prevailed for more than four hundred years, simultaneously with the people. The immigration, first of Saxon and then of Norman fugitives, who sought in Scotland shelter from the Conqueror's tyranny, infused new elements of race and character into the nation, hitherto predominantly Celtic. The invasion was a peaceful one: the ecclesiastical revolution that accompanied it was peaceful too. Dioceses were erected, and the rule of the diocesan bishop took the place of that of the abbat. In some cases, as at Dunkeld, the abbat became the bishop. The old Celtic monasteries, which had dwindled down and in some cases been supplanted or succeeded by Culdee settlements, were gradually replaced by regular fraternities, all of foreign origin, into which the members of the ancient order were, in some cases, quietly absorbed—to which, in others, they yielded only after long conflict of claim and jurisdiction. The formation of parishes accompanied and followed that of dioceses; and en-

dowment supplemented parochial division. The Church thus became territorial instead of tribal; episcopal instead of abbatial: it began to own large property in the soil. Above all, it was no longer Celtic in usage and tradition, but Roman. By the end of the thirteenth century the old line of Celtic kings closed in Alexander, and the ecclesiastical transformation was complete. In its rites, doctrines, and government, the Church was much the same as all others that embraced the unity of Rome; although the supremacy of the Pope was hotly disputed by the Scottish kings, and at last only admitted in a fashion, as a protection against the worse evil of the supremacy claimed by the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, each of whom would fain have included Scotland in his province.

The transformation, however, was gradual, and proceeded mainly under the influence of Margaret's sons Alexander and David,—the latter being especially zealous—the profusion of his benefactions earning, as we know, the pithy epithet from one of his less devoted successors, of “a sair sanct for the crown.”

Fothad, the last Celtic “Epscop Alban,” died in the same year as Queen Margaret; but it was not till fourteen years afterwards (1107) that Alexander saw his way to nominate, for the vacant office, his mother's confessor and bio-

grapher, Turgot, Prior of Durham. We are told Turgot was "the choice of the king, the clergy, and the people," though it does not appear how their respective rights were exercised. By the clergy were, no doubt, meant the Culdees, still holding their ground at St Andrews, whom it was the royal policy to conciliate as far as possible. By the people little more can be meant than some such representation of the general opinion as was obtainable on the spot; but this recognition of the people here, as on the previous occasion of the Council at Scone, is significant as showing that in those early days the sacerdotal theory of what constitutes a Church had not established itself in Scotland. The idea of the Church was popular, not clerical; and the right of the people to a share in its management, and their assent to measures affecting its welfare, were respected by the authorities both of Church and State. This and the strongly national sentiment both of clergy and laity stand out, as characteristics marking the Church of the twelfth century as distinctly as that of the nineteenth.

The election of Turgot involved the question of the national independence of the Scottish Church. The Bishop of York, on the strength of certain passages in Pope Gregory's commission to Augustine of Canterbury, claimed that the Bishop of St Andrews, under which title Turgot was to

be consecrated, should be one of his suffragans. Alexander refused to concede the claim; the Anglican bishop refused to withdraw it. There were no bishops in Scotland able, according to the now accepted Roman theory, to impart a valid consecration. The king found himself in an embarrassing dilemma; and it was finally agreed that Turgot should be consecrated, without prejudice either to the claims of York or the independence of Scotland. Consecrated he was accordingly at York on 1st August 1109, and thus began that succession of bishops of St Andrews in communion with the Church of Rome which was to last for over four centuries. The date marks the definite line of demarcation between the old Celtic Church and the Scoto-Roman, into which it was now absorbed—the same Church, but under different conditions. From the landing of Columba in Iona in 563 to this consecration of Turgot was 546 years; from the consecration of Turgot to the adoption of the Reformed Confession in 1560 was 451 years, the Celtic epoch of the Church thus exceeding the Roman by almost a century.

A similar Anglican demand was advanced when King David founded the bishopric of Glasgow. This too was claimed as suffragan by York, and the claim was again refused. Papal sanction was added to these English

aggressions by a bull of Pope Adrian's, who, in the second year after David's death, charged all the holders of the bishoprics the king had founded to submit to the primacy of York. Not one of them obeyed except the Bishop of Whitherne. The see of Whitherne, owing to its intimate civil connection with England, was regarded as an allowable exception. Probably in recognition of the fact that so stubborn and independent a nationality as that of the Scots was not likely to be coerced, a subsequent Pope, Clement III., in the year 1188 addressed a bull to William the Lion, putting an end to all these Anglican assumptions, and declaring that the Church of Scotland was the "daughter of Rome by special grace, and immediately subject to her."

The right of primacy was asserted by Rome over all the national Churches, and as a rule was tacitly—if not overtly—admitted in the West; but it did not necessarily interfere with their national independence, nor did it impose any of the irritating restrictions, which subordination to a primate in a neighbouring, yet foreign, country would inevitably imply. At a subsequent date, in 1471, the Pope issued a bull erecting St Andrews into a metropolitan see, with the primacy of all Scotland.

The Pope had come to be regarded as the

source of ecclesiastical honour and jurisdiction, and therefore entitled to arrange such matters. His intervention also, as the general arbiter of Christendom, in the decision of questions like those between York and St Andrews, was not resented as an invasion of the rights of the parties interested. It practically served the purpose of a modern arbitration in an international difficulty. But the Pope's interference in the internal affairs of a national Church or State was not so readily acquiesced in, and no nation exhibited less disposition to bow to papal authority than the Scots; or perhaps it would be more accurate to say, no nation showed more determination to maintain its independence, both civil and ecclesiastical. The acknowledgments of the Pope's authority which Scotland, no doubt, made on certain occasions (as when during the disastrous invasion of Edward I. an embassy was despatched to Rome to entreat the mediation of the Holy Father, and was instructed to plead that the kingdom was a fief of the papal see), implied no spirit of submission to the Papacy, but only served a diplomatic purpose in a time of great extremity. There was no objection to own ecclesiastical allegiance to Rome, if doing so would stave off the intolerable usurpations of England; nor was there reluctance to recognise the Bishop of Rome as

supreme head of the Church, in the sense of his being the ultimate earthly source of spiritual authority, and as such empowered to ratify or to veto ecclesiastical appointments, to grant dispensations, to issue interdicts, and—generally—to supervise the affairs of Christendom. But any exercise of this authority which trenched on the rights of the crown, the clergy, or the people, or threatened their independence, was resented and resisted. The spirit which withstood Edward and won the battle of Bannockburn was not dormant within the ecclesiastical sphere, and the Church, no less than the State, of Scotland, made good the sturdy motto, “*Nemo me impune lacessit.*”

This note of self-reliant independence, of prompt disregard of any authority which out-steps its proper province and seeks to lord it over a heritage to which it has not a moral title, has always been a characteristic of the Kirk—manifesting itself occasionally, perhaps, with only too emphatic and wilful a decisiveness. There are many instances of it throughout our history, in the papal period of the Church. Let us take one: when in the year 1317 two legates from the Pope, of cardinal rank, arrived in England on the errand of restoring peace between the countries, and sent forward their letters to King Robert, the king

refused to receive them because they were not addressed to him under the title of *King*. The letters from the Pope bore the superscription to "Robert Bruce, governor in Scotland." "Among my barons," said the king, "there are many of the name of Robert Bruce, who share in the government of Scotland. These letters may possibly be meant for some of them, but they are not addressed to me, who am KING of Scotland." And he firmly, though with perfect courtesy—"in an affable manner and with a pleasant countenance," reported the cardinals—declined to receive the letters. In spite of this, a subordinate member of the papal mission ventured to proclaim a truce with England and an interdict against the realm; but he was simply warned to get out of the country with all speed, and his proclamation was treated as a nullity. Amid the superstitious deference paid to the Pope and his bulls throughout Christendom, this bold attitude of the Scots says much for their intelligence and self-respect.

At no era of Scottish history was what we may call English influence more direct and potent than in the days of David, who, half an Englishman by birth, was wholly English by education, having up to the age of forty-four, when he succeeded to the Scottish throne,

passed most of his life in England. The principal advisers of Margaret and David in their ecclesiastical policy were English prelates; and it was with priests of English birth and training that all the highest offices in the Scottish Church, when first organised on the Roman system, were filled. Indeed so strong were the English influence and element in the changes wrought by David, that the result has been described by a historian, though in exaggerated terms, as an "ecclesiastical revolution in which the Scottish Church was gradually overgrown by an English Church, transplanted to the northern hills, with its clergy, creeds, rites, and institutions."¹ This is an extreme way of putting it; but unquestionably the Anglican modes of thought, of social life, of ecclesiastical organisation, then gained an ascendancy that they never again possessed until after the union of the Legislatures.

Scottish influences had invaded England at a much earlier date, as we have seen, and—until their progress was stemmed at Whitby—bade fair to mould the religious life of that country to their own pattern. At Whitby commenced the reaction, which was in full flood in the reign of Margaret, and reached its height in that

¹ Quarterly Review, vol. lxxxv. p. 116. (Article by the late Joseph Robertson.)

of David. Prelatic and Romanistic principles and practices have always reached Scotland through England. When, after the Reformation, the Scottish Church had reverted to a purer type of government and ritual, we shall find that it was, as before, from England that the reactionary spirit proceeded, and its efforts to reintroduce mediævalism began; and, once more, they reached their height under a monarch who, though Scotch by birth, was, like David, English by education and association. Anglican influence, in fact, has all along been inimical to the primitive simplicity and democratic independence which have always been notes of the National Church in Scotland.

The general establishment of the system of diocesan episcopacy over the whole of Scotland was one of the most serious parts of David's work. He did what he considered was best for the exigencies of the times. The old system of government by abbats and from monasteries, as I have said, had lost its force; and as the population grew less tribal and more homogeneous and settled, it lost also its special adaptation to their circumstances. The emissary of the monastery did noble work as a missionary when Christianity was only making its way against heathenism, and civilisation was still grappling with ubiquitous forces of disorder; but he was

less effective when Christianity had prevailed, when education had extended, and savage lawlessness and ignorance had succumbed to intelligence, order, and decency. The secular priest, with his own church to attend to, and his own flock to instruct, was better adapted to the altered conditions. The clearly defined area, to which the bishop's rule was restricted, gave the authority exercised within that area a force and stability, of which the absence of territorial jurisdiction deprived the authority of the abbat. We may regret that the primitive model of churches guided and governed by presbyters acting together, and seeking, when necessary, the advice of a council of the whole Church of their bounds, was not that which was reverted to by Margaret and her sons. But we may question if, among a population not yet wholly united in race and sentiment, and in a thinly peopled country, the Presbyterian system could have been as easily and thoroughly administered as the Episcopal. And, in any event, the tendency to fall into line with the common system and usage of the Church at large was probably too strong to be resisted, had David and his advisers been inclined, as they were not, to resist it.

The benefit he conferred on his kingdom by his profuse patronage of the monkery of the

Roman Church is more questionable. The ultimate failure of the monastic system of Columba, as a mode of government, did not necessarily involve a condemnation of monasticism, as a wise and salutary mode of religious life; but David might have been warned, by the sluggishness and the abuses which had crept into both classes of the older settlements, to pause ere he reintroduced monasticism, and afforded it fresh opportunities of development. At the same time, it must be remembered that, in the twelfth century, monasticism was in its richest flower. Luxury had not as yet debased the lives of the monks of those Roman orders which David domesticated in Scotland. No scandal had been laid at the convent doors. The monasteries were the homes of learning, industry, and charity. The bleak strath became a fertile valley under the conventual agriculture. The rough boors and wild clansmen grew more law-abiding and industrious, as soon as they became the tenants or retainers of the Church. Art and letters, which got but little encouragement in the feudal castle, always found a fostering shelter in the cloister. So that an enlightened, patriotic, and pious prince might not unnaturally be led to do what seemed to be the best he could do for the culture and religion of his subjects, by promoting monas-

ticism through the length and breadth of the land. He erected and endowed the monasteries of Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Kelso, Melrose, Newbattle, Holyrood, Dryburgh, Cambuskenneth, and Kinloss—to name no others—and gave an impetus to the establishment of such houses over all the kingdom which lasted long after he was gone, with the result of rendering the monastic orders in Scotland probably richer and more numerous than in any other European country. By the date of the Reformation it was calculated they owned nearly one-half of the whole wealth of the country, and were the possessors of not less than two hundred monasteries and convents—the larger number of which belonged to the Augustinians, or Black Canons.

Without attempting active suppression, it was David's policy either to supersede the Culdee communities by the erection of the regular establishments, or to absorb their members into the monkish ranks. A nominal primacy over all the Culdees of Scotland was granted to Turgot, on his accession to the bishopric of St Andrews. The language used is, "In his days the whole rights of the Keledei throughout the whole kingdom of Scotland passed to this bishopric." But whatever power this implied was evidently exerted in a very lenient fashion; and in the case of St Andrews itself it was not till the

year 1144, or thirty-five years after Turgot's election, that a priory of canons regular of S. Augustin was founded there, in the charter granted to which by David it was stipulated that the canons shall receive the Keledei of Kilrymont into the canonry, with all their possessions and revenues, if they are willing to become canons regular. If they refused, their life-interests were to be respected; but on their demise their revenues were to fall to the canonry, and as many additional canons regular were to be instituted in the Church of St Andrews as there had been Keledei.

To David also we owe the erection of our parishes. The earliest nucleus of the parish was the cell or chapel of the Columban monk, in the spot where he planted the first seeds of the Church, and which—after he was gone—was held in reverence for his sake, and was used as the place of worship for the neighbourhood. Hundreds of parishes still preserve in their names, or in the records of their dedications, the memories of the preachers who first taught in them the faith and the doctrine they had received from Columba, or those who succeeded him in Iona. The other, and later, origin of the parish was the foundation of a church by the owner of the soil. When such a church was built, its founder tithed all, or some

of, his lands for its support; and the lands so tithed, or his whole property if not too extended, formed, as a rule, the parish, dependent for religious ordinances on that church. The manor and the parish were thus generally conterminous. As Christianity became more absolutely the national religion, and the Church became more homogeneous throughout the whole country, this mode of founding churches and providing for their support, for the behoof of a definite district attached to each, became more common; and in the deeds of the twelfth century we begin to meet with the term "parish" as one recognised by the law.

Consequent on the establishment of parishes, emerges into view, also in the reign of David, the practice of tithing the land for the support of their clergy. The income of the Columban communities was derived from sources independent of tithes, or, as we call them in Scotland, "teinds." The communities in some cases held lands of their own, as the monastery of Iona held that island; but their more certain and common source of income was the altar offerings, the dues paid for certain church services, and the fines levied for offences against certain laws. The regular and universal grant of tithe, which resulted from the development of the parochial system, formed the pecuniary strong-

hold of the secular, or parochial, clergy. In Scotland, as in England, where the grants of tithe are of earlier date, the practice of rendering the tenth to the Church originated in no statute or royal decree, but in the freewill of the owners of the soil. It found a Scriptural precedent in the Mosaic law and the usage of the Israelites, and was, indeed, one of the survivals of Judaism. Its adoption in the Scottish Church was spontaneous, and was the voluntary expression of the donor's devotion. It is worth while to remember the fact that no part of the revenue now enjoyed by the Kirk (and which forms but a small fraction of her ancient patrimony) was acquired by State legislation. It was voluntarily gifted, in compliance with a religious idea, with which public opinion was in sympathy.

A practice by-and-by came into vogue, which to a marked extent neutralised King David's laudable design in founding the monasteries. This was the donation of parish churches to the religious orders. Patrons of churches, with the consent of the bishop, conferred them on the great houses of Regulars. The abbot sent down a monk to do the duty of the parish priest, with the result that the interests of the parish were sacrificed to the monastic greed. The officiating monk, or the poorly paid vicar, took care that the tithes and dues were collected,

but their destination was the conventual exchequer. As long as they reached that sanctum safely, the superiors made no troublesome inquiry about the "cure of souls." The "extra chalder" was keenly looked after. "The hungry sheep looked up, and were not fed." This abuse was one of the most patent causes of the religious deterioration, both of priest and people, which preceded the Reformation. But this was a development that good King David could not have anticipated.

Another element in the consolidation, and so-called reform, of the Church, which was definitely settled in his reign, was the Ritual. He caused the cathedral churches to fulfil what is one of the most important functions of such establishments—viz., to set the example of a decorous and uniform mode of celebrating public worship. In the Celtic Church there had been, as we have seen, much greater freedom and individuality in the forms of worship than was reconcilable with the strict order of Rome. The Celtic ritual was now disused—not compulsorily, so far as we can ascertain, but it fell out of use as part and parcel of a decaying system. Its place was taken by the Roman missal and breviary, with those modifications which had been adopted in the Cathedral of Salisbury, and which constituted what was called "The Use

of Sarum." The ancient use lingered longest in the seat of the Scottish primacy. There the Culdees continued, "in a corner of their church which was very small, to celebrate their own office in their own fashion."¹ But their days, too, were numbered. In 1147 a bull of Pope Eugenius III. deprived them of their hereditary share in electing the Bishop of St Andrews. In 1220 Pope Honorius III. ordered an inquiry to be made into a dispute between the bishop, the prior, and convent of St Andrews, and the "clerics commonly called Keledei," regarding their respective possessions. The Culdee community was then called "the Provost and Culdees of the church of S. Mary." "In course of time the name of Culdee disappeared; and we meet with it for the last time in the year 1332, when their exclusion in the episcopal election is again renewed. After this we hear only of the provost and prebendaries of the church of S. Mary, sometimes styled S. Mary of the Rock." "At the Reformation the provost and twelve prebendaries still remained, the sole Scottish representatives of the once powerful Culdees."²

¹ Chronicle of the Picts and Scots, p. 190; Skene's ed.

² Bellesheim, vol. i. p. 300, and translator's note.