CHAPTER X.

Of the Opposition of the Culdees to the Romish System.—Testimony of Bede;—of Con;—of Alcuin;—of Bromton;—of Auricular Confession;—the Tonsure;—Mode of Baptism;—the Real Presence;—Idolatrous Worship.

It is evident, notwithstanding the partial accounts we have of these remote transactions, that, from a very early period, the Culdees vigorously opposed the errors, and resisted the encroachments, of the church of Rome. But even while the more candid writers, who favoured, or adhered to, the Romish interest, mention this opposition; such was their conviction of the blamcless character of the men, that they could not withhold their praise.

Bede, when speaking of the difference, between the Scottish church and the church of Rome, as to the mode of observing Easter, calls that of the latter "the canonical observation;" and says, that Oswald, king of the Angles, having applied ad majores natu Scottorum, "to the Scottish elders," that they might send him a bishop for the instruction of his people,

soon after "received bishop Aidan, a man of the greatest meekness, piety and moderation, and animated with divine zeal, although not entirely according to knowledge. For he was accustomed to observe Easter Sunday after the manner of his own nation, from the fourteenth to the twentieth moon. For, after this mode, the northern province of the Scots, and the whole Pictish nation, celebrated Easter; persuading themselves that, in this mode of observation, they followed the writings of that holy and praise-worthy father Anatolius: which, whether it be true, every intelligent person can easily discern."

Afterwards, speaking of Aidan, in reference to the same diversity of celebration, he says; "But, during the life of Aidan, this difference with respect to Easter was patiently endured by all; as they were fully sensible that, although he could not observe Easter in a way contrary to the custom of those who sent him, he nevertheless laboured, that all the works of faith, piety, and love, should be diligently practised according to the custom common to all saints: for which cause he was deservedly beloved of all, even those who differed from him in sentiment with regard to Easter; and was held in veneration, not only by persons of inferior rank, but also by the bishops themselves, by Honorius, Bishop of Canterbury, and Felix, Bishop of the East Angles."

Goodall labours to overthrow this proof of the independence of the Scottish church; but in a very unfair manner. "If enquiry be made," he says, "upon what foundation all

¹ Hist. lib. iii. c. 3.

¹ Ibid. lib. iii. c. 25.

these things are asserted, there will nothing be found but ignorance or fable. For it is a strange inference, that, because the Scots in old times observed the feast of Easter by another cycle than that which the church of Rome had adopted, therefore they entertained the same opinions with the modern Presbyterians, who utterly condemn any celebration of that festival, as highly superstitious." But, who has asserted, that the Culdees "entertained the same opinions with the modern Presbyterians," as to the observation of festival days? The question is not, if they adhered to some rites, for which the modern Presbyterians can discern no authority from the word of God. For it is admitted, that a variety of human inventions had been too generally introduced long before the age of Columba. Nor is it of consequence to inquire, from whom our forefathers originally received such rites? But the proper question is,—Ought not their rigid adherence to their own modes, in what way soever they had been introduced, to be viewed as a clear proof of their independence as a church; and particularly, of their refusing to give any subjection to the usurped authority of the church of Rome?

'Whereas it has been alledged and maintained," says Goodall, "that the disputes which the Culdees had with some bishops and canons, were on account of differences about religious tenents, it will appear, by examining into the instances alledged, that it was not so, but merely such disputes as the bishops and canons had pretty frequently among themselves, about money, lands, and privileges."—"They differed

Pref. to Keith's Catalogue, vi.

no more in religion from the rest of the church of Rome, than Black Friars do from White." '

That the Culdees had disputes about matters merely secular, as well as those who formally adhered to the church of Rome, no reasonable person will deny. But it must be observed, that their disputes about these things, according to all the accounts transmitted to us, were chiefly in later ages. From the common influence of corruption, it is natural to think, that, as this was more generally diffused, especially in consequence of the increase of the power of Rome, their zeal would appear more ardent with respect to their secular privileges, than as to those of a superior description. But it will not follow, that they never had any other grounds of dif-

Ibid. xii. xv. Almost all the writers, indeed, of the episcopal persuasion, who have handled this subject, have exerted themselves to the utmost to diminish the differences between the Culdees and the church of Rome; and, where proof has been wanting, there has been no deficiency as to assertion. Crawfurd has trodden in the same steps. Speaking of the reign of David I., he says; " No vestige from any record in antiquity among us, so far as I have been able to discover, seems to insinuate, in the remotest manner, that the Culdees, at least at this time of day, were in the least article disconform to the constitutions, as it was then established." He assigns a reason for this perfect conformity, worthy of the mode of defence that has been employed in this cause. "Who can reasonably suppose, that our bishops, who derived their mission, and authority ecclesiastical, from Rome, should commit the cure of souls to such who were heterodox in doctrine, or disconform in any one point. or mode of worship, from the faith of the church? So that, for all the pudder and work some have, of late, made about the Culdees, as if they had maintained principles in doctrine, and a party in the government and discipline of the church, distinct from the hierarchy, then fully established according to the Romish model, it has no foundation in our antiquities to support it."-Officers of State, p. 6, 7.

ference with the church of Rome. The certainty of their having disputes with respect to "money, lands, and privileges," will not destroy the evidence which we still have, that they differed as to various points both of doctrine and worship.

There is another consideration, however, which more especially demands our attention. Although it were true, that latterly the Culdees had no disputes, save with respect to "money, lands, and privileges," we could be at no loss to perceive the reason of this. Their enemies knew, that they had a far more certain prospect of success, by attacking them on these points, than merely by opposing their peculiarities. They had every reason to fear, that the Culdees, if allowed to retain their temporal emoluments, especially as they were the favourites of the vulgar, would fight it out with them to the last. They, therefore, like men who had some portion of the wisdom of the serpent at least, called in the aid of princes and peers, of popes and bishops; knowing that the arm of power is an argument that cannot easily be answered. They reduced the Culdees to the necessity, of either disputing about "money, lands, and privileges," or of depriving themselves of the possibility of continuing their disputes on more important grounds. They seem to have applied the same national proverb to this refractory fraternity, which tradition ascribes to the successors of the Culdees, at a later period, as practically applied to friars of every order, whether "black" or "white;" "Ding down the nests, and the rooks will flee away."

Before proceeding to consider the proofs, yet extant, of the difference between the Culdees and the church of Rome, as to particular points of faith or practice, it may be observed, that George Con, although a bigotted adherent to the interests of this church, even since the Reformation, has given them a very honourable testimony. "Among the Culdees," he says, "was seen that pure pattern of the christian life, which, withdrawn from the noise of the world, and the society of men, was wholly employed in the contemplation of heavenly things; such as it appeared among the Egyptians, Greeks, and Assyrians, during that and the following ages, in the lives of those illustrious servants of God, who were called Archorites and Ascetics."

The celebrated Alcuin, who flourished in the eighth century, nearly at the same time with Bede, in his epistle addressed, To the very learned Men and Fathers in the Province of the Scots, appears as a witness that our countrymen did not acknowledge auricular confession. "It is reported," he says, "that none of the laity make confession to the priests." But, although he argues against their sentiments, he gives the following character of the men. "We hear many commenda-

In Culdaeis videre erat idaeam vitae Christianae, quae a mundi strepitu hominumque consortio abducta, cœlestium rerum contemplationi tota vacabat; qualem per orientis prouincias eodem et subsequentibus saeculis exercebant gloriosi illi Dei serui, quos Anachoretas et Ascitas dixere apud Aegyptios, Graecos, et Assyrios. Atque si rem ipsam, non sola nomina perpendamus, inuenicmus profecto Culdaeos verè Ascitas Caledonios fuisse, sicut Anachoritae illi sancti, Culdaei Aegyptii sine vlla controuersia fuerunt.—De Duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos, p. 14.

tions of your wisdom and piety, both on account of the holy lives of the monks, who, free from the bustle of worldly cares, resign themselves to the service of God; and of the religious manners of the laity, who, in the midst of temporal occupations, continue to lead virtuous lives."

Although Bromton complains that Colman would not renounce the sect of the Scots, yet he gives a very honourable testimony to him, and to his predecessors, Aidan and Finan, as men of wonderful sanctity, temperance, humility, and spirituality.

That they opposed auricular confession, further appears from what the famous St Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, says concerning Malachy, Bishop of Armagh, in the twelfth century: "He anew instituted the most salutary use of confession." On this subject Toland has made the following ob-

^{*} Doctissimis viris et patribus in provincia Scotorum.—Dicitur neminem ex laicis suam velle confessionem sacerdotibus dare.—Plurima vestrae sagacitatis et religionis laus, nostris saepius insonuit auribus, seu propter sacratissimam monachorum vitam, seu propter laicorum religiosam conversationem; dum illi, ab omni strepitu secularis inquietudinis, soli Deo vacare desiderant, et isti, inter mundanas occupationes, castissimam vitam degere dicuntur. Epist. 26. V. Sibbald's Fife. p. 109.

² Colmannus vero sectam Scottorum mutare nolens, cum parte ossium patris Aidani nuper defuncti in suam patriam est reversus.—Hii autem tres episcopi Scottorum praedicti, scilicet Aidanus, Finianus, et Colmannus, mirae sanctitatis et parcimoniae extiterint, nec enim potentes mundi suscipiebant, nisi qui ad eos causa orandi solummodo veniebant. Tempore autem illo sacerdotes adeo erant ab avaricia immunes, ut nec territoria nisi coacti reciperent. Chron. ap. Dec. Script. col. 788, 789.

³ Usum saluberrimum Confessionis, sacramentum Confirmationis, contractum Conjugiorum (quae omnia aut ignorabant aut negligebant) Malachias de novo instituit. In Vit. Malach. cap. 2.

servations: "They rejected auricular confession, as well as authoritative absolution; and confessed to God alone, as believing God alone could forgive sins: which made I know not whom to exclaim most grievously against such, and to say, 'that if they could conceal their sins from God, they would no more confess them to him than to the priest.' A very shrewd egregious discovery! but laught at by the Irish laity, who, notwithstanding their native simplicity, could discern this sanctified trap laid for their private and public liberty, with all the subtilty of hypocritical priests." ²

The Scottish clergy had received the ridiculous rite of the tonsure. But it is no inconsiderable proof of their independence on Rome, that it was not till the eighth century that they could be prevailed on to adopt the Roman mode; although so early as the time of Augustine, the papal legates had introduced the latter into Britain, and had persuaded the Anglic clergy to receive it. This, indeed, appears to have been one of the very important changes designed in their legation. But the more frivolous the thing itself, which the Romanists wished to impose on the clergy in Scotland, the greater is the proof of their spirit of resistance.

It has been supposed, from the language of Bede, 4 that, "without the ceremonies used by the Romanists, they bap-

Deo vis, o homo, confiteri, quem nolens volens, latere non possis —forte si Deum latere sicut hominem, potuisses; nec Deo, plusquam homini, confiteri voluisses.

² Nazaren. Left. ii. p. 24.

³ V. Append. ad Bed. Oper. No. 9. p. 713.

⁴ Hist. lib. ii. c. 14.

tised in any water they came to." This is confirmed by the complaint which Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, makes concerning the Irish Christians, who were taught by Culdees. "Infants," he says, "are baptised by immersion, without the consecrated chrism."

It has been inferred, from the language of Bernard, that "confirmation was quite in disuse, if at all ever known" among the Irish Culdees. For, in his life of Malachy, he says, that he "anew instituted the sacrament of confirmation." ³

They seem also to have opposed the doctrine of the real presence. We read of Bishop Sedulius, who, about the beginning of the eighth century, went to Rome in company with Fergustus, or Fergus, a Pictish Bishop. Sedulius is claimed both by the Scots, and by the Irish. He subscribes himself, in a council held at Rome, A. 721, Britanniae episcopus, de genere Scotorum. But it is immaterial, whether he belonged to Scotland, or to Ireland; as the doctrines and forms of both churches were so similar. He left a commentary on all the epistles of Paul, which has been printed. On 1 Cor. xi. 24. Do this in remembrance of me, he says; "He has left his memorial to us, in the same manner as any one, who was about to go to a great distance, should leave some pledge to him whom he loved; that, as often as he saw it, he might be able to recollect the benefits and the love of his friend."

² Sibbald, ut. sup.

^a Quod infantes baptismo, sine chrismate consecrato, baptizentur. Epist. ad Tordelvachum regem Hiberniae; Nazaren. Lett. ii. p. 22.

³ In Vit. Malach. ut. sup. citat.

^{*} Suam memoriam nobis reliquit, quemadmodum, si quis peregrè proficiscens, aliquod pignus ci, quem diligit, derelinquat; ut quotiescunque illud vi-

The Culdees, it would appear, withstood the *idolatrous* worship of the Roman church. "It is to be observed," says Sir James Dalrymple, "that the common practice of the Culdees was to dedicate their principal churches to the *Holy Trinitie*, and not to the Blessed Virgin, or any Saint." "There is a charter by Malcolm IV. to the abbey of Dunkeld, in which the church is designed that of the Holy Trinity." It seems highly probable, that the church of Brechin, which has been generally viewed as a remnant of Pictish architecture, had a similar dedication; as the principal market held there is still called *Trinity*, by corruption, *Tarnty Fair*.

It is admitted, indeed, that this was their established mode of dedication. "The monastery of Dunfermlin," says a learned writer, in a passage formerly quoted, "was dedicated, like the other Culdean establishments, to the holy Trinity." Speaking of Scone, he says; "A Culdean church was here dedicated, in the earliest times, to the Holy Trinity, like other Culdean monasteries." Spotiswood says, that the abbey of Scone was dedicated "to the Holy Trinity, and St Michael the Archangel." But, there can be no doubt, that he is here to be corrected from the more full and interesting account given us by Sir James Dalrymple. He has, indeed, inserted, from the Chartulary of Scone, the charter of Alexander I. erecting the abbey. This bears, that there was a church here.

derit, possit ejus beneficia et amicitias recordari. V. Toland's Nazaren. Lett. ii. p. 23. Mackenzie's Lives, i. 373.

Collections, p. 248.

² Ibid. p. 247.

³ Caledonia, i. p. 438.

⁴ Acc. of Relig. Houses, p. 414.

formerly dedicated to the Holy Trinity. But a reason is assigned for the change of the dedication, as well as of the mode of service; a reason perfectly consonant to the spirit of the times.

The words are; "I Alexander, by the grace of God King of Scots, son of King Malcolm and Queen Margaret, and I Sibilla Queen of Scots, daughter of Henry King of England, being disposed to decorate the house of God, to exalt his habitation, give and deliver up the church, dedicated in honour of the Holy Trinity, to God himself, and St Mary, and St Michael, and St John, and St Laurence, and St Augustine." It is added, that it was "for extending and exalting the worship and honour of God, that canons were introduced from the church of St Oswalds, ad serviendum Deum canonicè."

"Here," says Sir James, " is a new order of ecclesiastics, and a new form of worship introduced, upon pretence of enlarging and exalting the worship and honour of God, as if it had not been established formerly in purity, at Scone; and

¹—Ego Alexander, &c. volentes Domum Domini decorare, habitationem ejus exaltare, ecclesiam in honorem Sancte Trinitatis dedicatam, que est in Scona, Concedimus et tradimus ipsi Deo, et Sancte Marie, et Sancto Michaeli, et Sancto Johanni, et Sancto Laurentio, et Sancto Augustino, liberam et solutam, &c. Ad Dei igitur cultum et honorem dilatandum et exaltandum; placuit nobis, clericos Canonicorum professione Deo famulantes, de ecclesia Sancti Osunaldi, de qua fama religionis nobis innotuit, honesto proborum virorum consilio, a Dompno Adelnualdo Priore requirere; Quibus ab ipso Priore nobis concessum, omni professione et sujectione liberis et solutis, curam et custodiam prefate ecclesie sic commisimus, ut ordinem ibi constituant, ad serviendum Deo canonice, secundum regulam Sancti Augustini, &c. Registr. Sconens. V. Dalrymple's Collections, p. 371, 372.

chanoins regular of St Austine, serving God by their profession, brought from the church of Oswalds in England, a place famous for its religion; as if the Scots, and their predecessors, before this time, had not been servants of God after the right rule, and their churches famous for professing the true religion; or that they had not served God *canonically*, albeit according to the canon of the holy scriptures, because not according to the rule of St Austine."

This new erection seems to have taken place A. 1114, or 1115; and it was the first instance of the introduction of canons into the Scottish church. For it was from Scone, that canons were brought to St Andrews, in the year 1140.

This exactly tallies with the account given of the Irish, while under the religious direction of the Culdees. Toland observes, that, "in their public worship, they made an honourable mention of holy persons deceased; offering a sacrifice of thanksgiving for their exemplary life and death, but not by way of propitiation for sins." For he says: "They neither prayed to dead men, nor for them. And though naming particular men on such occasions, gave a handle for erecting them afterwards into tutelary saints, yet at that time the Irish were as far from addressing themselves to saints as to angels. For they were persuaded, (to use the words of Claudius), that, 'while we are in the present world, we may help one another either by our prayers or by our counsels; but when we come before the tribunal of Christ, neither Job,

¹ Collections, p. 375.

nor Daniel, nor Noah, can intercede for any one, but every one must bear his own burden,' which is plain sense and scripture. But that which is plain nonsense, and no where authorised in scripture, I mean, the service for the dead, the Irish never practised, till they were obliged to do it by the council of Cashel, convoked by order of Henry the Second, in the year 1172. And it is certain, that nothing does more contribute to harden the more ignorant sort in a vicious course of life, than this mummery; when they observe such things said and done at burials, with relation to their deceased profligate companions, as may persuade them they are upon a level with the best, for all their past wickedness." ²

Toland, when speaking of the Irish, says that Claudius was "one of their most celebrated divines." He flourished in the year 815, and is said to have been Bishop of Auxerre; according to others, of Turin. 4

Gillan has made an effort to prove that there was no superstition in dedicating churches to saints. "If Sir James [Dalrymple,]" he says, "will be at the pains to consult, but very superficially, the writings of the ancient fathers and ecclesiastic historians, he will find that no sooner did Constantine encourage and embrace the Christian religion, but state-

^{*} Dum in praesenti seculo sumus, sive orationibus, sive consiliis invicem posse nos adjuvari: cum autem ante tribunal Christi venerimus, nec Job, nec Daniel, nec Noch, rogare posse pro quoquam; sed unumquemque portare onus summ. In Galat. 6.

² Nazarenus, Lett. ii. p. 26.

³ Ibid. p. 25.

⁴ Ware's Writers of Irel. p. 56.

ty churches were dedicated all the christian world over, to saints and martyrs. And what superstition or idolatry can there be in consecrating a church to the service and worship of God alone, and calling it by the name of a saint, both to preserve the memory of that saint, and to distinguish it from other churches?"

But the learned writer has chosen a very unlucky æra for the commencement of these dedications. Any one who consults ancient writers, although superficially, if he does it coolly, must see that, as "the mystery of iniquity" had been working long before, it made very rapid advances from the time of Constantine; and that the power, which he lent the church, and the pomp with which he surrounded her, proved her greatest snares, and did more real injury to the interests of religion than all the cruel persecutions of the heathen emperors had been able to effect. It has also been generally acknowledged by protestant writers, that the dedication of churches to saints and martyrs, however innocently meant by pious Christians, was the great inlet to the worship of demons, or departed men.

Although Bede has said, that "Ninian's episcopal seat was distinguished by the name and church of St Martin the Bishop," it does not follow that the church was thus dedicated by Ninian himself. At any rate, Bede says, in the very same place, that he had been regularly trained up at Rome.

Gillan adds, that "Sir James has been at needless trouble to

¹ Remarks, p. 24, 25.

a Hist. lib. iii. c. 3.

bring charters to prove that churches were dedicated to the Blessed Trinity." Undoubtedly, he has not. For, from what we have already seen, it appears that the Romanists were by no means satisfied with this kind of dedication. Therefore, they altered it, as not being sufficiently conducive to the honour of the catholic church.

They were also enemies to the doctrine of works of super-erogation. "They were so far," says Toland, "from pretending to do more good than they were obliged [to do], much less to superabound in merit for the benefit of others (but such others as should purchase these superfluities of grace from their executors the priests,) that they readily denied all merit of their own; and solely hoped for salvation from the mercy of God, through faith in Jesus Christ: whose faith, as a living root, was to produce the fruit of good works, without which it were barren or dead, and consequently useless: for, as Claudius—observes, from some other sage, 'The faithful man does not live by rightcousness, but the rightcous man by faith.' This excellent sentence, culled out of numberless testimonies to the same purpose in the oldest writers, comprehends at once and decides the whole controversy." ²

Sir James Dalrymple has understood a passage in an ancient deed, respecting a dispute between the Culdees and

¹ Remarks, p. 29.

^a Scita est enim sapientis viri illa sententia, non fidelem vivere ex justitia, sed justum ex fide. In Galat. 3. Nazaren. p. 25, 26. The meaning of this ancient writer evidently is; that a man does not live, or obtain acceptance with God, by his own righteousness: which is the common doctrine of the reformed churches.

the canons of St Andrews, as proving that the former celebrated divine ordinances in a manner different from that of the church of Rome. 'Goodall observes, that he has misunderstood the sense; as the language merely signifies, that inquiry was to be made, "if these Culdees had sung or said mass, while they were not at liberty, sic ligati, as lying under ecclesiastical censure." Goodall has undoubtedly given the genuine meaning of the passage.

But there is a proof of this difference, as to the mode of administering divine ordinances, which cannot easily be set aside. In the Extracts from the Register of St Andrews, it is said; "The Culdees celebrated their office, after their own manner, in a certain very small corner of the church." This, as Sir Robert Sibbald remarks, "insinuates that their way of performing the divine service differed from the Roman way, which at that time [in the reign of Alexander I.] came to be followed by many of the other clergy."

They are represented, in these extracts, as having been, for a long time, chargeable with this offensive conduct. "After the death of any of the Culdees, their wives, or children, or relations, appropriated the possessions which they had held, and even the offerings made at the altar, at which they did not serve. Nor could this evil be cured till the time of King Alexander [I.] of blessed memory, a great friend of the holy church of God."

Dr Ledwich, although he opposes the idea that the Cul-

4 Hist. of Fite, p. 187.

³ V. Appendix. No vii. where the deed referred to is transcribed.

dean constitution had any favourable aspect towards presbytery, views this passage as a clear proof of their resistance to the Romish innovations. "The Register of St Andrews," he says, "informs us that the Culdees, relaxing in discipline, were deprived of their possessions; but King Alexander restored them conditionally, that they should be more attentive in attending divine service, which they neglected, except when the king or bishop was present; performing, however, their own office in their own way in a small corner of the church. This account is obscure, merely because the truth is not related. For the registry acquaints us, when Alexander began the reform in the church of St Andrews, there was no one to serve at the altar of the blessed apostle, St Andrew, or to celebrate mass. This shews that the Culdees, who were settled there, paid no respect to these holy relicks, or to the mass, but chose rather to forfeit their church and property, than desert their principles; preferring their ancient office with integrity of heart, in a corner, to the possession of the choir and its superstitious pageantry. Their office was Gallican, and very different from the Roman. We are sure it was not the mass, which Pope Gregory [Epist. 63. l. 7.] confesses was the work of a private person, and not of apostolic authority. The Anglo-Saxons accepted the Roman office, but the British and Irish retained their primitive forms." 1

This appears to be a just view of the narrative. For the weight of the charge seems to rest here, that they did not

^{*} Antiq. of Irel. p. 112.

worship canonically. It is not asserted, that they did not continue to perform divine service regularly. Their crime was, that they performed it, not at the *altar*, but in a corner of the church; not with pomp, except when they were obliged to conform on special occasions; not after the Roman pattern, but *after their own manner*. The character given to Alexander also deserves our attention. He was "a great friend of holy church;" that is, according to the spirit of the writer, he was zealous for the Romish rites, and warmly attached to their keenest abettors.

The mode of expression used, as to the condition on which the Culdees were to enjoy the privileges restored to them, corresponds to the rest of the narration. It does not signify, as it has been rendered; "on this express condition, that the service of God should be restored in the church;" but, "that in the church itself a proper form of divine service should be constituted," or "set up." The religion, to be framed for the service of God, is explained of service at the altar of the blessed Apostle, and celebration of the mass, nay, the celebration of it there,—at the altar, and in no other part of the church.

Wyntown, like a good catholic, speaks as if there had been no religion at all at St Andrews, before the blessed change made by Alexander the First.

³ Sibbald's Hist. Fife, p. 181, Note.

² Eo numirum obtentu et conditione, ut in ipsa ecclesia constitueretur religio ad Deo deserviendum. Non enim erat, qui beati apostoli altari deserviret nec ibi missa celebrabatur, nisi cum rex vei episcopus illo advenerat, quod raro contingebat.

Saynt Andrewys cytè he come til:
Thare in hys devotyoune
He ordanyd to be relygyowne,
And stedfastly that to be done.—
Wyth consent of Dawy yhyng
Hys ayre, nest for to be kyng,
Hys brodyr, and Erle of Huntyngtown,
At Sanct Andrewys religyowne
Fra thine to be gave his gud will.

Cronykil, B. vii. c. 5. ver. 70.

It was to be at St Andrews fra thine, that is, from thenceforth. The term relygyowne, as used by Wyntown, seems strictly to denote "a religious order," or "a religious foundation for a monastic order." But it is evidently used to the exclusion of the Culdees, as if they had been totally unworthy of so honourable a designation.

I have no doubt, that their practical opposition to celibacy was one great cause of the persecution carried on against them, how much soever it might be veiled. As the Roman system gained ground, that bond, which the allwise God instituted as honourable in men of all characters, came to be reckoned quite inconsistent with the sanctity of the clergy. We have a pretty clear proof of this in Myln's Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld, formerly referred to. Speaking of the Culdees in the monastery of Dunkeld, he says; "They were religious men, although they had wives, according to the custom of the oriental church; but when it pleased the supreme Moderator of the whole of Christendom, crescenteque Principum devotione et sanctitate, and the devotion and holiness of princes being on the increase, David the holy king,—having changed the monastery, erected it into a cathedral

church, and having rejected the Culdees, repudiatis Kelledeis, appointed a bishop and canons, and ordained the monastery to be henceforth a secular college." Here a popish writer plainly enough owns, that the Culdees were repudiated by David, with the consent of the pope; because their living in wedlock was, in consequence of the increase of devotion, deemed unworthy of the sacred character. They were themselves divorced, because they would not agree to divorce their wives.

The zealous friends of the Roman interest did not consider the Culdees as properly brethren. Robert, formerly prior of Scone, was elected bishop of St Andrews, about the year 1126. He chose rather to continue without the exercise of his function, than to acknowledge the Culdees as his clergy. "In his church," says the Register of St Andrews, "he neither had, nor inclined to have, any power, till the Lord should procure for him that society which he wished for divine service. He had resolved not to associate himself to priests of other churches, lest, differing in sentiment, the fabric might be ruined ere it was well founded." 'It is in this manner that the Culdees are spoken of.

Is it said, that Robert was unwilling to acknowledge them as his clergy, because they did not profess celibacy? This,

¹ V. Dalrymple's Collections, p. 244.

² In ecclesia vero nullam habebat, nec habere volebat potestatem, donec ei Dominus procuraret, quam optabat, ad Dei servitium, societatem.—In corde statuerat nequaquam,—de aliis et diversis ecclesiis sibi fratres sociare; ne forte, diversi, diversa sentientes,—in unitatem non convenirent. V. Sibb. Fife, p. 189, 190.

so far from being an objection, is a confirmation of what we mean to prove,—that the Culdees would not submit to the Romish authority. Robert, indeed, was chosen bishop for the express purpose of bringing the Scots to a closer conformity with Rome. He was a native of England, and having been a canon Sti Oswaldi de Nostellis, near Pontefract in that country, was far more attached, than our countrymen, to the Romish rites.

The celebrated St Bernard, formerly mentioned, describes the Irish Christians, who were Culdees, as if they had been wild beasts, because they did not comply with the Roman innovations. In his life of Malachy, when relating that he was made Bishop of Connor, he says, that "he came not to men, but to beasts, absolute barbarians, a stubborn, stiffnecked, and ungovernable generation, and abominable; Christians in name, but in reality pagans." The grounds of this severe crimination immediately follow: "They neither pay tithes, nor first-fruits, they do not enter into lawful marriage, [not being married by the clergy,] they do not go to confession; no one can be found who applies for the prescription of penance, nor any one who will prescribe it." Elsewhere he says, as

¹ Keith's Catalogue, p. 6.

² Cum autem cαpisset pro suo officio agere, tunc intellexit homo Dei non ad homines se sed ad bestias destinatum.—Nusquam reperiret sic proteruos ad mores, sic ferales ad ritus, sic ad fidem impios, ad leges barbaros, ceruicosos ad disciplinam, spurcos ad vitam. Christiani nomine, re pagani. Non decimas, non primitias dare, non legitima intre coniugia, non facere confessiones: pœnitentias nec qui peteret, nec qui daret penitus inucniri. Vit. Malach. c. 6. ap. Messingham, p. 357.

we have formerly seen, that Malachy "anew introduced the most salutary use of confession, and the sacrament of confirmation."

¹ Ibid. c. 2.