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THE  
PRINCETON REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1867.

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No. I.

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ART. I.—*The Early Scottish Church; The Ecclesiastical History of Scotland from the First to the Twelfth century.* By the Rev. THOMAS McLAUCHLAN, M. A., F. S. A. S. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1865.

*Iona.* By the Rev. W. LINDSAY ALEXANDER, D. D., F. S. S. A. Edinburgh.

LATE researches throw increased light upon the distinction between Celtic and Latin Christianity. They were separated by a boundary of facts, more enduring than the stone wall completed by Severus between the Solway and the Tyne, and warding off from Scotland both prelacy and papacy for more than a thousand years. There is reason to think that before the close of the second Christian century there were "Scots believing in Christ," and that for the gospel they were not indebted to missionaries from Rome. These Scots dwelt in Ireland as well as in Scotland, and there are historic intimations that they received their first Christian teachers from lands where the Greek language prevailed. It was perhaps three hundred years after Christianity dawned upon Scotland, when Ninian was commissioned by Rome as the *primus Episcopus*, "the first bishop to the Picts," and Palladius as "the first

bishop to the Scots," these Scots being partly in Ireland. Whatever was meant by the title, "the first bishop," it goes far to verify the statement of the chronicler Fordun, a Romish monk of the fourteenth century, who says of Palladius, "Before whose coming the Scots had as teachers of the faith and administrators of the sacraments presbyters only and monks, following the order of the primitive church." It might be shown that these presbyters held rank with the bishops of the primitive church, and received not their ordination from the Roman primate. They did not need over them a bishop of an unscriptural rank, and scarcely deplored the failure of Palladius to establish a see in Scotland. They were doubtless missionaries and pastors apostolic, so far as they followed the order of the apostles.

But what of the "monks?" Of what order? A monk in Fordun's time was a vastly different man from a monk in the fourth century, even if we take him from Mediterranean regions. Monasticism was bad enough in its first and best estate, but it grew worse and worse as Rome became papal and endorsed the eremite system. That the so-called Scottish monks, as late as the twelfth century, differed greatly from the peculiarly Romish orders, is a fact quite perplexing to those who would place early Scotland within the pale of Latin Christianity. It does not account for their differences to assume that Martin of Tours imparted his Gallic ideas to the presbyter St. Patrick, who transmitted them to Columba, and that Columba disseminated them from Iona throughout all Scotland; or that the said Martin, who first gave organic form to monasticism in Western Europe, did in some other way transplant it from Gaul into the land of the Gael. There was no little antagonism between the Gallic monks and the Roman primate, but this proves nothing in regard to the monastic system of the Culdees. There is nothing found in the early monasteries of Gaul analogous to the peculiarities which distinguished the Culdee system. Martin of Tours died shortly before the mission of Palladius; "before whose coming," says Fordun, there were "monks" among the Scots, and these Scots had "long been believers in Christ," having these "monks" as one class of teachers. It may be shown that they were not

monks at all, in the sense employed by Roman Catholic writers, from the venerable Bede down to Fordun, and even to Montalambert. They were ministers of God's word, "administrators of the sacraments," missionaries among the Picts, the Scots, and the Strathclyde Britons, co-workers with the presbyter-bishops; and if in defence from persecution, or in self-denial and self-support, they lodged in cells, this fact did not make them monks. In all probability they and the presbyters were of the same class. In the course of centuries the imagination of a genuine monk put a difference between them. They were the *Cuildich*,\* the cell-men, the Culdees. They did not deserve the epithet of "monks," and yet something like a monastery was peculiar to their system of means for promoting the gospel and maintaining the church. Using the term in a qualified sense, Mr. McLauchlan says: "The very monachism of Celtic Britain had features of its own, and these continued to distinguish it, in some measure, till the close of its existence." (Page 163.)

Our design is to present certain facts relative to the early institutions, often called Monasteries, which were peculiar to the Culdees after the influence of Columba was so powerfully impressed upon Scotland. It is not meant that he introduced the eremite principle into that country. It was there, in a simple form, before his day. "In speaking of the ancient Scottish Church, called by some the Culdee Church, we are not to suppose that this was merely the church whose founders crossed from Ireland, and planted it in Scotland, as a branch of the Church of Ireland. It was in fact the early Church of the British isles planted before the days of Ninian or Palladius, and retaining its distinctive features among the Scots for a longer time than among the other Celtic races of the country. Hence the fact that Culdees were not confined to Scotland and Ireland, but were found among the Britons, their organization

\* That the word "Culdee" is but a modification of the Gaelic *Cuildich*, can scarcely be questioned. Like the term "Huguenot," it has been the subject of various surmises. The term was doubtless in existence before the Latin translation, "Cultores Dei," or "Keledeus." Of "Ceile De," and "Gille De," the Gael knows nothing, but "Cuiltich" is still in use among the Highlanders. On Iona there is a spot still called, "*Cobhan nan Cuildeach*," the Culdee's recess. The plural form is *Cuildich*, the men of the recess.

being, to a large extent, the organization of the early church of Britain and Ireland. Columba introduced the system among the northern Picts, but it was no new thing in the country; for in so far as Christianity existed in what is now called Scotland, it was moulded after the same form from the beginning. Ninian and Palladius might have exercised a certain influence on behalf of Rome, but there is every reason to believe that neither of those men had successors in their ecclesiastical offices and commission. Still, before the time of Columba, an influence had crept into the church, which was largely affecting its character and development, and which in the sixth century had unquestionably produced striking changes. This was the influence of asceticism, or the eremitical principle. . . . If we were to indicate what gave much of its peculiar character to the early Scottish church, we would say it was this principle. . . . The asceticism of the early Scottish church did, by no means, attain to the height of mediæval monkery, but it reached to a development sufficient to give a very peculiar character to the religion of the period." (*McLauchlan*, pp. 421, 422.)

To prove that the church of the Culdees was independent of Rome and of Anglo-Saxon prelacy, it is sufficient to look at the early Scottish monasteries, and show wherein they essentially differed from those which were connected with the papacy. And here we need not inquire for the earliest monastic institutes of the Scottish type. It was claimed for Abernethy, that it was a Culdee institute an hundred years before Columba's mission to the Picts. If so, it, and others like it, afterwards took the Columbite form. The same appears to have been true of the establishments founded by Ninian, Servanus, and Kentigern; they certainly were not the model for the Culdee institutes founded after the middle of the sixth century. We shall find that model on little Iona, which Dr. Samuel Johnson described as "that illustrious island, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion." Wherein did the institute of Iona, and others of its order, differ from the monasteries which became the strength of Romanism? In furnish-

ing an historical answer to this question, we may reach certain important facts concerning the early Scottish church.

1. Their model was furnished by a missionary, who has never been represented as deriving his authority from Rome, nor classed with the founders of Romish monasteries. Colum Mac Phelim, or Columba, was born about the year 520, in the county of Donegal, Ireland. He was a descendant of the kings of Ulster, and closely allied to the royal family of Dalriada, in Scotland. Rejecting the legends of his biographers, we may take it as true that he received a Christian baptism and education, and was ordained a presbyter. Prelatic writers of a later age found his ordination to the office of only a presbyter, too stubborn a fact for their disposal; they could not make him a bishop, in their sense of the term, but imagining that the office of bishop existed at the time, they invented the legend that Etchen "the bishop, by mistake, conferred priest's orders on Columba, when he intended to confer episcopal orders." - Strange that the mistake was not corrected! Stranger still, to our minds, if there was any one to correct it! Another mode of solving the difficulty is the assertion that Columba objected to being raised to a higher office than that of priest, although he was going forth upon the first mission to Scotland, the greatest attempted in his day. He must, then, have been a very different man from the Columba, who is represented as visiting Rome, and receiving commission from the Pope. No prelatie authority has been claimed for him. Even Father Brennan declares him to have been "but a simple priest," who "possessed for many years an ecclesiastical jurisdiction even over the bishops of these countries," (Scotland.) We shall find him simply *primus inter pares*. "Columba received the orders that were conferred at the time," says McLauchlan, "receiving from Etchen the orders which he possessed himself." This was the highest ordination then known, in a land where the presbyter, St. Patrick, had "founded three hundred and sixty-five churches, and for them ordained three hundred and sixty-five bishops." The young Columba, fired with missionary zeal, is said to have founded several "monasteries" in Ireland; they must have been simple Christian communities, with the school, the church, and hospital for the poor. Willing to go abroad

for Christ, he left Ireland, for the purpose, says Bede, "of preaching the word of God." Taking with him twelve brother missionaries, he crossed the North Channel in a *currach*, or boat of wicker-work, covered with hides, and landed at Iona about the year 565. The little island, long held by the Druids, was given him, and his first thought was quite other than a monastery. It was a mission. He travelled extensively among the northern Picts, preaching the gospel, with the aid of an interpreter. Iona was chosen as the base of operations, not simply because of its seclusion, but for its safety from the attacks of barbarians, and for its nearness to Ireland, with which the missionaries held some ecclesiastical connection. There the *cuil*, or cell, was established, giving to it the name of Icolmkill, the Isle of Columba's cell. The spot was known for centuries as Cairn Cuilich, or the Cairn of the Culdees. In all this the authority of the bishop of Rome does not appear; no sanction came, none was needed from that quarter. Mr. Todd,\* a prelatist, furnishes satisfactory evidence that the bishop of Rome did not appoint, elect, consecrate, nor confirm the bishops of Ireland, from the fifth to the twelfth century; nor did he sanction the missions of the Irish church, of which that of Columba was the first to another country. A stronger case may be made for the Scottish church, which was closely allied to the Irish until the ninth century, so that the names are often used interchangeably. The case is still stronger, when we take the word bishop as equivalent to presbyter. That the Pope had aught to do with Columba's mission is a mere assumption, without even the shadow of an historic fact for its basis. Even the prelatists admit that he was not a diocesan bishop. Who has ever ranked the presbyter Columba with such founders of monasteries as Benedict, Martin of Tours, Francis, and Dominic? There was strictly no Columbite order of monks.

2. The design and spirit were different. As a fair sample of western monasticism we may take that of Benedict, who became famous for his rigorous discipline at the beginning of the sixth

\* The Church of St. Patrick; an Historical Inquiry into the Independence of the Ancient Church of Ireland. By Rev. W. G. Todd.

century. "Three virtues constituted the sum of the Benedictine discipline, silence with solitude and seclusion, humility, obedience, which, in the language of its laws, extended to impossibilities. All is thus concentrated on self. It was the man, isolated from his kind, who was to rise to a lonely perfection. All the social, all patriotic virtues were excluded. . . . The three occupations of life were the worship of God, reading, and manual labour. . . . So were doomed to live the monks of St. Benedict; so all monks, whose number is incalculable, for the long centuries during which Latin Christianity ruled the western world. The two sexes were not merely to be strangers, but natural, irreconcilable enemies." (Milman, *Lat. Chris.* ii. 30, 31.) The design was selfish, the spirit slavish. But at Iona there was, at first, almost nothing of this self-severity. "The institution at Iona may, be said, in one sense, to have been a monastery, although there was no vow taken by the inmates either of celibacy, poverty, or obedience. There was no rule constituting the brethren into a regular order, and any such attributed to Columba has been shown to be the work of a later age, and to be of no historical value. The principle which lay at the foundation of this institution was not that which gave its origin to monasticism generally, viz., the personal improvement of the monks themselves. . . . Here the main object was the benefit of others." (*McLauchlan*, p. 164.) The design was not to collect together monks, but to qualify and send forth missionaries. It was a great mission institute, not altogether unlike one of our mission stations in a heathen land, and still more like the mission institutes of the Moravian Brethren. Columba and his brethren founded a college, rather than a convent.

3. The institute at Iona is also to be regarded as a church. In it, no doubt, was incorporated the more ancient plan of the *cuil*,\* *kille*, *kil*, or *cell*, as found among the earlier Christian Scots. The *cuil* furnishes, we think, the key to the whole Culdee system, giving to it name, character, and organic unity.

\* Before Columba left Ireland he knew of *Cuil rathan* (now Coleraine,) *Cuil feadha*, &c. Perhaps the same term is retained in Scottish names, as *Culross*, *Culloden*, *Culfargie*. We find it in *Loch nan Keal*, or *Ceall*, "the Lake of the Churches." *Kil-Patrick* became *Kirk-Patrick*.

Its origin we cannot discover; perhaps it was, at first, a refuge from enemies, or a resort for prayer. It became the sacred place of the presence of God; almost the Holy of Holies, with its veil rent for the entrance of the Culdee worshipper. Its plan was carried with every missionary, and he chose the spot for his "cell," as the Hebrew did for the tabernacle. There was his sanctuary; there he wrestled with God in prayer; there the people might assemble with reverence to hear him preach. It was holy ground; the burning bush was there in the desert. The *cuil* develops into three forms; the oratory, the kirk, and the college. Our point now is that the "*kil*" grew into the *kirk*. That the kirk should be in a secluded place, needs not the supposition of a strictly monastic idea; the mission required a place of seclusion in order to obtain safety. After Iona became the model for other mission stations, the *cuil* did not generally grow into a college. If so, Culdee Scotland must have excelled all other lands in the number of its schools for the training of missionaries, for their record is to this day upon the very soil of the country. Turning to Nelson's guide-book we find almost one hundred "kils," pointed out as worthy of the tourist's visit, from Kilmany to St. Kilda. If most of these names be the memorials of some ancient Christian institution, as many undoubtedly are, it was the kirk rather than the college. We see the ancient Culdee kirk in scores of names, as Kirkcudbright (Kirk-Cuthbert) and Kirk-Cormac. If these were all actual monasteries, then Scotland was indeed a land of monks. If these were mission stations and kirks, then the Culdee church stereotyped its record upon the face of the country. We think this distinction between the kirk and the college important in marking the independence of the church of the Culdees. Both were in existence. The *cuil* gave the name to each. The members of each were *Cuildich*, or Culdees. In neither case were they monks of the Romish type, but missionaries in whom it were vain to look for perfection.

We find what seems to be an illustration of this view of the *cuil* and its development, in the case of Malrue, (*Maol rubha*, 'servus patientiæ'.) His royal lineage did not prevent him from imitating his relative Columba, leaving Ireland at the age

of twenty-nine, and fixing himself at Applecross among the northern Picts. There his cell became the nucleus of a flourishing kirk. Intent upon secluded prayer, he crossed over to the little island of Croulin, and there located a new cell. He drew others to the sacred place. A college arose, which became to him and his followers what Iona was to Columba. Thence his influence extended over the neighbouring region. For fifty-one years he laboured, in his wide and enlarging parish, a veritable bishop of pristine rank. He is said to have been slain by pirates at the age of eighty, leaving his name upon many a church and village, and upon the fairest of the Scottish lakes, the Loch Maree; on its little isle he had one of his cells for prayer, and there a chapel rose at a later day. Through all Scotland went the fame of Malrue of Applecross.

4. There were, doubtless, cells about which neither kirks nor colleges grew up; but they were not, at first, the abodes of hermits, nor the nuclei of monasteries. Men did not dwell in them for life. They resorted to them in order to prepare for the preaching of the gospel. "The religion of these men was less obtrusive than we often find it. It sought for concealment rather than display; and exhibited itself primarily, not in forcing itself, with little sense of modesty, upon the notice of men, but in urging its subjects to closer and more continuous intercourse with God. These men believed, as did Luther, that prayer was the best preparation for preaching, and hence much of their time was devoted to that exercise. The buildings, whose ruins still existing are memorials of the period, are clearly oratories, and nothing else; oratories, first used for prayer by these early Christians, and afterwards used more generally for the same purpose, in a later and more superstitious age. They carried to a dangerous extreme the idea, that to obtain opportunity for prayer, it was necessary for a time to seclude themselves entirely from the fellowship of others. In this they helped to lay the foundation of much future injury to the church; yet they never dissociated their retirement from the activities of their missionary life, but sought the one to qualify them the more fully for the other. We cannot conceive a more interesting object, in that rude age, than one of these holy men retiring to some lonely island of the sea, and there, in solitude, with

none of the comforts, and a small share of the necessaries of life, spending his time in holding communion with God, and pleading earnestly for his blessing on the great work in which he was engaged; and then, strengthened and stirred up to more earnest zeal, by his intercourse with Heaven, going forth among an ignorant and barbarous people, warning them to flee from the wrath to come, and calling upon them with earnest voice to believe and be baptized. The practice of taking possession of secluded islands continued to characterize the Culdee system, and was carried by the missionaries, sent forth from time to time, whithersoever they went. When Aidan at a later period was sent to preach the gospel to the northern Saxons, he fixed his residence in Lindisfarne, and thence went forth to preach the gospel to the surrounding population: Lindisfarne, or the Holy Isle, becoming to the north of England, what Iona was to the north of Scotland. In this there was a marked difference between the emissaries of Iona and those of Rome." Augustine seized upon wealthy Canterbury, and Paulinus settled in powerful York. "In nothing does the distinction between the church of Rome and the ancient Scottish church appear more clearly than in this." (*McLauchlan*, pp. 177—182.) An evidence of their wisdom will appear, when we consider how the Culdees took advantage of the principle of clanship in locating these institutions.

5. The development of certain "cells" into colleges was as important as that of others into kirks. The one class qualified ministers for the other. These especially have been called monasteries. That the monastic idea crept into them, in the progress of centuries, none will deny, but they did not become Romish until they ceased to be Culdee institutions. Romanism and Culdecism were incompatible. We may notice some of the peculiarities of the Culdee colleges. We use the term "college" as embracing the seminary of learning, the corporation of brethren, and the ruling body of presbyters. If there were presbyteries in existence, the college was the central point of the organization.

The regulations were very different from monastic rules. They were little else than would now be demanded in a college, where the inmates were required to support themselves. "Al-

though they observed a certain institute," says Jamieson, "yet, in the accounts given of them, we cannot overlook this remarkable distinction between them and those societies which are properly monastic, that they were not associated for the purpose of observing this rule. They might deem certain regulations necessary for the preservation of order, but their great design was, by communicating instruction, to train up others for the work of the ministry. Hence, it has been justly observed, that they may be more properly viewed as colleges, in which various branches of useful learning were taught, than as monasteries. These societies, therefore, were in fact the seminaries of the church, both in North Britain and in Ireland." (*Hist. Culdees*, p. 33.)

The labours required were not those of penance, but those of usefulness. Columba was averse to all modes of idleness in his disciples. "He encouraged them to attend to the useful arts, especially the culture of the fields and the garden. In that rude age, it says not a little for the skill and industry of Columba and his monks, that they had apples from their own trees, abundance of grain in their barns, and could indulge in the luxury of a Saxon baker; whilst the encouragement they held out to others to follow their example, by making presents to their neighbours of seed to sow their lands, entitles them to the gratitude of posterity." (W. Lindsay Alexander's *Iona*, p. 76.)

Donations of land, as a source of revenue, were not invited, although they were accepted in some instances at a later day, when the agents of Rome held forth endowments as temptations to the Culdee brotherhoods. "If the growth of the English monasteries was of necessity gradual, the culture around them but of slow development (agricultural labour does not seem to have become a rule of monastic discipline,) it was not from the want of plentiful endowments, or of ardent votaries. Grants of land and of movables were poured with lavish munificence on these foundations; sometimes tracts of land, far larger than they could cultivate, and which were thus condemned to sterility. The Scottish monks are honourably distinguished as repressing, rather than encouraging, this prodigality." (Milman, *Lat. Chris.* ii. p. 207.) The influence of

property and patronage was damaging to the best monasteries of Europe. "The indwellers of the Culdee college appear to have been anxious to make such arrangements as to prevent this secularizing influence. Hence the *Archinneach*, or Erenach, who managed the property of the monastery on behalf of the inmates. . . . The Erenach was a layman, probably a tenant under the head of the institute, and is understood, in some cases, to have held his office by hereditary succession. It may be true that the appointment of such an officer was not sufficient to counteract the secularizing influence of wealth and worldly power; but his existence showed a desire, on the part of these societies, to prevent the evil effects of such an influence if possible." (*McLaughlan*, p. 428.) The history of the evils arising from this source in Scotland would be very much the history of feudalism, and especially of the encroachments of Romanism upon Culdeeism. Rome endowed, that she might rule these institutions, whose independence she must destroy.

The head of the institution was the president or abbot, who came to be called *Vir Dei*,\* *pater, sanctus pater, patronus noster*. For seven centuries this office remained quite unchanged. The abbot was elected by the brethren of the institute. He had jurisdiction over the inmates of his house, and also over the mission stations within his "parochia." He was under no prelate, nor pope. He was uniformly a presbyter. Bede calls him *non episcopus, sed presbyter, et monachus*—"not a bishop, but a presbyter and monk." We know what Bede's idea of an "*episcopus*" was, but it would not shock our minds to hear that a bishop and a presbyter were one. Adamnan applies both terms to Columban, the great missionary to Europe, as if he regarded them as equivalent, and that in 695. "The institution of Iona formed, in truth, a regular presby-

\* This term is quoted by Dr. Ebrard, (*Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*), in support of the view that the word Culdee is derived from *Ceile Dé*, which he renders "men of God." But the term "*Vir Dei*" is used only as applicable to the abbot or chief man of a monastery. It is not applied to the Culdees generally. Besides, the Gaelic word *Ceile* does not mean man. It is applied to a spouse, or associate, conveying the idea of fellowship. No such term as "*Ceile Dó*" is known in the Gaelic. Excepting this point, Mr. McLaughlan accords high praise to Dr. Ebrard's "remarkably able papers on the Culdee church."

tery, as it has long existed in Scotland, with this slight difference, that the presidency, or what we term the moderatorship was permanently enjoyed by the abbot, whom even Bede terms the 'Presbyter-Abbot.' . . . This peculiarity was well known to the venerable Bede, who terms it 'an unusual constitution, (*ordo inusitatus*),' as indeed it must have appeared to one who had been himself accustomed to the constitution of a diocesan and prelatie episcopacy." (Hetherington, *Hist. Ch. Scot.* p. 12.) Bede knew that he was describing no Romish abbot, and he whispers not a word about a prelatie superior. These abbots, in later centuries, allowed themselves to be called bishops, but it requires a marvellous power of invention to make them of the prelatie order, or give to one of them a diocese. Michelet says, "The Culdees recognized hardly more of the hierarchical state than the modern Scotch Presbyterians."

In connection with each institute there were at least twelve ordained ministers. These twelve formed the college of rulers in the Culdee church. There were no lay residents except students, nor "secular canons." "In the East, where the monastic system originated, the earlier monks were laymen. From this it followed that they had to look beyond themselves for the privileges to be derived from an ordained ministry. Among the Scots, the early monks, being in reality missionaries, were all in orders themselves, as presbyters associated together for the great purpose of converting the ignorant to the faith of Christ. Being thus ordained, they possessed all necessary ecclesiastical functions within themselves. Whence originated the so-called anomaly, in the early Scottish church, of the supreme power being in the hands of the abbot, or head of the Culdee college." (*McLauchlan*, p. 173.)

"That they sent forth ministers, as distinct from the planting of monasteries, is clear from their dealing, at a later period, with the Saxon populations in the north of England; and that they ordained those ministers, whom they sent forth, is quite as clear, those ministers holding their commissions from them, assuming the name and performing the functions of bishops. Thus far then they were Presbyterians, that they were presbyters themselves, and that as presbyters they exercised jurisdiction in the church, and conferred orders involving the episco-

pate, although these orders were afterwards rejected by the Roman Church." (*Ib.* 172.)

The rejection of Scottish ordination is a strong point of difference between the Culdees and the Romanists. Of such rejection the historical proofs are abundant; one from the canon law will suffice. It is clearly shown from one of the decrees of the Anglo-Saxon Church, in a council held at Cealhythe, A. D. 816, which runs thus: "It is interdicted to all persons of the Scottish nation to usurp the ministry in any dioecese, nor may such be lawfully allowed to touch aught belonging to the sacred order, nor may aught be accepted from them, either in baptism, or in the celebration of the masses, nor may they give the eucharist to the people, because it is uncertain to us, by whom or whether by any one they are ordained. If, as the canons prescribe, no bishop or presbyter may intrude into another's province, how much more ought those to be excluded from sacred offices, who have among them no metropolitan order, nor honour it in others." We may thank the Ceal-hythe council for this strong proof of the independence of the Culdee church.

This proof that there was no "metropolitan order" in the Scottish church, in 816, is worthy of distinct remark. Its existence has since been imagined and asserted. After a new ecclesiastical system had been imposed upon Scotland, in the twelfth century, the prelatists sought to find an excuse for it in the old system of the Culdees. They invented the "primacy of the Scottish church," locating it first at Iona, as if it were the seat of an archbishop. Then they transferred it to Dunkeld, and thence to St. Andrews, just where they wanted it to serve as a foundation for the Romish primacy which they there established. If there was such a primacy among the Culdees it was collegiate; it was presbyterial. But who ever heard of a presbyterial primacy? We shall see from the case of Adamnan that the abbot was not even a prelate; much less was he a primate over other Culdee colleges, which stood upon a footing of equality in church government. Does a presbyterial primacy meet the requirements of the case? Does it satisfy the prelatists? "If so, the episcopal system has an amount of elasticity about it, which has not been hitherto generally under-

stood, and a presbyter, or group of presbyters, can exercise some of the most important episcopal and arch-episcopal functions. It may also be very naturally asked, Of what did Iona hold the primacy? The usual way of putting it is, that Iona held the primacy of the Scottish church. But it is very well known that the 'parochia' of the Columbite system consisted of affiliated monasteries, or colleges, and hence the jurisdiction of Iona must have extended to Ireland alone, for the only similar establishment said to have existed in Scotland from an early period [down to the year 600] was Abernethy; and there is not a shred of evidence to show that it was in any way subject to the jurisdiction of Iona. As for Dunkeld, the primacy is said to have been transferred there, when the church was built and the relics of Columba removed thither, [843, by king Kenneth]. But . . . if the jurisdiction possessed by Iona was removed to Dunkeld, did Iona thenceforth become subject to Dunkeld? Of this there is no evidence whatsoever. Any supremacy that existed, so far as Iona was concerned [after 850] seems to have existed in the Irish institutions of Kells and Armagh. Iona was not subject to Dunkeld until the territorial diocese of Dunkeld was founded [1197]. . . . It is often averred that Abernethy succeeded Iona in the primacy of Scotland. There is no evidence in support of this. St. Andrews existed for nearly a hundred years before Dunkeld, nor during that period was there any idea of primacy at all, although the institution seems to have been founded on the model of the Northumbrian monasteries, which were themselves originally of the Scottish type. When Dunkeld was founded, [823] there is nothing in the notice we have of the event to signify that there was any primacy intended." The supposed transfer of Columba's relics thither, "no doubt gave Dunkeld a place, in the eyes of Scotsmen, which it would not otherwise possess, and invested it with a new measure of consequence; but it was of short duration. . . . The idea of primacy existing in these Columbite foundations is entirely an *ex post facto* one, and was intended to support claims of a modern growth. . . . When Scotland obtained its primate, it was needful, if possible, to trace the roots of his authority into the old church, and men did so, although it finally landed their orders and jurisdiction

among a group of presbyters with their presbyter-chief at their head." (*McLauchlan*, pp. 371—373.)

The celibacy of the monks and the clergy was a prominent feature of the Roman Church, from the year 400, about which time the decree was issued enjoining it. But it did not obtain a place among the Culdees. There was no vow of celibacy even in their "monasteries." They married in Columba's time, and continued to marry until they ceased to exist. Their wives were not permitted to reside in the college, but a residence was granted them in the neighbourhood, where their husbands passed much of their time, while free from the duties of the school and the church. In the Culdee system there was no nunnery, an almost inseparable attendant of the Romish monastery. "Prior to the twelfth century there is no evidence to show that there was so much as one establishment of female recluses in Scotland proper. At an early period we read of an establishment of nuns at Coldingham, but we have no record of the existence of one north of the Firth of Forth. No evidence is stronger than this for the marriage of the Culdee clergy. Celibacy has never been long confined to one of the sexes; the celibate monk has ever been accompanied, in the history of the church, by the celibate nun, and in the ancient Scottish church we have no record of the existence of the latter. There were St. Bridgets and St. Kentigerns among the females of that church, but there is no evidence to show that these good women were nuns." (*McLauchlan*, p. 417.) The Culdees "were even frequently succeeded in their official station and duties by their own sons. From this [the absence of monastic celibacy] we can scarcely avoid drawing the conclusion, that those, who held a form of Christianity so primitive, so simple and so pure, must have branched off from the central regions and stem of the Christian church at a very early period indeed." (*Hetherington*, p. 12.)

From the families of these "presbyter-monks," were sons entering the college to be educated. From the mission stations and "kirks" others were sent. From more distant regions, England, and the continent, came young men of noble birth and royal princes, having heard of the famous schools. The education imparted was not of the monastic kind. The Latin classics

were studied. It is related that Æneas Sylvius, (afterwards Pope Pius II,) when in Scotland, intended to visit Iona, hoping to find in its celebrated library the lost books of Livy, but was prevented by the death of King James I. Greek and Hebrew were studied, as Dr. Ebrard proves. As the object was, in the earlier centuries, to qualify men for missionary and pastoral work, the Bible was the chief book. Columba was familiar with the word of God, ready to quote it on all occasions, as of supreme authority. "His own home-work and that of his disciples was transcribing the Scriptures . . . It is told by one of his biographers, that this was the last employment of his life, for he died while engaged in transcribing the 33d Psalm. These early missionaries were thoroughly Biblical . . . Bede informs us that they received those things only which are written in the writings of the Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles . . . . . Preaching the gospel and teaching the young was thus the great work to which the early [Scottish] church devoted itself, and for both these great works ample provision was made." (*McLauchlan*, pp. 175, 438.)

These collegiate institutions, in process of time, were not secluded enough for certain men of a more monastic disposition. Refusing or ceasing to become missionaries, they became monks. Instead of making the cell an oratory wherein to prepare for preaching the gospel, they made it a *disert*, or an hermitage. Perhaps a few colleges were turned into convents. Thus arose a new order, more closely resembling ascetics. There was a difference between the *disertach* and the anchorite; the one still holding a connection with the college, and the other retiring into deeper solitude. But there is no proof that they were Romish monks. "It has been thought that the Culdees possessed an eremitical order, and there are facts toward the close of their history, which would seem to corroborate this. But there is nothing to point to its existence in the earlier period of the church." (*McLauchlan*, p. 434.) If it had no early existence, it certainly did not predominate in the colleges, and give them a monkish, rather than a missionary character. When the eloquent Cuthbert, after years of perilous travels and earnest preaching, sought for a "*disert*" he could not find it in the "monastery" of Melrose, and he retired to the island of Farne,

about nine miles south of Lindisfarne in Northumbria. There he remained until the year 685, having his cell fenced in by an earthen wall that shut out from his view every object but the sky. We next find him for two years as an abbot, chiefly at Lindisfarne, but there he could not be a hermit. Activity characterized the "monastery" of the isle, and returning to his cell he died, leaving behind him a name that has been sainted by a church which he never served. Only by this device of canonization were the Culdees transformed into Roman Catholics.

6. The location of the earlier Culdee colleges was not so much in accordance with a monastic, as a missionary policy. To a large extent they were established in districts belonging to different families, clans, or tribes. From the mere fact of a secluded cell, one might argue that the founders were monks, but from the advantage taken of clanship we have evidence that they were missionaries. To illustrate this policy we mention the leading institutes, as nearly as possible in the order, and with the date of their foundation. Iona was established in the district of the clan Connell; Abernethy in Fife, at an ancient Pictish capital; Applecross in Ross; Loch Leven in Fife, and Melrose on the Tweed, between the years 565 and 625. It is claimed that Culdee schools were at Abernethy and Loch Leven at a much earlier date, but after Columba's time they were reorganized. St Andrews was founded in Fife, 736, by Culdee Britons; Dunkeld in Argyle about 820; still later we find Scone in Gowrie, Mortlach in Buchan, Birney in Moray, Monymusk in Mar, Dunblane in Stratherne, Dornoch in Caithness, and Brechin in Angus. It will be borne in mind that these were divided among three distinct peoples, the Picts, the Scots, and the Strathclyde Britons. Lindisfarne, founded 635, on what is now called Holy Island, was the model for others among the Saxons in north England. To this list might be added many other institutes of lesser eminence, but these are sufficient to show that the Culdees adopted the missionary policy of occupying the whole country. "The likelihood is that this principle [policy] was first admitted in order to secure all possible influence in Christianizing the people, the very principle which led Columba to visit and seek the conversion of the Pictish king. Family influence was in the highest degree powerful,

and to secure it on the side of Christianity, was but a policy, which the warmest zeal and the most consummate prudence dictated. The principle would also have been admitted for the sake of security. All these institutions had powerful family influence around them on every side; no man could assail them without calling down the vengeance of the clan, and all men would in consequence forbear; while they were capable of repaying in full the benefit they received, and became finally of so much importance, from their wealth and influence, that no family would willingly quit its hold of them. They thus became hereditary possessions in the hands of the great families of Scotland. . . . and even came to be so situated as that the lands of the monastery were in the hands of a layman, while the ecclesiastics of the community occupied the house and conducted the services." (*McLauchlan*, pp. 191, 192.) "Ecclesiastical property and office came finally to be hereditary, the worst feature about the ancient Culdee church, although the same feature characterizes the livings in some modern churches." (*Ib.* p. 329.)

7. The absence of certain peculiarly Romish doctrines and rites is a strong proof of the independence of the early Scottish church. The doctrine of a priesthood was not recognized; hence no auricular confession, no penance, no absolution. Prelacy did not exist; hence no rite of confirmation. In baptism there was no "consecrated chrism." In the Lord's Supper there was no "real presence," and both the bread and the wine were used by the people. Granting that there were errors in regard to the sacrament, yet there is no evidence of "transubstantiation," nor of the "mass." The merits of Christ were exalted, and hence "works of supererogation" were rejected. Christ was declared to be the only Mediator; therefore there were no prayers to the saints, no worship of angels and relics, no adoration of the "Virgin Mary." Until quite a late period in Culdee history there is no instance of the dedication of churches to her, although the name of native saints was often given to them, as Kilpatrick, Kirkeudbright, and St. Serf, (Servanus.) "Nor do we find in the biography of Columba, (by Adamnan,) any reference to the doctrine of purgatory. Where the faith of Christ was so entire, and the love of

Christ so ardent, there was no room for such a doctrine as this. The all-sufficiency of the atonement made by the Divine Saviour, and of the grace of the Divine Spirit, afford the one unanswerable argument against the doctrine of purification by any other means. The completeness in which these doctrines were held by the Iona missionaries, necessarily excluded their belief in the doctrine of a purgatory. From the same cause we find no regard to other more recent doctrines and practices. Thus there is no reference in the account given of Columba's death, (A. D. 597,) to his having received extreme unction." (*McLauchlan*, pp. 183, 184.) These were important matters. It cannot therefore be justly said that there was nothing but the most trifling and unessential differences between the Culdees and their Anglo-Saxon neighbours, whose Christianity had become Latinized.

8. The Culdees observed certain practices, enjoined by Rome upon her adherents, but they observed them in a manner so different, that it proves their independence. Early in the seventh century the tonsure became a theme of sharp dispute in Great Britain. The Roman tonsure was the coronal; the Scottish was the crescent. This small matter was so magnified by Rome, that it bade fair to shake the world. The Easter question grew into a serious affair. Rome followed the day of the week, commemorating the death of Christ always on Friday, and hence Easter always came upon Sunday. The Scotch followed the day of the month, (the 14th of Nisan,) and therefore Easter was observed upon whatever day of the week it fell. They were called the Quartodecimans. There were other elements in the reckoning, so that there was often the difference of a whole month, in the day of keeping Easter. While one party was fasting the other was often feasting. So vast was the importance attached to these matters that, at the close of the seventh century, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, decreed, "They which have been ordained by the bishops of the Scots or Britons who are not united to the Catholic Church, in their Easter and tonsure, let them be confirmed again by a Catholic bishop by the imposition of hands." This canon was applied to Ceadda when he came to act as the presbyter-bishop of York. Having been ordained by Scottish hands, he was

rejected by Theodore, and Wilfrid, who had received prelatie ordination, was placed in the charge. This was but a skirmish; the battle was to come off upon Scottish soil.

9. The Culdee institutions had become glorious; but they did not glorify Rome. The Culdee church had disseminated through Scotland the truths of the gospel, had filled the country with places of worship, and had elevated the nation to a position of no small renown. Her strength lay in the great central institutes, called monasteries. From these her light shined afar. The Orkneys were reckoned a part of Christendom; even in Iceland there were Culdee missionaries in the tenth century. Into Switzerland had gone Columban and his brethren, rearing institutions of the Scottish type, and having differences with Rome, especially in regard to their ordination. It is surprising to find little Iona throwing her light into Europe, and sending forth such bands of missionaries into the old lands of the Saxon and the Gaul. In this she was greater than Rome. The papal power must have grown jealous of her influence, and anxious to secure her energy, her means, and her glory. The Culdee church must be reduced to submission under the pontiff; by gentle measures, if possible; by severer methods, if necessary.

10. The efforts made by the Culdees to resist the intrusions of Rome, would form a history of no small limits. Bede lamented their perversity and blindness in the matters of Easter and the tonsure. For years they repelled the advances of the prelatie party. The pressure increased, especially upon the Scottish institutes in the north of England. In 665 the crisis came. Colman, the presbyter-abbot of Lindisfarne, argued the case at the synod of Whitby. Strong in his attachment to the Culdee church, he claimed that he derived his system from his Scottish forefathers, and from the apostle John. Wilfrid appealed to the decrees of Rome, and prevailed. Put down, but not convinced, Colman and his Culdee brethren retired from their charges at Lindisfarne and in Northumbria, and returned to Scotland and Ireland, where they hoped that the ancient customs would never be displaced. Neander makes this a turning-point in Anglican history, saying that this decision at Whitby "could not fail to be attended with the most important

effects on the shaping of ecclesiastical relations over all England: for, had the Scottish tendency prevailed, England would have obtained a more free church constitution, and a reaction against the Romish hierarchical system would have ever continued to go forth from this quarter." In twenty-one years Theodore of Canterbury almost entirely banished the usages of the Culdee church from England.

Lindisfarne had been gained; the next attempt was made upon Iona, whose abbot was Adamnan, the biographer of Columba. This man visited Northumberland, listened to the Saxon priest Ceolfrid, and yielded the points relative to Easter and the tonsure. But the arguments that convinced him were not drawn from the authority and decrees of the Pope; they were based upon the traditions concerning Hebrew customs and the example of Peter as an apostle. On his return to Iona he endeavoured to bring his brethren over to his new views, but they rejected them. Crossing to Ireland he met with more success. Bede relates that he "brought almost all of them, that were not under the dominion of Hii (Iona,) to the catholic unity." The Scottish church maintained its own practices until after the death of Adamnan in 704. What sort of a bishop was he, thus to be withstood by his own clergy? They believed in no jurisdiction over them, as opposed to the will of the brethren. "If this be not presbytery, it is wonderfully like it. It may not indicate the details of modern presbytery as existing among these early Christians, but it certainly indicates a constitution implying in it the independence of individual ministers, and the supreme authority of the collected mind of the brethren. . . . These men were not to be overborne by authority, even that of the Apostolic See." (*McLauchlan*, p. 245.)

In making a fresh attempt, Ceolfrid sent a letter to Naitan, king of the Picts. In 710 he wrote it, carefully avoiding all reference to the papal decrees and supremacy. Naitan was convinced. The ministers over whom he held an influence adopted the coronal tonsure and the Roman Easter. But others would not yield. The "family of Iona" persisted in their views. For seven years these stubborn Scots maintained their independence, and right of private judgment. Royal power was employed; they were finally driven, as incorrigibles,

out of the Pictish kingdom. The Saxon monk Egbert used the same arts among the Scots, and large numbers of them yielded. It must be noted that the victory, thus far, was mainly in regard to Easter and the tonsure. The chief interest in this whole controversy lies in the fact, that "the Scottish brethren never once acknowledged that the authority of the Romish See was entitled to their deference and obedience. They acknowledged the authority of Holy Scripture, and of apostolic example, but they never acknowledged any other. Nor was it in deference to Papal authority, that they finally succumbed. What they refused to the letters of Popes, they yielded to the reasoning and persuasions of a Saxon monk. . . The ancient Scottish church was not papal in its constitution. It loved unity, and by its desire for unity was led to conform to a practice which it had long resisted, but the unity it sought was not the unity of Rome. The Scot and the Pict had no reason to love civil Rome; they withstood, for many a year, with no little determination, the claims of ecclesiastical Rome. Even when finally yielding in the matter of Easter and the tonsure, it was to reason, and not to Rome, that they professed to defer." (*McLauchlan*, p. 249.) The Strathclyde Britons did not submit until the year 768, and then by the agency of a monk.

After these concessions, the Culdee church seemed to say to papal Rome and England, "thus far shall ye come and no farther." Iona regained her position; her expelled "family" returned, and we have a tolerably complete history of the establishment for several centuries. The Danish pirates repeatedly desecrated the island, fire consumed the buildings, but the devoted brethren lingered among the scathed ruins. Some were murdered; others turned away, weeping, from the hallowed abode of their ancestors, and sought refuge in Dunkeld and similar institutions. But at the beginning of the thirteenth century there were Culdees at Iona. The other leading institutes have touching chapters of history, although many a chronicle may have been destroyed by the prelatie invaders. The politics of the country changed; the Scots predominated over the Picts, and, with the Strathclyde Britons, they became one nation. Church unity contributed largely to national unity, and the consolidation of the clans. That the piety and ortho-

doxy of the Culdees declined through the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, none will deny. But their sturdy resistance to the great evils associated with the prelacy of those centuries excites our admiration. It is remarkable that Romanism did not finally prevail through the influence of foreign prelates, but through the power of the Scoto-Saxon kings. Submission to the papal chair came by means of subjection to the throne of Malcolm Canmore and his sons.

11. A reform was needed. There is force in the peculiarity of the reform insisted upon by the Roman party, which was waiting on the borders to make a seizure of the Culdee institutions. It shows that the old Scottish establishments had not entirely lost their character nor their independence. "The anxiety of writers of the Roman school to represent the ancient [Scottish] church as so corrupt, shows that its organization could not be in accordance with their views. But it is questionable whether the corruption was such as these men represent it." (*McLauchlan*, p. 335.)

In 1058 Malcolm Canmore ascended the Scottish throne. If it be a fact that he was educated in England, it may be true that his Anglo-Saxon training led him to adopt the papal customs and doctrines. It is quite certain that he was resolved to introduce prelacy into his realm. It was probably about the year 1077, that he founded the bishopric of Mortlach, the first of the kind in Scotland. It was however a mere foundation on paper. Thus he began a policy, which aimed at the establishment of a complete hierarchy in the kingdom, at the expense of the ruin of the Culdee church. This was a specimen of the approaching reform. But he was not to be the reformer. The English princess Margaret, daughter of William the Conqueror, was to set in motion the papal machinery. She might have entered a convent, had she not been an exile in Scotland, and had not Malcolm insisted upon making her his queen. His kindness to her widowed and banished mother and children, and his devotion to herself, prompted her to repay the obligation by advancing the church that she ardently loved. To this object she gave her powerful mind and fervent heart. In her opinion the Scottish church was perversely in error, and she directed her zeal to its reformation.

The evils to be remedied were such as these; the marriages among the clergy; the absence of doctrines and customs important to the papal system; the observance of the "mass" in a way opposed to the whole practice of the Catholic Church; the wrong mode of reckoning the time for the Lenten fast; the failure to take the Lord's Supper on Easter Sunday; the want of strictness, (according to her prelatie biographer, Turgot,) in observing the Sabbath; the custom of not dedicating churches to the Trinity; the fact that "the ancient church was too much the church of the people, and too little that of the monarch, in an age when feudal ideas of sovereignty were beginning to prevail;"\* the want of ecclesiastical councils, under the management of royal and papal legates; and especially the lack of dioceses, archbishoprics, and a fully empowered primacy.

Margaret was wise, politic, and condescending. It required no little skill and patience to effect the intended changes. The land was covered with places of worship, the remains of which still exist, extending to the most remote of the Hebrides. The cell, the kirk, and the college were still in the hands of the Culdees, and controlled by the presbytery. Her personal character won her a great influence. She was notable for her piety, as every visitor to her chapel in Stirling Castle will now be told. She fasted with rigour; she retired to caves for prayer, as if she were a genuine Culdee; she lavished alms upon the poor; she encouraged pilgrimages to Iona and St. Andrews, and furnished the means for the journey; she rebuilt the chapel of Columba; she assumed that it was her prayers to the great Saint of Iona, that obtained for her the gift of children, and thus overcoming national prejudices she sought to give to the revolution the appearance of a reform.

While thus winning the people, she was working for prelacy, which the Anglo-Saxons must introduce into Scotland. The striking fact is, that Lanfranc, the English primate, was her counsellor, notwithstanding the sad state of her family and of her Norman race in England. She could forgive all in England that she might gain all in Scotland. The Culdee presbyters were brought into conference. At one of the councils she

\* McLauchlan, p. 330.

stood alone, and contended for three days with the Scottish clergy, arguing from Scripture and tradition. The king acted as her interpreter to the Gaelic ministers. She insisted that the unity of the Catholic faith should be preserved, but was silent upon the authority of the Pope. No true Culdee would have listened, with a tendency to conviction, if she had intimated the right of Rome to rule over the church of his fathers, and of "the holy Columba." By degrees she carried the lesser points, and opened the way for the greater. Her policy was to clear the way for changes which her sons might effect. We may judge of the general purity of the Culdee church, in the eleventh century, by the kind of reform that was attempted.

12. It is a remarkable fact, that where Culdeeism was weakest, Romanism was introduced with the least difficulty. The so-called monasteries were in the way of papal progress. Where there was no prominent or active institute in a clan, or district, the people more readily accepted the new prelatie bishop. There being no central college, there was no well organized presbytery, and where there was no presbytery diocesan episcopacy easily gained a footing. This rule was modified by several conditions, such as the low state of piety and the feebleness of the missionary spirit; the readiness with which a Culdee abbot or presbyter would be tempted by the offer of promotion and reward; the enthusiasm of the clan for the king, and the ease of converting the family which held the lands of the college. The prospect of an aristocracy in the state would induce many chieftains to promote the introduction of higher orders into the church. In other lands, the larger the number of monasteries, the easier were papal customs and dominions introduced; but in Scotland the reverse was generally the rule. Immediately after Margaret's death, (1093,) her sons attempted to set up the entire system of prelacy. "Fecudal lords and Romish bishops became now the chief denizens of the Scottish court." Dioceses were founded. A prelatie bishop was appointed over Caithness and Sutherland. He met with little resistance, for there was no leading Culdee institute in operation, the ancient one having declined. In Ross we find Macbeth, probably a perverted Celtic minister, as

the first diocesan, an instance of the fact that some few of the abbots and presbyters were won over to the new order of things. The whole college of presbyters was, in a very few instances, induced to make the change, as at Brechin, where was an old Culdee establishment. At this place, "David, notwithstanding his desire for the new state of things, constituted the Culdees, who were usually twelve in number, the Dean and Chapter of the diocese; an arrangement which would not have been made, if the older clergy had been so corrupt as a certain class of writers has represented them," or unless the Romanists were even more corrupt. "In this case the new state of things was grafted upon the old. Indeed this was David's usual policy." (*McLauchlan*, p. 370.) Large grants of property began to be made by the kings to the ancient monasteries, as in the case of Loch Leven.

And yet this grafting process did not succeed so well as might be imagined. There must be an entire uprooting of the old, and a planting of the new. Presbytery must fall, before prelacy could rise. The college must be supplanted by the cathedral. "With the exception of one or two of the earlier and less prominent bishops of somewhat doubtful identity, we do not find one native Scot accepting, or received into, the newly constituted offices. Bishops and monks are almost all importations from abroad; some from England, others from France. The whole Romish system was to be introduced into Scotland, and the men, who had to organize it, had to be introduced along with it." (*McLauchlan*, p. 418.) It is very clear, then, that Culdeeism did not slowly grow into Romanism; the one was by the other supplanted. Where the ancient institute was strongest, there the new system was most vigorously resisted, until a royal order expelled the inmates, as in the case of David I. expelling the Culdees from Dunkeld, (1197.)

13. Rome could not incorporate the Culdee system into her own government. She could adopt the continental Monachism, Pelagianism, and the later Jesuitism, but she could never take under her broad pretentious wing the system of the Waldenses, the Culdees, the Hussites, and the Jansenists. The antagonism in doctrine and practice was too great for compromise. The Scottish monasteries must be destroyed; colleges of presby-

ters must be dissolved. To accomplish this, two modes were adopted.

One was the erection of dioceses; the other was the importation of various orders of foreign monks, to build new monasteries, or occupy the old. The two movements went forward together, under the royal direction. The suddenness of the revolution proves that it was brought about by force, rather than by persuasion. What could the poor presbyter-monks do against the king and his army of prelates and papal monks? "Every diocese in Scotland was founded between 1100 and 1153, except that of Argyle, which was separated from that of Dunkeld in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the whole of the powerful hierarchy of Scotland having been set up by the sons of Margaret," and that in fifty-three years! "This was a remarkable change, and as sudden as it was remarkable. Nor did it stand alone; other changes, equally significant, were taking place alongside of it. The ancient Culdee monasteries were fast disappearing, and great establishments, in accordance with the Romish model, were taking their place. Monks were introduced into every part of Scotland, covering and feeding on the land. The providing of dioceses was but a small portion of what Alexander and David did for the church." Abbeys were founded at Scone, Inchcolm, St. Andrews, and at Edinburgh was built Holyrood. Others rapidly followed. We find monasteries, of almost every order known in Europe, speedily introduced, until the land was full of them. As specimens we may name twenty-eight convents of the Augustines, (the first order that entered north of the Firth of Forth,) six Red Friars, six Premonstratenses, three Benedictines, six Tyronenses, four Cluniacenses, thirteen Cistercians, fifteen Dominicans, seventeen Franciscans, and nine Carmelites, with nunneries in growing proportions. Before such an array the Culdees were not able to stand. These had more destructive power than the king, with his twelve dioceses and two archbishoprics.

To extinguish the Culdee church "all those means, by which a religious body may be annihilated, were systematically resorted to. By corrupting those who could be tempted by the bribe of ecclesiastical rank and wealth; by expelling from their

monasteries those who obstinately adhered to the belief and practice of their fathers; by vexatious and iniquitous lawsuits; by dazzling the eyes of the people with a more splendid ritual than that followed by the simple presbyters of the Columba order; by calumniating their character and affecting a superior standard of purity of morals—in short by all the means by which an adroit, determined, and unscrupulous party may enfeeble the influence and paralyze the resolutions of a sect it has resolved to destroy, did the adherents of the Romish Church labour to sweep from the land all vestiges of the Culdees. It was not, however, till the thirteenth century that they entirely succeeded, and even then they only suppressed the colleges of the Culdees and dispersed their members. The latter still continued to labour as individuals, and in many remote parts of the country kept alive the flame of a pure Christianity, long after the whole land seemed to have sunk under papal darkness.” (Alexander’s *Iona*, p. 134.)

And this has been called the progress of Latin Christianity! “Instead of the humble, unpretending Culdee establishment, arose a powerful hierarchy, the members of which came to hold the highest offices in church and state. This change is that often referred to as the ‘progress of civilization,’ as if civilization consisted in instituting high offices in the church, accompanying them with rich endowments, and filling them with foreigners, while the native population, who had long bravely defended their country, and filled the offices in church and state well, were put aside, and their liberties withheld and appropriated to the crown. Yet this has been called the progress of civilization; and outwardly it bore that aspect, for there was an apparent grandeur in the church as David left it, and a magnificence around the throne, which had never existed in the case of either before; but in a few centuries this grandeur became such an intolerable burden, that the nation refused to bear it any longer. With this avowment that the changes in the church and state, in the beginning of the twelfth century, were changes in the direction of civilization, is almost always associated the statement, that the ancient Celtic church really was corrupted and depraved, and that in consequence there was a loud cry for reformation.

“If there were corruptions in the Culdee church, Queen Margaret and her sons sought to remedy them by importing from abroad corruptions of a grosser kind, which had grown up in a warmer climate, and under the influence of more powerful stimuli. The corruptions of Rome were a most insufficient remedy for the corruptions of Scotland. That the Culdee church had been gradually adapting itself to the necessities of a national Christianity, is sufficiently obvious. Ministers were found beyond the walls of the old mission institutes; churches were growing up in addition to the old oratories; and many of the working clergy were men of mark and of fame. Their lay abbots and their clanship were a source of weakness, while the marriage of the clergy, in an age when an ignorant and superstitious asceticism was growing into wonderful repute, served above all things to pave the way for a system more rigid, and apparently more spiritual. With all its sources of weakness, the Culdee church, however, was in the view of the nation superior to that which followed; and if evidence of this is sought for, it will be found in the fact that the revolution, which supplanted it, was the work of the king, not of the nation; that while the foreign portion of the population aided him, he received little support from the native Scots, or their ministers, and that these continued, in after times, to cherish the highest esteem for the memory of those men of piety and power, who had distinguished their ancient national church.

“Nor has this spirit died away. David might have supplanted the ancient church; he could not eradicate, from the minds of the people, the principles it had implanted. It requires but little acquaintance with Scottish history to observe that these never were eradicated; that during the reign of the Roman church in the kingdom they continued to exist, exhibiting themselves occasionally in such outbreaks as the letter of king Robert Bruce and his nobles to Pope John, or the uprising of the Lollards of Kyle, and finally culminating in the events of the Scottish Reformation. Those principles had regard, above all things, to the independence of the ancient Scottish kingdom and church. They exist still fresh and vigorous as ever in the Scottish mind; nor is it easy to say for how much of what now distinguishes Scotland ecclesiastically, she is indebted to the

ancient Culdee church. One thing is plain, that notwithstanding the claims of the Church of Rome, and its hierarchical organization to antiquity in Scotland, she can only claim four hundred of the eighteen hundred years that have elapsed since the planting of Christianity in the kingdom, viz., the period between 1150, when David established her, and 1550, when his establishment was overturned by the resuscitation of the old Scottish principles at the Reformation." (*McLauchlan*, pp. 420, 421, 440.)

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ART. II.—1. *University Reform. An Address to the Alumni of Harvard at their Triennial Festival, July 19th, 1866.*  
Printed in the *Atlantic Monthly* for September, 1866.

2. *Review of Dr. Hedge's Address to the Alumni of Harvard:*  
being Article V. of the *New Englander* for October, 1866.

THE former of these articles is by Dr. Hedge, as we understand, Dr. Frederic H. Hedge, Professor in Harvard Divinity School, the American editor of the famous "Essays and Reviews." It was delivered at the last annual commencement of Harvard College. Its immediate occasion was the new organization of the Board of Overseers of that institution. This body concurrently with the corporation governs the college. What are the precise and distinctive prerogatives of each of these bodies we are not advised, nor is it important here to indicate. It appears, however, that great evils have arisen from the divided and often clashing jurisdiction of two Boards of Control, which all experience shows is far better concentrated in one, so insuring needful unity of action along with indubitable responsibility. The change in the membership of the Board of Overseers which gave rise to the special features of Dr. Hedge's address, amounts to a complete revolution. Hitherto they have been appointed by the State government. Hereafter, the legislature has directed that they shall be appointed by the Alumni who have been graduated for five years, giving their