



# ST GILES' LECTURES.

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*FIRST SERIES—THE SCOTTISH CHURCH.*

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## *LECTURE III.*

MEDIÆVAL SCOTLAND, 1093 TO 1513 A.D.

By the Rev. JAMES CAMPBELL, D.D., Minister of Balmerino.

THE long period of four hundred and twenty years of our ecclesiastical history of which I have to give an account is marked by the rise and growth of so many institutions, and the occurrence of so many important events, as to preclude an exhaustive treatment of it in the limited space at my disposal. All that I can here attempt is to sketch in outline the reconstruction of the Scottish Church in the twelfth century after the pattern then prevailing throughout Western Christendom, and the further development of this system onwards to the time when, through internal corruption, it had lost its energy and usefulness, and only awaited the shock by which it was to be overthrown.

Students of the history of this period enjoy one signal advantage, which is denied to explorers of the previous ages. Of the four centuries extending from the days of Cumin and Adamnan, who wrote Lives of St Columba, to the death of Malcolm Canmore, we possess scarcely any of those native

contemporary chronicles in which England and Ireland are so rich; and the inquirer must have recourse to the meagre and too often misleading information supplied by foreign annalists, or by legends and traditions which were not committed to writing till many centuries after the death of those to whom they refer. But when we reach the twelfth century we enter upon a new era. Land is then coming to be held by feudal charter; important transactions are set forth in formal documents attested by many witnesses; the endowments and privileges of religious houses and bishoprics are carefully inscribed in their registers; chronicles composed by churchmen make their appearance. Vast stores of such records have been preserved: very many of them have in recent years been printed; and the materials thus available bring us out of darkness into the light of authentic history.

It is this light, coming in with the twelfth century, which reveals the Celtic Church in a state of decay. While the greater portion of the endowments of the monasteries was held as private property by lay magnates who assumed the name of Abbot, the duties of that office were left to a Prior presiding usually over twelve Culdees, who enjoyed only certain minor revenues. This was substantially the state of things at St Andrews, Abernethy, Brechin, Monifieth, Dunkeld, and other places. In some cases the monastic community came to be represented by a solitary priest. In course of time the Culdee clergy were superseded, as we shall see, or otherwise disappeared.

The Church lands which were secularised were in some instances very extensive. The hereditary possessor of the great monastery of Applecross was able, with his vassals, to give Alexander II. such powerful assistance in war that he was rewarded by being created Earl of Ross. The lay Abbot of Glendochart ranked with the Earls of Atholl and Menteith. Most of the possessions of the monastery of Abernethy were held by a layman named Orm, ancestor of the baronial house

of Abernethy. Crinan, the lay Abbot of Dunkeld, married Bethoc, daughter of Malcolm II., and thus became the progenitor of our Scottish kings. The Church lands were frequently termed *Abthane*—a word which some have erroneously understood as denoting an office—and in the name Appin, still applied to two widely separated districts, we have a memorial of the ancient monasteries of Dull and Lismore.<sup>1</sup>

The assimilation of the Scottish Church to the English, and thus to the Roman model, begun by St Margaret, and continued by her three sons and their successors, involved the extinction of the remaining Culdee clergy. But neither the causes which led to this change, nor the means by which it was effected, can be rightly understood without reference to a great though peaceful revolution which had commenced in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, and was destined to have a lasting influence both on Church and State. This was a migration, on a very extensive scale, of settlers from England. The tyranny of William the Conqueror drove many of his subjects, both Saxons and Normans, to seek a refuge in the northern kingdom, which possessed for the former an additional attraction after the Scottish sovereign's marriage to the Princess Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling, the heir of the Saxon line. This immigration was greatly encouraged both by Malcolm himself and his successors, whose education and tastes were for the most part English. During several reigns the tide continued to flow across the Border. The land was being filled with strangers; especially its southern and eastern districts. The immigrants, many of whom were persons of rank, received grants of land from the Crown. They married Scottish

<sup>1</sup> I may here once for all refer to the following works as the authorities I have chiefly consulted, besides the standard Histories and Chartularies of Religious Houses: Mr Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii.; Innes's *Sketches of Early Scotch History*; the same author's *Scotland in the Middle Ages*; W. E. Robertson's *Scotland under her Early Kings*; Keith's *Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*; and Spottiswoode's *Religious Houses*.

heiresses. They obtained the highest public offices. The power and wealth of the kingdom were passing away from the Celtic people, who were henceforth to hold a subordinate place in the land they had ruled. Throughout a large portion of the country the Celtic language died out: the Celtic population was absorbed; and Scottish customs and institutions were being conformed to those of England. It was the commencement of a process which has been going on, with some interruptions, ever since: which is going on now, and with increasing rapidity, as intercourse with the South is becoming ever more extended.

The remodelling of the Scottish Church was carried out mainly by the establishment of Parishes, and the introduction of Diocesan Episcopacy and the Monastic Orders of the Church of Rome. These several processes went on simultaneously, and were closely connected with each other. But a distinct idea of them can perhaps be best given by describing them separately. The formation of Parishes may be taken first.

The organisation of the Celtic Church was monastic, not parochial. In many cases a tribe or a province possessed its own monastery, endowed by some former chief, and supplying Christian rites to the people around. There were also foundations which did not possess this tribal character. Sometimes a monastery had under its charge a group of neighbouring churches. Mortlach, in Aberdeenshire, with its five churches, was an instance of such an arrangement. Those structures have perished. Yet memorials of not a few of their founders still remain. We can often recognise the name of the first evangelist of a district in the saint to whom its church was afterwards dedicated; in the well at which he baptised his converts; in the 'fair' or festival (for such is the original meaning of the term) held on his 'day,' and still known by his name; in the stone seat on which the good man was wont to rest; or in the cave to which he retired for shelter or meditation. Such memorials are numerous throughout the Scottish mainland and islands.

Those primitive churches must, in many cases, have practically served as 'parish' churches by furnishing religious ordinances to the inhabitants of a definite territory. But parochial churches in the proper sense, mainly supported by tithes drawn from the district which they supply, were almost unknown till about the commencement of the twelfth century. The formation of parishes was promoted by the sovereigns, whose efforts were zealously seconded by the Norman and Saxon settlers. The proprietor of a manor built a church, or adopted one already existing, for the use of himself and his people, endowed it with the tithes of his land, and nominated a priest, with the sanction of the bishop, to serve it. His manor came to be regarded as a parish; and this was the origin of parishes, tithes, and patronage. We have an interesting example of the erection and endowment of a church, and the formation of a parish, in the case of Ednam, in the Merse. Thor, one of the new settlers from England, states, in a charter granted by him, that 'King Edgar gave to me Ednaham, waste, which I, by his assistance and my own money, have inhabited; and I have built from the foundation a church, which the king caused to be dedicated in honour of St Cuthbert, and endowed it with one plough of land.'<sup>1</sup> It appears that the tithes of the manor were also given to the church of Ednam—in short it constituted a parish. It is the first parish of whose formation we possess a distinct record. Six centuries later it was the birthplace of the poet of the *Seasons*, his father being its Minister.

Reasons of convenience frequently caused parishes to be subdivided. If a manor was extensive, one or more chapels would be erected in distant parts of it for the accommodation of the people residing there; and these chapels would in course of time acquire parochial rights. Or if an estate was divided among several proprietors, each of them would build a church

<sup>1</sup> *National MSS. of Scotland*, vol. i. No. xiv.

for his own people. In some cases a parish intersected by a river, or by mountains, required a church for each of its divisions. If a burgh arose within a parish, a new church would be required for itself. Thus the parish of Edinburgh was taken out of St Cuthbert's.

The institution of Parishes was the most valuable part of the organisation of the Mediæval Church ; and it has proved to be the most lasting. No better expedient could have been devised for the instruction of the whole population. It is an interesting circumstance that after all the revolutions through which the Scottish Church has passed since the twelfth century, the Parochial system is at the present time not only in vigorous operation, but continuously undergoing that extension which is rendered necessary by the increase of the population. Its efficiency in the Middle Ages was, however, grievously impaired, as we shall see, by the bestowal of the revenues of Parish churches on Monks and Bishops.

Another part of the process of assimilating the Scottish to the English Church was the introduction of Diocesan Episcopacy, which, it is now generally allowed, had no existence in Scotland till the twelfth century. The see of St Andrews—as yet the sole 'bishopric of the Scots'—first claims our attention. On the accession of King Alexander, he proceeded to fill up the vacancy which had existed since the death of the last Celtic bishop, by appointing, with the consent of the clergy and people, Turgot, Prior of Durham, who had been his mother's confessor and biographer. This was the first of a series of Englishmen who filled the see. His appointment led to a controversy involving the independence of the Scottish Church. The Primate of York claimed the right of consecrating Turgot, on the plea that the province of York embraced the whole of Scotland. The King and clergy resisted this plea. The matter was ultimately settled by a compromise. Turgot was consecrated by the Archbishop of York, the rights of both Churches being expressly reserved. On the death of Turgot, Alexander,

in order to prevent a repetition of the claims of York, requested the Archbishop of Canterbury to recommend a fit person for the office. Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, was accordingly sent to St Andrews. But he, after his election, proposed to go back to Canterbury for consecration. The King, being resolved to maintain the independence of the Church, indignantly refused his consent to such a step. After a lengthened dispute, Eadmer resigned his appointment, and returned to Canterbury. Ultimately, Robert, Prior of Scone, was appointed to the see of St Andrews, and, after Alexander's death, was consecrated by the Primate of York on conditions similar to those agreed on in Turgot's case. Arnold, the next bishop, was consecrated in the Cathedral Church of St Regulus—King David being present—by the Bishop of Moray as Papal legate, though the pretensions of York were not abandoned.

The Church of St Regulus, with its square tower—to which a fabulous antiquity was at one time ascribed—was erected by Bishop Robert between the years 1127 and 1144. It was not twenty years old when Bishop Arnold commenced the building of the greater Cathedral, which, however, was not completed till 1318, when it was consecrated in presence of King Robert Bruce, who then endowed it with a hundred merks, out of gratitude for his victory at Bannockburn.

Two new dioceses were created by Alexander I.—those of Moray and Dunkeld. The former embraced the country beyond the river Spey. The see was successively at Birney, Kinneddor, and Spynie. In 1224 it was removed to Elgin. At Dunkeld there had been a monastery from very early times. Here Kenneth Macalpin, about the year 849, founded a church, and transferred to it the primacy of Iona, with a portion of the relics of St Columba; and it had been the seat of the Bishopric of the Picts, which was afterwards removed to Abernethy, and thence to St Andrews. Cormac, who, it appears, was now Abbot of Dunkeld, was made the first bishop of the diocese; and the Culdees were superseded by a Chapter of secular

Canons. The diocese was of vast extent, and embraced Argyll, as well as many detached places where there were anciently Columban houses, including Iona itself.

King David zealously pursued the same policy by still further dividing the country into dioceses. While heir to the throne, as Prince of Scottish Cumbria, he had founded or restored, about the year 1116, the bishopric of Glasgow, and appointed to it John, who had been his tutor. John was consecrated by the Pope, though, as in the case of St Andrews, a claim of jurisdiction had been advanced by the Archbishop of York. The diocese of Glasgow extended from the Clyde to the Solway and the English Border, and from Lothian to the river Urr, and included also the districts of Lennox and Teviotdale. On the spot where St Kentigern had preached the Gospel by the Molendinar Burn, Bishop John erected a Cathedral Church, which was dedicated in 1136. But this was afterwards burned down, and the crypt and choir of a new Cathedral—the stately structure still existing—were completed by Bishop Jocelin in 1197. The nave was erected between 1233 and 1258.

On David's accession to the throne he proceeded to create additional dioceses; and before his death six other sees had been founded—those of Aberdeen, Ross, Caithness, Dunblane, Brechin, and Galloway.

The bishopric of Aberdeen embraced the district between the Dee and the Spey; and the old Columban monasteries of Mortlach and Cloveth formed part of its endowment.—The seat of the diocese of Ross was at first either at Rosemarky, where a monastery had been founded in the sixth century, or at Fortrose.—The remote province of Caithness, which embraced the territory forming the modern counties of Caithness and Sutherland, was held by the Norse Earls of Orkney in nominal subjection to the Scottish crown. In founding the bishopric of Caithness, David probably designed to strengthen his own authority in the district. The seat of the diocese was at Dornoch. John, the second bishop, had his tongue and eyes



dug out at Skrabister by the Earl of Orkney. Adam, his successor, who had been too rigorous in exacting his tithes of butter, was set upon by the people on a Sunday, apparently with the connivance of the Earl, and burned to death in his own kitchen at Halkirk. For this outrage Alexander II. inflicted severe punishment.—The see of Dunblane was founded by the Earl Palatine of Stratherne. The diocese appears to have been formed chiefly out of that of Dunkeld.—At Brechin a church had been built towards the end of the tenth century; and it is supposed that the abbot of the monastery connected with it was made, as in the case of Dunkeld, the first bishop of the new diocese; while the Abbacy passed to his son, a layman, and became hereditary in his family. The Prior and Culdees formed for a time the Bishop's Chapter, till they were superseded by secular Canons.—At Candida Casa, or Whithorn, where St Ninian had built his white church, a see had been founded or restored in the eighth century; and as Galloway was then subject to the kings of Northumbria, the bishop was a suffragan of York. The see, long disused, was again restored by Fergus, Lord of Galloway, about the end of David's reign. The bishop was still subject to York, and remained so till the fourteenth century. The diocese of Galloway embraced the modern counties of Wigtown and Kirkcudbright, west of the river Urr.

The Diocesan system of the Church was now nearly completed. The only bishopric created after David's reign was that of Lismore or Argyll, in 1222. It was formed out of the diocese of Dunkeld, and embraced the mainland of Argyll. Its first bishop received the appointment because he could speak the Gaelic language of the people. The see of the diocese was first at Muckairn, on the southern shore of Loch Etive, and was thence removed to the island of Lismore, which was transferred from the diocese of the Isles to that of Argyll. The Western Isles originally formed part of the bishopric of Sodor and Man—'Sodor,' or the 'Sudreys,' signifying the southern, that is, those now called the Western Islands or Hebrides, as dis-

tinguished from the northern islands of Orkney and Shetland—and the bishop was a suffragan of the Archbishop of Drontheim, metropolitan of Norway. When Man was afterwards taken possession of by England, and the Western Isles were united to Scotland, the diocese seems to have been divided into two, and the northern diocese was united to the Scottish Church. The Benedictine Abbey Church of Iona was used as its Cathedral, though Iona itself continued to belong to the diocese of Dunkeld after the creation of that of Argyll. From about the year 1498, the Abbacy of Iona and the Bishopric of the Isles were held by the same person. In 1469, Orkney and Shetland were acquired by Scotland; and soon afterwards the diocese of Orkney, which had been subject to Drontheim, was annexed to the Scottish Church.

Most of the dioceses were divided into several Rural Deaneries: St Andrews and Glasgow into two Archdeaconries each; and these again were subdivided into Deaneries. The various sees were in course of time provided with Cathedral churches, and with Chapters usually embracing a Dean, archdeacon, chancellor, precentor, treasurer, and other officials. In the dioceses of Brechin, Ross, and Caithness, the chapter was at first composed of Culdees; but these were afterwards displaced, and ultimately a dean and secular canons formed the chapters of all the dioceses except St Andrews and Galloway, where their places were supplied by the prior and canons-regular of the monasteries there established. The cathedral constitutions were mostly borrowed from England. Glasgow and Dunkeld followed the model of Salisbury; Moray, Aberdeen, and Caithness, those of Lincoln. The Breviary and Missal of Salisbury formed the ritual of all the Scottish dioceses. It is believed that organs and choirs were introduced into Scotland in the thirteenth century.

Though the country had been divided into dioceses, it had as yet no Metropolitan or Primate. King David had endeavoured to procure from the Pope the erection of St Andrews into an

archbishopric; but in consequence of the opposition of York, the attempt was unsuccessful. It was renewed by Malcolm IV., with no better result. In 1188, however, Pope Clement III. issued a bull by which the Scottish Church was declared independent of all foreign control, save that of the See of Rome. Having no metropolitan to preside over them, the Scottish clergy could not hold Provincial Councils without the presence of a Papal legate—an official whose visits and pecuniary demands were, both to the sovereigns and the clergy, objects of special aversion. In 1225, Pope Honorius III. authorised the holding of Provincial Councils without the presence of a legate, for the carrying out of the decrees of General Councils, and other purposes of discipline. Accordingly these councils now met annually for three days when necessary, and were opened with a sermon preached by each of the bishops in his turn. They were composed of all the bishops, abbots, and priors; to whom were added in later times representatives of the capitular, conventual, and collegiate clergy. One of the bishops was chosen for a year as Conservator of the canons or statutes of the council, with power to enforce them. The Conservator also summoned the council, and presided in it, or, in his absence, the oldest bishop. Two doctors of the civil law attended as representatives of the sovereign. In course of time these Councils framed a body of statutes which regulated the proceedings of the Church till near the Reformation.<sup>1</sup> In 1472, the Pope at length erected St Andrews into an archbishopric, with the other twelve bishops as its suffragans. As this was done on the suit of Bishop Patrick Graham, without the knowledge or consent of the king or bishops, a conflict ensued which proved fatal to him; and he—the first Archbishop—ended his days as a prisoner in Lochleven. In 1487, Schevez, his successor, was made Primate of all Scotland and legate *natus*. Five

<sup>1</sup> They have now been printed under the title *Concilia Scotiæ*, with Preface by Dr Joseph Robertson (Bannatyne Club Series).

years later the Bishop of Glasgow was raised to the rank of Archbishop, with the bishops of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway, and Argyll as his suffragans. These proceedings led to bitter strife between the two archbishops, which continued till the Reformation.

There were also Synods of the clergy of each diocese, presided over by their own bishop. The Diocesan Synod of St Andrews (*Scotticè*, Senzie or Seinyé) was held either at St Andrews in the Senzie Hall, or at Edinburgh in the Abbey Church of Holyrood.

The next part of the process of remodelling the Scottish Church which I have to describe is the introduction of the Monastic Orders of the Church of Rome, with their more thorough organisation and severer discipline, in place of the now effete Culdees. This movement was connected with a remarkable revival of deep religious feeling, which had recently occurred throughout Western Christendom, and now reached our country, impelling vast numbers of devotees to embrace the monastic life, which they regarded as the highest form of piety. The discipline of the cloister was observed with increasing strictness. One leader after another appeared in different countries of Europe, practising some new form of asceticism, whose 'rule' was quickly and enthusiastically adopted by thousands of followers. Those who did not themselves assume the monkish garb, reckoned it a duty and a privilege to found, or to contribute to the endowment of a religious house. Kings and nobles bestowed on these establishments their most fertile lands, and built for the dwellings, and for the religious rites of their inmates, the most stately and beautiful edifices. The people regarded the monks with veneration and affection, and believed that their prayers possessed extraordinary efficacy. The Monastic Orders enjoyed the special favour and protection of the Roman Pontiffs, of whose power and supremacy they were, in turn, the devoted supporters. In bestowing endowments on a religious house, the donors acted

under the combined influence of piety and superstition. Sometimes they would stipulate for the privilege of being buried within its sacred precincts: or they hoped at some future day to find in the cloister a retreat from the strife and cares of the world. A powerful motive to liberality was the reward which they believed this would secure for them; and benefactions were usually bestowed for the salvation of the souls of the donor, his parents and ancestors, his children and descendants, as well as for the glory of God and the honour of the blessed Virgin, or of the Saint to whom the house was dedicated.

The members of the monastic fraternities were called Regulars, as being bound by the 'rule' (*regula*) of their Order; and were known as Canons, Monks, or Friars—all other clergy being styled Seculars. The two most celebrated Orders were the Augustinian canons, who followed the rule of St Augustine; and the Benedictine monks, who adopted that of St Benedict. Each of these embraced several species, whose names were derived from their founder, the place where they took their rise, their dress, or some other circumstance. The Augustinians comprehended the Regular Canons of St Augustine, the Præmonstratensians, the Red Friars, the Dominicans or Black Friars, and the Canons of St Anthony. The Benedictines included those of Marmoutier, styled Black Monks; of Cluny; and of Tiron; the Cistercians, or White Monks; and the Monks of Vallis-caulium. There were also the Carmelites, or White Friars; the Franciscans, or Grey Friars; the Carthusians, and others. Of these numerous Orders, most had ample endowments for their maintenance. Such were termed Rented Religious. The Dominicans, Carmelites, and Franciscans, who subsisted chiefly on alms, were called Mendicant or Begging Friars. The greater houses were styled Abbeys; the lesser, Pories: presided over by an Abbot and Prior respectively. An Abbot's deputy in his own monastery was also called a Prior. Many of the Pories were subject to the larger Abbeys.

While the several Orders differed from each other in various

ways, they were all bound by the three rules of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Their members could hold no private property, but were permitted in their corporate capacity to receive lands, and other possessions and privileges. They were all subject to strict regulations in regard to their food and dress, and the disposal of their time. Daily they performed their devotional services in church seven times together, and also assembled in the Chapter-house for discipline. During meals the Holy Scriptures or other edifying books were read aloud to the assembled brethren by one of their number. The rest of the day was devoted to some useful occupation, such as the copying and illumination of manuscripts, works of art connected with the buildings or decorations of the monastery, or the practice of gardening and agriculture. Members of the brotherhood were set apart to certain conventual offices, such as chamberlain, refectioneer, cellarer, almoner, infirmarer, hospitaller, librarian, treasurer, porter, master of the novices. For the management of their secular business, a certain number of lay brethren, called *converts*, were admitted into the community. Over all ruled the Abbot or Prior, chosen by the suffrages of the monks, and wielding extensive authority. The Superiors of the greater houses possessed the privilege of wearing the mitre, which carried with it the power of conferring minor Orders on the members; and in general the monasteries were independent of the bishop of the diocese, and were accountable only to the General Chapter of the Order, subject to review by the Pope.

Though St Margaret founded a church at Dunfermline, neither she nor her royal husband founded any Religious house. Her sons, in different degrees, distinguished themselves in this way. King Edgar, about the year 1097, restored the monastery of Coldingham, which, after experiencing a strange and romantic history, had for centuries been ruined and abandoned. He erected it into a priory, and placed in it Benedictine monks, whom he brought from Durham—the first of that order who were introduced into Scotland. After a brief reign, Edgar was

succeeded by Alexander I., who pursued a similar policy. At Scone there had been a monastery of great antiquity, and there was now a church dedicated to the Holy Trinity—a place rendered famous by the coronation there of the Scottish kings on that ‘fatal stone’ which was believed to have served Jacob for his pillow, and still lends a peculiar interest to the Coronation Chair at Westminster. Here Alexander founded an abbey for canons-regular of St Augustine, who were now brought into Scotland for the first time, from St Oswald’s, near Pontefract. Robert, an Englishman, was the first Superior of the house. The king bestowed on the new foundation a priory of the same order, which he established in an island in Loch Tay, where his consort, Queen Sibylla, daughter of Henry I. of England, was buried. Yet another religious house owed its existence to Alexander. Having on one occasion, while crossing the Forth during a storm, been cast on the island of Æmonia, where there lived a hermit who followed the discipline of St Columba; and having with his attendants subsisted for three days on the hermit’s humble fare of milk, small fishes, and shell-fish, the king founded there a monastery, which he dedicated to St Columba, to whom he believed he owed his escape from shipwreck; and the island thereafter was known by the name of Inchcolm, or Columba’s Isle. One of the abbots of this house was Walter Bower, the continuator of Fordun’s *Scoti-chronicon*.

With the view of establishing at St Andrews a monastic fraternity of the Anglican type, Alexander restored to its church the lands called the Boar’s Chase; and caused

‘His comely steed of Araby,  
Saddled and bridled costlily,’

and covered with a mantle of rich velvet, to be led up to the altar, and, along with his Turkish armour, shield and spear of silver, and many precious jewels, presented as a symbol of possession. The monastery was, however, not actually founded till the following reign.

The most munificent patron of the monks was the saintly King David; and many of the houses founded by him also were restorations of decayed Columban institutions. While he was yet Prince of Cumbria, he founded two monasteries—those of Selkirk and Jedburgh. The former was soon removed to Kelso, and was supplied with Reformed Benedictine monks from Tiron in France. Its mitred Abbots at one time claimed precedence of the heads of all the religious houses of the kingdom. To Jedburgh David brought Augustinian canons-regular from Beauvais. After his accession to the throne, he converted his mother's church at Dunfermline into a monastery for Benedictine monks, whom he brought from Canterbury, and its first abbot was Geoffrey, Prior of Canterbury. The abbey of Dunfermline succeeded Iona as the burial-place of the Scottish kings. David also founded for Augustinian canons-regular the abbey of Holyrood, so called from the famous Black Rood which he presented to it. This crucifix, which was believed to inclose a portion of the true Cross, was brought into Scotland by St Margaret. For canons of the same Order brought from Aroise, near Arras, King David founded Cambuskenneth Abbey; and for Cistercian monks, Melrose, Newbottle, and Kinloss; besides several more monasteries for other Orders. Melrose got its monks from Rievaulx in Yorkshire, and was the mother of most of the Cistercian houses in Scotland.

In 1144, King David co-operated with Robert, Bishop of St Andrews, in founding in that city a priory for Augustinian canons, who were brought thither from Scone. A great portion of the secularised revenues of the ancient monastery of St Andrews—of which King Constantine, two centuries before, having retired from the world, had become the Abbot—was eventually bestowed on this new community of regulars, who were placed there that they might supersede the Culdees. King David now ordained that the latter should be admitted into the Priory as canons, if they were willing to become



canons: if unwilling, they were to be allowed to retain their possessions during their life; and as they died out, canons-regular were to be instituted in their place, and their endowments transferred to the Priory. Soon afterwards, the Pope deprived the Culdees of their right of electing the bishop. They, however, stoutly resisted these changes, and for more than a century maintained, with more or less success, their right to share with the canons in the bishop's election. It was not till 1273 they were finally deprived of this privilege. In 1258 they lost their position as vicars of the parish church of St Andrews, and became eventually known as the Provost and prebendaries of 'Our Lady College of the Heugh,' or the 'Church of the Blessed Mary of the Rock'—the Chapel-Royal of Scotland—the Provost continuing to be instituted, not by the Bishop, but by the finger-ring of the lay patron, the King of the Scots. The Priory of St Andrews rapidly rose to the first position, in wealth and honours, among the religious houses of the kingdom. Its Superior was mitred, and in the time of King James I. obtained precedence in Parliament above all Abbots and Priors.

Harsher treatment than that received by the Culdees of St Andrews was now the lot of their brethren of Lochleven, who had there for centuries kept alive the knowledge of religion, and had received endowments from several Celtic bishops and sovereigns, including Macbeth and his wife Gruoch. In the tenth century this interesting community, with Ronan their abbot, had made over their monastery to the Bishop of St Andrews, on condition that he would supply them with food and raiment. This transaction enabled Bishop Robert now to bestow on the priory of St Andrews the abbacy of Lochleven, with all its revenues, and its little library of sixteen manuscript volumes—the names of which are preserved—that a body of canons-regular might be there established. In a charter to the same effect, King David ordains that 'the Culdees who shall be found there, if they consent to live as

regulars, shall be permitted to remain in society with, and subject to the others; but should any of them be disposed to offer resistance, his will and pleasure is, that such shall be expelled from the island.' A priory of Augustinian canons was now therefore settled in Lochleven. One of its Superiors was Andrew Wyntoun, author of the *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*. The Culdees of Monimusk, who also were connected with the church of St Andrews, were in a somewhat similar manner superseded by a community of Augustinian canons-regular, as were likewise the Culdees of Abernethy.

To King David also is ascribed the introduction into Scotland of the Military Orders—the Templars and Knights of St John—instituted for the defence of the Temple of Jerusalem against the infidels, and for the entertainment of pilgrims. The principal house of the former order was at Temple in Midlothian, and that of the latter at Torphichen. The Templars were suppressed by the Pope in 1312, and their possessions, which were numerous in this country, were bestowed on the Knights of St John.

The most important of the royal foundations subsequent to David's reign was the great and richly endowed abbey of Arbroath, begun by William the Lion in 1178, seven years after the death of Thomas à Becket, to whom it was afterwards dedicated. Its founder was buried before its high altar in 1214. Fifteen years later, his widow, Queen Ermengarde, founded a Cistercian abbey at Balmerino. This house, which was beautifully situated on the south shore of the Firth of Tay, was dedicated to St Mary and St Edward the Confessor, and was associated with memories of subsequent Scottish queens. Before the high altar of the Abbey Church, Queen Ermengarde was interred in the year 1233, in presence of her son Alexander II. Towards the end of the twelfth century, the abbey of Lindores was founded for Tironensian monks by David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion, on his return from the Crusades.

The nobles of the land followed the example thus set by the royal family, by founding other religious houses, or by adding to the endowments of those already existing. Next to King David, the most munificent friend of the monks was Fergus, the semi-independent Lord of Galloway, who founded monasteries at Soulseat—to which he brought canons from Premontre—Whithorn, St Mary's Isle, Tungland, Holywood, and Dundrennan; and on being defeated in an insurrection which he raised against Malcolm IV., was compelled to end his days as a canon of Holyrood. The abbey of Paisley—at first a priory—was founded for Cluniac monks who came from Wenlock in Shropshire, by Walter, son of Alan, the Lord High Steward. Reginald, Lord of the Isles, founded at Iona a Benedictine abbey and nunnery. It is supposed that the Culdees in Iona adopted the Benedictine rule, and became monks of this abbey. The existing ruins on the island are the remains of these two houses. The last abbey founded in Scotland was a Cistercian house in Galloway; and its name was derived from a touching circumstance. The Prior of Lochleven tells us that Devorgilla, daughter of the Lord of Galloway, and wife of John Balliol, founded this monastery in the year 1275; and that when her husband died, she had his heart embalmed and placed in a coffer of ivory, which was daily set before her as a memento of him who was gone. And she gave orders that when she died, she should be buried in the abbey she had founded, with the coffer placed upon her breast. Her commands were obeyed, and the house received the name of Sweet Heart Abbey.

The number of monks in each house varied at different times. It is said there were in Melrose, in 1542, two hundred. Probably the larger monasteries contained usually fifty or sixty. The number was greatly diminished on the eve of the Reformation.

Of nunneries of various orders upwards of twenty were established in Scotland. We know little of the history of those communities of pious virgins who 'departed not from the temple,

but served God with fastings and prayers night and day.' Let us hope that many of their members were successful in securing those higher spiritual attainments for which they erroneously forsook the innocent enjoyments, and declined the responsibilities of life.

In the foregoing brief survey I have mentioned by name only some of the chief monasteries. The various orders of Augustinian canons had forty-eight, and those of Benedictine monks thirty-one houses. There were at least a hundred and fifty religious houses of all kinds, including those yet to be specified. Many of them were richly endowed. A large portion of the best soil of the country was in the hands of the regular clergy. And the effects of this at first cannot be regarded as injurious to the nation. The monks not only gave much attention to agriculture, but were the first to grant long leases of their lands on easy terms to tenants, who were not, like those of lay proprietors, bound to give military service, except on very special occasions. The clergy had a direct interest in the maintenance of peace, and could not be deprived of their estates by forfeiture or other sudden changes, which were productive of great misery to the tenants of lay lords. The monks were the friends of the serfs, the poor, and the helpless; their charity and hospitality were bestowed with lavish profusion. Each monastery was a centre from which religious and civilising influences of various kinds radiated into the surrounding district. An important service rendered by the monks was their cultivation of learning at a time when no Scottish baron could sign his own name, or would have reckoned it other than a degradation to possess such a monkish accomplishment. In the monasteries the flickering lamp of knowledge was kept alive when 'there was darkness over the land, even darkness which might be felt.'

Having become possessed of enormous wealth, the monks began to relax the strictness of their discipline, and declined

in popular esteem. It was for this reason the Mendicant Orders were instituted. The Dominican and Franciscan Friars took their rise in the thirteenth century. The latter were also termed *Fratres Minores*, Minor Friars, or Minorites. The Dominicans were specially styled Preaching Friars, because they devoted themselves particularly to preaching, which was scandalously neglected by the clergy. The Popes, perceiving how admirably the Mendicant Orders were fitted to strengthen the Church, permitted them to preach wheresoever they chose, without license from the bishop, or consent of the curates, and made them responsible to the Papal see alone. They also granted to them the right of administering the sacraments; of hearing confession and granting absolution; and of selling indulgences in order to eke out their means of subsistence. The attention of the people was arrested by the appearance of barefooted men, wearing a coarse robe and cowl, with a rope round their waist, expatiating on the love of God, and the duties of religion. Supplying a real want at the time, the Friars became rapidly popular; and their influence was soon felt throughout the whole of Christendom. They were the favourite spiritual guides of the people, especially the more ignorant, who everywhere flocked to their churches. This brought upon them the hatred of the bishops and parochial incumbents, whom they supplanted in popular esteem, and whose flocks they drew away from their ministrations. They soon exhibited the usual effects of such prosperity. They were filled with pride. They poured contempt on the other clergy. Their own fraternities were split into contending factions. At length, by the laxity of their morals, they became, in a greater degree even than the monks, a source of weakness and scandal to the Church, and were objects of animosity and ridicule to all who longed for its reformation.

In the reign of Alexander II. the favour which had hitherto been shewn towards canons and monks began to be transferred to the Friars, who had eventually forty-six houses of the

various Orders, which were mostly situated in towns. The houses of the Trinity or Red Friars were termed Hospitals or Ministries.

I have already alluded to the practice of conferring on religious houses the revenues of parish churches. It commenced, indeed, previous to the reform of the twelfth century. Some time before the reign of Alexander I., the churches of Markinch, Scoonie, and Auchterderran had been bestowed on the Culdees of Lochleven by the Celtic bishops of St Andrews; and the monks of Iona had four churches in Galloway. But the system was adopted to an enormous extent in the twelfth century and subsequently. In the reign of William the Lion thirty-three parish churches were bestowed on the abbey of Arbroath. Dunfermline had as many; Paisley, thirty; Holyrood, twenty-seven; Melrose, Kelso, and Lindores, nearly similar numbers. The revenues of bishoprics were increased from the same source. In the early part of King William's reign, the Bishop of Glasgow possessed twenty-five churches, and several more were afterwards acquired by it. In Fife there were not more than eight rectories at the Reformation; all the other parishes were vicarages. Seven hundred Scottish parishes—probably two-thirds of the whole number—were vicarages—that is to say, the greater tithes of corn, &c. went to the monks and bishops; while the vicar, who performed the parochial duties, got only the lesser tithes or a very small money stipend. The evil effects of such a system may be easily imagined. The underpaid curate was despised for his poverty, which disabled him from worthily ministering to the varied wants of his parishioners; while those emoluments which would have provided a comfortable subsistence for a resident clergyman were carried off to the distant Monastery or to the Bishop's palace.

The assimilation of the Scottish to the English Church embraced also its architectural styles. As our country received its faith chiefly from Ireland, so its earliest monastic

structures resembled those of that country. The only remaining monuments of the old Celtic Church, possessing any architectural pretensions, are the round towers of Abernethy and Brechin, which are evidently of the same class as the numerous round towers still existing in Ireland, and were doubtless used as bell-towers and places of security. The now roofless church of Egilshay in Orkney, with its round tower, is probably also of Irish origin.

The Norman Conquest was followed in England by a remarkable increase in the number, and an improvement in the architecture of churches. In Scotland, similar effects resulted from the Norman and Saxon immigration. In place of the little Celtic edifices, frequently built of wood, and thatched with straw or heather, there were now reared for the worship of God the most magnificent structures which any age has given to our country, and richly provided with all the materials of an imposing ritual. The church erected at Dunfermline by St Margaret, of which the nave still exists, is the earliest embodiment of the loftier aspirations now evoked, and the first example of the substitution of English for Irish or native influence in Scottish church architecture. This fabric is of the Romanesque or Norman style brought into England about the time of the Conquest—easily known by its round-headed doors and windows, heavy round pillars, and, in its later stages, by profuse ‘zigzag’ and other ornamentation. Additional examples of it may be seen in the oldest portions of the cathedrals of Kirkwall and St Andrews, and of the abbeys of Jedburgh and Arbroath; in Kelso Abbey; in the rural parish churches of Dalmeny and Leuchars, and St Margaret’s chapel in Edinburgh Castle, which shew the semi-circular apse.

Towards the end of the twelfth century the Norman style, both in England and Scotland, gave place to the Early English or First-Pointed, characterised by the pointed arch, long narrow lancet-headed windows, clustered pillars, and less massive walls

supported by projecting buttresses—though in our country the semicircular arch, round pillar, and certain other Norman features, occasionally appear both in this and subsequent styles. Most of our cathedral and abbey churches—including the greater portion of the stately fabrics of St Andrews, Glasgow, Arbroath, and Elgin—are of the First-Pointed style, which continued with us, as in England, for about a century, and embraced the latter half of the reign of William the Lion, and the reigns of the second and third Alexander—a period which has been justly termed Scotland's Golden Age, when peace and plenty, law and justice prevailed, and a great advance was made in the consolidation of the Church and the civilisation of the people. A striking proof of the activity in church-building which prevailed in the thirteenth century is found in the fact, that Bishop David Bernham of St Andrews consecrated, in the space of ten years, no fewer than a hundred and forty churches in his own diocese—nearly one-half of the whole number it contained. Yet it is a singular circumstance—explain it how we may—that by far the greater number of ancient parish churches, of which fragments still exist, are of the Norman style of the twelfth century.

The First-Pointed style gradually merged into the Second-Pointed or Decorated, in which Gothic architecture in England reached the perfection of majestic beauty. This style, distinguished by mullioned windows filled either with geometrical or flowing tracery, enriched doorways, and elaborate mouldings, prevailed in the South during the whole of the fourteenth century. It had been introduced into Scotland, and was used to a limited extent, before the War of Independence. During that great struggle such of the clergy as were of English extraction were driven from the kingdom; dignified ecclesiastics sometimes took the field at the head of their armed vassals; religious houses were ruthlessly destroyed by the invaders; and the peaceful arts were of necessity neglected. At the termination of the contest, the resources of the country were so much



exhausted that a long period elapsed ere it could undertake great works in church-building. In this respect the fourteenth century is almost a blank. In the latter half of it, however, the monks of Melrose commenced the rebuilding of their monastery, which had been destroyed by the English. The church of Melrose Abbey is the most splendid example which Scotland possesses of the Second-Pointed Style, to which also the cathedral of Aberdeen is to be referred—both of them the work of a lengthened period.

In England the next style was the Perpendicular or Third-Pointed—having the mullions carried up in straight lines to the head of the windows—which continued from the beginning of the fifteenth century till the Reformation. This style can scarcely be said to have taken root in Scotland, though the choir of Melrose Abbey is a fine example of it. It was no longer from England but from France—our steadfast ally—our countrymen now took their architectural models; and the Scottish style which was contemporary with the Perpendicular in England was a modification of the French Flamboyant—so called from the flame-like forms of its window tracery. A specimen of this style may be seen in portions of Dunkeld Cathedral.

The ground-plan of the larger churches, whether cathedral or conventual, usually took the form of a Latin cross, having a choir as the head of the cross to the east, a nave to the west, and north and south transepts. The choir was the portion first built, the remaining parts being in most cases added at long intervals of time. Thus it happens that the architecture of a great church exhibits the changing styles of successive ages. Monasteries had a Chapter-house, refectory, dormitory, and other domestic buildings surrounding a quadrangular court on the south side of the nave of the church; but sometimes, for local reasons, on the north side, as at Melrose and Balmerino. Cathedrals served by secular canons had only the Chapter-house: the canons lived in their own separate manes around

the Cathedral Close or Chanonry. The uniformity both of general design and minute details which exists in churches of the same age, but far removed from each other, strengthens the belief that those splendid memorials of the Middle Ages were the work of travelling guilds of Freemasons, though the designers of them were doubtless Churchmen, who were devoted to the study of architecture and kindred arts.

Collegiate churches or Provostries had their origin in the reign of David II. They were so called as consisting of a College or Chapter of secular canons or prebendaries presided over by a Provost or Dean, and instituted for the more orderly performance of divine service, and for the singing of masses for the souls of their founders and others. The prebendaries were frequently the clergy of the neighbouring parishes, the revenues of which, as also those of chaplainries previously founded in their churches, were applied to the endowment of the new institutions. The parish churches thus deprived of their proper incumbents, were, like those bestowed on religious houses, served by vicars. This new application of parochial tithes to non-parochial purposes still further extended the evils arising from the want of adequately provided and resident clergy. The earliest example of a collegiate church appears to have been that of Dunbar, instituted in 1342 by the Earl of March for a dean, arch-priest, and eighteen canons. There were in all thirty-three churches of this class. Most of them were founded in the fifteenth century, and were built in the Middle-Pointed or Flamboyant style of architecture, with the French feature of a three-sided eastern termination resembling an apse. Their plan is cruciform, but only in a few cases has the nave been actually erected. In 1466, St Giles', the parish church of Edinburgh, was erected into a Collegiate church by King James III. for a Provost, sixteen prebendaries, and other officials, who were endowed with the revenues of its chaplainries and altars, said to have numbered about forty. Gavin Douglas, the translator

of Virgil's *Æneid* into Scottish verse, and afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld, was for some time Provost of St Giles'.

The clergy of the Mediæval Church may be said to have been in those days the sole promoters of education. Connected with most of the monasteries and cathedrals there were schools, taught or superintended by the monks. There were also many burghal schools at an early period, presided over, doubtless, by churchmen. In the twelfth century, or soon after it, there were schools at Abernethy, Perth, Stirling, Dundee, Glasgow, Ayr, Berwick, Aberdeen, St Andrews, and doubtless in other towns. About 1268, Balliol College, Oxford, was erected by the Lady Devorgilla, founder of Sweet Heart Abbey; and in 1326, the Bishop of Moray gave certain endowments to the university of Paris, which formed the beginning of the Scots College there. But as yet Scotland had no university of its own; and Scotch students could only acquire the higher learning of the time by repairing to the English or Continental universities, as it appears they did in considerable numbers, especially to Oxford.

The fifteenth century witnessed a wonderful revival of learning throughout Europe, and the Church promoted its diffusion by means of universities. The universities of Europe, established under Papal sanction, formed a vast brotherhood, open alike to rich and poor; and the scholar who had acquired a certain grade in one, was thereby made free of all. To Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St Andrews, who had himself studied at Oxford, belongs the honourable distinction of having founded the first university for Scotland; and his episcopal city was chosen for its seat, as being in several ways admirably adapted for that purpose. The foundation charter was granted by the bishop in 1411, and this was confirmed in 1413 by Pope Benedict XIII. The Papal bull was received in St Andrews with the most exuberant demonstrations of joy. The 'Studium Generale,' as a university was then called, was instituted on the model of the university of Paris, for the study of theology,

canon and civil law, medicine, 'and other lawful faculties,' with the power of conferring degrees. It was to be governed by a Rector, subject to an appeal to the Bishop and his successors, who were to be its Chancellors. The students, as at Paris, were divided into 'nations,' who, through their Procurators, elected the Rector; and they were lodged, as at present, throughout the city. The Professors were parochial clergymen, exempted from residence in their parishes; and their benefices constituted their whole income, there being neither fees nor endowments. Their work was at first carried on in rooms in different parts of the city, there being no central buildings yet provided for the University. In 1430, a Pædagogium was erected for the Faculty of Arts. The university soon acquired celebrity, and the number of its students rapidly increased. It was greatly encouraged by King James I., who countenanced by his presence the disputations of the students, and invited to it distinguished Professors from the Continent. Separate Colleges were afterwards founded—St Salvator's, in 1450, by Bishop Kennedy; St Leonard's, in 1512, by Archbishop Alexander Stewart and Prior Hepburn; and St Mary's, in 1537, on the site of the Pædagogium, by Archbishop James Beaton. These Colleges being well endowed, the masters and students were maintained within their walls. The result, however, of this more exclusive system was a falling off in the number of students. The university of Glasgow was founded in 1450, by Bishop Turnbull, and that of Aberdeen in 1494, by Bishop Elphinstone; the constitution of both being in most respects similar to that of the Mother university. King's College, Aberdeen, was erected in 1506, and Hector Boethius, the Scottish historian, was its first Principal.

The erroneous doctrines of the Mediæval Church, and the superstitious observances founded upon them, form too large a subject for discussion here. I can only refer to some of those peculiarities which come under our notice most frequently in narratives of the period. Of this description are the honour and

worship which were given to crosses and crucifixes, to pictures and images of the saints; the belief in Purgatory; and the masses and penances performed in order to obtain deliverance from its fires. The intercession of the Saviour was practically obscured by a belief in that of the Blessed Virgin and the saints. We meet with an affecting instance of this in the case of good Bishop Brown of Dunkeld, who, on his death-bed—in the year 1515—expressed himself as assured of the safety of his soul, not for his own merits, but through the sufferings of Christ, and the intercession of the Virgin, and of St Columba (patron-saint of Dunkeld.) The ‘day’ of the patron-saint of a church—the anniversary of his death—was celebrated with religious rites, and frequently with a procession, in which his image was borne aloft amid the reverence and genuflexions of the people. The local fair was also held on this day. As regards the Sabbath, when the religious services were ended, the remainder of the day was usually devoted to marketing and games, in which the curate sometimes joined with his parishioners. A peculiar feature of those times was the religious Play or Mystery, as it was termed, in which some portion of Scripture was dramatised, the characters being personated by priests. These plays, in which the modern drama had its origin, were first instituted by the clergy for the purpose of impressing the events of sacred history on the minds of a rude and ignorant people who were destitute of books; but they too often degenerated into mere buffoonery. Another practice very characteristic of the Middle Ages was that of making pilgrimages to the shrines of certain saints, whose intercession was believed to possess exceptional efficacy, and to whose bones were ascribed miraculous powers. The shrines which enjoyed the greatest celebrity were those of St Ninian at Whithorn, St Adrian on the Isle of May, St Palladius at Fordoun, St Duthac at Tain, St Mary at Whitekirk, and Our Lady of Loretto at Musselburgh. From Chaucer’s tales of pilgrims travelling to à Becket’s shrine at Canterbury, and from the numerous sums of money given by

King James IV. to musicians and others while he was on pilgrimage to Tain and Whithorn to expiate his sins, we may see how on those journeys amusement was combined with devotion. Pilgrimages were also made by our countrymen, as by others, to the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem; and though the Crusades, which the Popes so zealously promoted for the rescue of Palestine from the sway of the Infidels, excited less interest in Scotland than elsewhere, yet contributions both of brave knights and of money were oftener than once made towards the Holy War.

There is now left to me only room for a few general remarks, with which I shall conclude. The remodelling of the Scottish Church in the twelfth century was undoubtedly for that period a beneficial reform. Some portion of the ancient endowments was recovered, and new benefactions were bestowed with a degree of liberality which has never been equalled in our country's history. The people were more systematically supplied with the ordinances of religion. The clergy, both regular and secular, were brought under stricter discipline. Divine service was celebrated with greater solemnity; while in the doctrines then inculcated there was probably but little more admixture of error than in those held by the later Celtic clergy. In its subsequent development the Scottish Church followed that of Western Christendom, with which it was now united. The establishment of Papal supremacy over the nations of Europe was gradual; and Scotland, partly from its remote situation, partly from the character of its people, maintained its independence longer than most countries. Our sovereigns frequently resisted the domination of Rome; and two of them—William the Lion in 1180, and Alexander II. in 1217—thus drew upon themselves and the nation the dreaded punishment of a Papal interdict, whereby the churches were closed, and the rites of religion were suspended throughout the land. If Scotland at length placed itself under Papal protection, it did so in order to escape subjection to English metropolitans.

The clergy, on almost all occasions, helped to preserve the stability of the State by giving their support to the throne, whether the contest was with Rome, with England, or with overbearing Scottish barons. During many generations the Mediæval Church exercised an unbounded ascendancy over the minds and conduct of our ancestors; and its influence, in those rude and turbulent times, was, on the whole, greatly beneficial to the nation. With all its errors and shortcomings, the Church was for a lengthened period zealous in restraining the vicious, caring for the poor, civilising the people, and teaching them to fear God, and to prepare for a life beyond the present. Its bishops and abbots were frequently chosen to fill high offices of state, for which they alone were fitted by education and training. Amongst its clergy of all ranks there were not a few men of saintly lives, and eminent usefulness in their day. But in course of time, the Church declined in purity and zeal. Amongst the causes of this declension were the great wealth of the clergy, and the law of celibacy by which they were bound. The War of Independence also was injurious to religion. The clergy—especially the higher orders of them—while taking part in that patriotic contest, neglected their proper functions; and the relaxation of discipline which ensued gained strength from the disorganised state of society resulting from the same struggle. By-and-by, church benefices came to be bought and sold at the Roman Court; and all attempts to put a stop to this evil failed. From the reign of James III. the Monks were seldom, if ever, allowed to exercise their canonical right of electing their Abbots, or Cathedral Chapters their Bishops; and the sovereigns, adopting the Papal practice, disposed of these offices for pecuniary or other considerations to persons who, in too many cases, were unworthy of them, and unable to perform the duties they involved. This led the way to further abuses. Pluralities abounded: livings were held *in commendam*; and the spiritual interests of the people were disregarded. Bishoprics and

Abbacies were made use of as a provision for the natural sons of the sovereign and nobles. Preaching was almost entirely neglected, except by the Friars. Attempts were made to remedy this evil by some good men, such as Bishop Kennedy of St Andrews, who preached regularly throughout his diocese, and obliged the parochial clergy to remain at their churches, and attend to their duties. But such cases were rare. The Monastic Orders, too, were becoming more and more degenerate; and the nobles were beginning to hanker after their immense possessions. Thus the Church, which in the twelfth century had been assimilated to the Roman model, had, at the commencement of the sixteenth, sunk, even more than its Celtic predecessor, from a state of purity and energy into one of corruption and decay. My successor will tell you further of the evils which now prevailed: but the darkest night is followed by the dawn of a new day; and he will also tell you of the introduction of evangelical doctrines, for which some had already suffered martyrdom. Though the Church still presented an aspect of external unity, there were everywhere symptoms of approaching change. Not only in Scotland, but throughout Europe the established religion was fast losing its hold on the conscience and intellect of the people. All things seemed tending towards some great crisis. On the 9th of September 1513, King James IV. and his bastard son, the youthful Archbishop of St Andrews—appointed to that high office when only sixteen years of age—with the flower of the Scottish nobility, lay dead on the field of Flodden; and the fires of persecution were rekindled in the following reign. The year of Flodden witnessed another event of wider import—the elevation of Leo X. to the papal throne—which proved the commencement of a new Chapter of surpassing interest and importance in the history of Western Christendom.